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SIND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY
A. B. ADVANI, M. A., LL. B.

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THE SIND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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ART. I.—DIULSIND, THE OLD PORT OF TATTA.

(*With a Map*)

BY

N. M. BILLIMORIA.

(*Read on 21st January, 1934.*)

I believe Diulsind, Sindi, Sinda, Lahribandar, and Lahoribandar are identical places.

Some writers have made it an inland town, some a port upon the sea, and others a town upon the Indus etc. I give below the opinion of different writers.

Hughes, Ranking, have assigned the place to Bamburah; this is not mentioned in our oldest works on Sind; it is the scene of many legendary stories of Sind (Sassi and Pamun).

Elliot puts it as Karachi (History of India, Vol. I, pp 374-8) A. Burnes and Elphinstone.....vicinity of Karachi.

Firishta.....Thatta. Mir Masum in the Tarikh-i-Sind says Debal is Thatta and Lahori Bandar. Idrisi and other Arabian geographers determined that Debal was Tatta. Sir R. F. Burton, Sir Henry Pottinger Sir A. Burnes, Capt. McMurdo, De la Rochette, Rennell, and W. Hamilton also locate it at Tatta. D'Anville establishes it on one of the mouths of the Indus. M. Reinaud in his Memoire sur l'Inde inclines to the neighbourhood of Karachi. Dr. Burnes says it occupied a site between Karachi and Tatta, in which he follows Nathaniel Crow. Elliot writes that "there can be no question that Debal was on, or close to, the sea-coast. For my own part I entertain little doubt that Karachi itself represents the site of Debal." Ibn Haukal (A. D. 943-976) puts Debal upon the sea, and Ibn Batuta (1325-54) puts Lahori upon the seashore. Cunningham assumes that Debal was on the Indus-sequitur his identification with Lahribandar or ruins near by, yet Istakhari (A. D. 951) puts it west of the mouth of the Milran; so also Ibn Haukal. Al Idrisi puts it six miles west of the mouth, and earlier than all, Al Masudi (A. H. 332) A. D. 942, puts it two days journey west.

Sindi as Lahribandar :—

Tarikh-i-Tahiri (by Tabir Muhammad, 1621), Lahribandar, one day from sea, two days from Tatta.

Fremlen (1635) puts Lahribandar 14 miles up river.

Hamilton (1744) Do, six leagues from sea (40 miles).

Manucci (landed at Sindi in 1655) puts it 12 hours up river (36 miles).

Sindi is put by Terry (1618) at the mouth of the main current of the river.

Raverty puts it near the shrine of Pir Patho at the foot of the Makli Hills ; He identifies Sindi and Debal. Cunningham and Sir William Foster identify it with Lahribandar. Dames makes it a joint port with Sindi. Mir Tahir Mahomed author of *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* went to Tatta in 1606. Fremlen landed in the "*Discovery*" at Lauribandar in 1635. Tavernier arrived at Sindi at the mouth of the river in 1654. Manucci landed in 1655 at the port of Sindi and thence reached the town of Sindi and Tatta. In 1699 Hamilton travelled from Lahribandar to Tatta. Walter Payton landed at Diul Sind in September 1613 ; he says Tatta a great city one day's journey from Diul. Kerridge (1616-21) and Withington (1612-16) also call it Lowrebandar. Thevenot who was in India (1656-66) calls Diul Sind. Sidi Ali Kapudan, the Turkish Admiral who was in India in 1553-56, and passed through Sind, calls it Diul Sind.

None of the above quoted writers mention the map prepared by Walter Payton in 1613 on the spot, except Sir W. Foster in a footnote in one of the volumes of *English Factories in India*.

In taking into consideration the accounts of old places, it is necessary to separate the records of personal experience from those of hearsay.

Walter Payton has left behind him two journals, republished in vol. IV of Purchas his *Pilgrimes*. He landed at Diul Sind on 26th September 1613. The mouth of the river Sindi, bearing east and by north is in the latitude of 24 degrees and 38 minutes to the northward of the Equinoctial line, the variation is sixteen degrees forty-five minutes. By the invitation of the Governor he "went ashore in one of the country boates the same morning about eight of the clocke, our ship riding about foure or five miles from the rivers mouth, from whence we had fifteen miles to the Citie Diul, where the Ambassador was....."

The Parwana granted by the Governor on 3rd October 1613 begins "Whereas here arrived at this port of Diul in the Kingdome of Mugore etc."

About Tatta he writes "At the Ambassadors departing out of the ship the Captaine delivered him a fine piece double locked, to present the Governor of Tatta, a great Citie one days journey from Diul, both cities standing in the Great Mogols Dominions." Unfortunately Payton did not visit Tatta, though it was one day's journey from the port of Diul Sind. The Governor would not have allowed him, for he stopped Sir Richard Sherley from going there, after the departure of Payton.

Payton does not mention a word about the sketch map he had prepared ; it is in the British Museum Add. Ms 19276 ; the party who inspected for me, reports that " the map on page 44 is a sketch in ink which forms the lower part of a page of Payton's Journal. In the four lines preceding the map Payton admits " Heare followeth ye portrait of ye ryver Sinda, soo neare as I cann judge by the description thearof made to me, by those whoe have seene most part thearof, weh. althoughe it bee not soo exact as I desyred, yett suche as may geiue some light to our employers."

But surely he was at Diulsind, the exact position of which he gives (page 307, Vol. IV, Purchas) " Sinda or Duilsindo, in the Mogolls Dominions, is foure and twenty degrees, eight and thirty minutes ; variation West, six degrees, five and forty minutes.

Sir W. Foster's note in " The English Factories in India " is very useful : " Laribandar (or Lahoribandar) was for long the port of Sind in general and of Tatta in particular. Its exact position is doubtful owing to the great changes that have taken place in the Indus delta, but it seems to have been situated on the right bank of the Piti branch of that river, not far from the mouth. Alexander Hamilton who was there at the end of the seventeenth century, when it was first declining in importance, describes it as being " about five or six leagues from the sea, on a branch of the river Indus capable to receive ships of 200 tons. It is but a village of about 100 houses, built of crooked sticks and mud ; but it has a large stone fort with four or five guns mounted in it." Sir W. Foster in the same series of his work says about Synda : this name was often employed to Laribandar (the Diul Sind of the Portuguese) the port of Tatta in Sind etc.

Capt. James McMurdo wrote in 1834 as follows :—

" Diwal was situated on the western bank of the westernmost branch of the Indus called the Sagara river (Ajaib Makhluakat) this, independent of the evidence of the author quoted we may conclude was the case ; for Muhammed ben Kasim did not cross any river when he attacked this place. The Sagara ran past Bhambor ; therefore the port of Liwal must have been but a short distance from that place, which is forty miles from the sea. The Diwal now spoken of was reduced to ruins by a Muhammedan invasion and another site chosen to the eastward. The new town still went by the same name ; but it was deserted at the same time and from the same cause as Bhambor ; and was succeeded by Lari Bandar, or the port of Lar which is the name of the country (called by the ancients Laryia) forming the modern delta, particularly the western part."

From the Chach Nama we learn that in the 6th century A. D. the port of the Delta was named Debal, the Arabic modification of the Indian word Dewal, a temple ; for the place, we are told, contained a temple which

appears to have enjoyed some celebrity. The actual site of the port is now unknown, but we learn from the Arab geographers of the tenth century that it was somewhere in the western delta. Sir H. Elliot thinks it was at or near Karachi, and that the temple probably stood on the headland of Manora. It is certain, however, that no temple would be built on a site so inconvenient in point of access as Manora and at a distance of fully five miles from fresh water.

Debal, according to Biladhuri was clearly on one of the delta channels but we have no further information from him which enables us to fix its position more precisely. The Arab geographers are also very vague in their description of the situation. In the map *Sindh in the "Ashkalul-Belad"* which appears to have been the work of Ibnu Hawkil as well as in that of Istakhri, Dewal is shown as lying to the west of the Indus (the main stream must be understood, no other being represented) and on the very shore of the sea. But no town could possibly exist in a situation where it would be exposed to destruction during the stormy seasons, and where such a necessary of life as fresh water would have to be brought from long distances; to say nothing of the impossibility of a port being established on the open delta coast. All the known Delta ports have been well inland, at distances from the sea (by river) of sixteen to thirty miles or even more. The sole exception is the port of Keti, established since the British conquest, which is only ten or twelve miles from the sea, and has three times been destroyed by inundations during the S. W. monsoon; and Debal was no mere ordinary delta port with few or no solid buildings and consisting of a collection of huts intended for habitation only during the shipping season. It was evident that at the time of its capture by the Arabs it was a town of some size and respectably fortified. Its temple was large enough to afford a large refuge for many of the besieged and from its recesses the victors brought forth no fewer than 700 lovely damsels belonging to the sacred establishment. This is probably an exaggeration, but it is allowable to regard the story as evidence that the building was of large proportions and was maintained on a grand scale. We are also told that when under special orders from Iraq the town was given over to military execution, the carnage lasted for three days, a proof that its population cannot have been inconsiderable. Biladhuri states that when the Muhammadan commander got possession of the place he garrisoned it with 4000 men. There can be no doubt then that a town of this size and importance would be situated far enough inland to be beyond the reach of tidal waves and floods and as far up the channel on which it lay as could be conveniently reached by foreign vessels trading in Sindh. It would also be in a position having easy communication by land with the interior and would not therefore be in the network of channels far down in the Delta. Its most probable situation would be somewhere on the right bank of the Baghar channel whence the interior could be reached without crossing at

the most, more than one stream. Now among the sites of ruined towns in the Western Delta there is one on the right bank of the Baghar, at a spot twenty miles south-west of Thata, which seems to Major Haig to be very probably the remain of ancient Dewal. Authentic history of these ruins there in none, but according to local tradition they are the remains of a once flourishing port, the residence of a large trading community and of State officials. The present name of the site is Kakar Bukera. Bukera being the name of the township (locally called Doh) in which it lies and being also an old tribal name. Now it is mentioned in the Chach Nama that on the occasion of a certain chief's being appointed governor of Dewal the "Doh of Bakri" was assigned to him for his maintenance. This name may be very likely a corruption, resulting from many copyings of Bukera, the difference between the two when written in Persian is but trifling (بکری and بکر); and as it would be natural--especially in those unsettled times--that the land from which the governor was to draw his revenue should be immediately round the town, it seems to be no far-fetched inference that Bukera was the town-ship assigned and that the ruined site it contains is that of Dewal. And this identification agrees very well with such other evidence as we can glean in regard to the position of the old port. Ibnu Khurdaba says (Elliot, I, 15) that "from Debal to the junction of the river Mihran (Indus) with the sea is two parasangs" and Masudi that the mouth of the Mihran is about 2 days' journey from the town of Debal. This apparent inconsistency may be explained by the supposition that the former writer wrote "parasangs" (farsang) when he meant "days." From what has been stated above it is evident that Debal could not have been at so short a distance from the sea as 7-8 miles and in any case Masudi, who had himself travelled in Sindh, would be the better authority on such a point. But when he says "2 days" journey we must understand a distance by river equal to 2 days' journey (roughly 40 miles) as nobody would travel between the two points by land, crossing deep channels and creeks on the way. This distance just suits the Bukera identification, the ruins being 35 to 40 miles from the sea by the Baghar river. Lastly, we have the distance between Debal and Nirun stated in the Chach Nama as 25 farsakhs. The site of Nirun is very well known to be that of the present fort of Hyderabad, the ruins of the ancient stronghold having been in existence and surrounded by a burial ground till 1763 when Ghulam Shah Kalhora swept all away in founding the fortress of his new capital. The value of the farsakh is of course a matter of uncertainty. Sir H. Elliot considered that $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles might be taken as a minimum, and 3 miles as a maximum, equivalent to that vague standard.

For all these reasons Major-Genl. Haig is led to think that Kakar Bukera is the site of ancient Dewal and that all the evidence is against the identifications of the famous delta port with Karachi, Lahori Bandar, or Tatta, each of which has had its confident supporters.

Capt. Burton was positive as to Thata.

Sir A. Burnes, in his *Cabul* writes, "The Imam was about to attack Zanzibar and had sent to Dewal to hire soldiers; he had applied to Sind for mercenaries."

Nathiel Crow, British commercial Agent at Thata writes (1798—1800) the ruins of a city said to be ancient Thata or Dewal Sindi, on the eastern (northern) bank of the creek (the Ghara; he refers to the ruins of Bhambor) about 40 miles from its mouth. There is the ruin of another, it is said, still more ancient, Thata or Dewal Sindi in the heart of the Delta." (this may refer to the Bukera site, but there are many old sites in the Delta). The Portuguese who became acquainted with the delta country in the sixteenth century called Lahori Bundar DIUL, and Sindh Diulinde, and at a later period the English did the same. Faria Y. Souza in his work on Asia speaks of "the city Diul seated on the western-most mouth of Indus." The fact is that the fame of ancient Dewal in consequence of its commercial importance and also perhaps from the quasi-sacred character attaching to the place, caused its name to survive long after the port had been abandoned and its buildings had fallen to ruin. The foreign traders transferred its name to its successor as a delta port called by Sindhis "Lahori," and even to all the western delta, and its chief town, Thata when it came into existence. But there is no evidence to show that by the natives of Sindh Thata was ever called Dewal though it is true that one native writer has made the curious statement that "Dewal is Thata." The Thata people themselves do not hold that view.

Sir H. Elliot would at once have abandoned the Karachi identification if he had been aware that place is, by the shortest route 110 miles from the actual site of Nirun, while he held that the equivalent of 25 farshaks could at the utmost be more than 75 miles. As to Lahori Bandar it need only be said that its situation among a number of tidal channels, isolating it from the country inland, would render it most unsuitable for a substantially constructed town. Its river distance too from the sea is only sixteen miles; while according to Masudi, Debal was at least twice that distance from the sea. And if Lahori Bandar is Dewal, how are we to explain the fact of the disappearance of its former celebrated name and its replacement by one utterly insignificant in comparison? The Thata site is still more out of the question. It is surprising that the distance from the sea, and the difficulty of navigation by keeled ships of such a river as the Indus have been overlooked by those who are certain that it was once a famous port for sea-going vessels. It is at the very least twice too far inland to have ever served such a purpose.

Debal, besides being a commercial port, was also a settlement of pirates belonging to a tribe who were called Nagamars. It was the capture and plundering by these sea-rovers of the certain subjects of the

Khalifa and the refusal of redress by Prince Dahir, then on the throne of Alor that led the Arab invasion of Sindh: or perhaps it would be more in accordance with truth to say that it precipitated that event. For many years previous to the affair of the pirates the Arab commanders on the eastern frontier of Makran had been engaged in entirely unprovoked and wanton raids into western Sindh from Qayqanan (the modern Gandava) down to Sawan; and on any fair consideration of matters in dispute between the two powers Prince Dahir had far more cause of complaint than the Khalifa. The real fact was that the fertile Indus Valley and the wealth to be gained there by a victorious army offered an irresistible temptation to the needy Arabs, and invasion could only be a question of time and opportunity. The first attempts at reprisal for the piratical outrage issued in disaster. Two successive attacks on Dewal were completely defeated with the loss of the commander of each expedition. The shame of these reverses at the hands of infidels and grief at the death of Budhayl, a favourite who led the second expedition preyed upon the mind of Hajaj, the Governor of Iraq, who held the chief control of the Khalifa's eastern dependencies; and when after a long delay a considerable force was sent to conquer Sindh, he gave the commander orders not to spare the people of Dewal. The three days' slaughter carried out in too faithful compliance with this injunction, the destruction of the temple which had given name to the place and the exhaustive pillage which was added to the other horrors of the capture must have left Dewal a mere wreck. Yet it survived and apparently recovered a considerable degree of prosperity. The capture by the Arabs occurred most probably in 710 A. D. (the exact date is uncertain). Some time in the last quarter of the twelfth century, nearly 500 years later, Sultan Jalalud-din Khwarasmi invaded Sindh, passed into the delta country, took Dewal and the surrounding territory and acquired much wealth. A large proportion of this wealth must have been the result of plundering Dewal, as outside of the few towns or larger villages which it contained, the Delta country could have offered little to excite the greed of the raider. Again in the year 1223 A. D. the same prince flying before the victorious Chingiz Khan, took refuge in the Delta and for a time rested in Dewal. This is one of the latest, if not quite the latest, notices of Dewal as still existing and still inhabited. (It is possible that the Dewal of Jalaludin's day was not the original Dewal, but some other town to which the famous name had been transferred.) It is curious that El Burani writing in the first half of the eleventh century, does not name Dewal but speaks of Loharani, as apparently the delta port of the time). Rather more than a century later in 1333 or 1334 when Ibnu Batuta was in the Delta, Dewal was no more; at least no mention of it occurs in the traveller's narrative, and its place as a port had been taken by Lahari (Lahari Bandar) twenty miles further down the Baghar channel. The probability is that Dewal was abandoned in consequence of the Baghar's increasing shoaling preventing the access

of sea-going vessels to the port. (Of the period of the foundation of Dewal nothing is known. The place seems to have been in existence as early as the commencement of the Rae dynasty, which Elliot puts about 495 A. D. It was known to Chinese navigators in the seventh century. Yule in his "Cathay and the way Thither" says "Chinese annals of the Thang dynasty of the seventh and eighth centuries describe the course followed by their junks in voyaging to the Euphrates from Kwangchue (Canton). After describing the course as rounding Ceylon and following the coast northward till they reached Tiyu (or Diu) he proceeds "Ten days further voyage carried them past five small kingdoms to another Tiyu near the great Milan or Sintu." (This of course was Dewal on the Mihran or Indus).

Now in seeking for the site of Dewal writes Maj.-General Haig it is proved that our field of choice is limited to the lands on the Gharo and Baghar. On the bank of one or other of these two channels the town must have stood and it seems certain that the one on which it did *not* stand was the Sindhu Sagar, because no other delta channel would have been equally convenient for a flotilla proceeding to the neighbourhood of Nirun, and probably by no other channel could it have gone into the interior under effective protection from the army proceeding by land. But if it be conceded that Dewal was on the Baghar, it becomes an almost unavoidable conclusion that the Gharo channel is the remnant of the ancient Sindhu-Sagara.

Let us see what our English Travellers and writers state about Diul-Sinde.

In their letter dated 8th March 1630 the East India Co. advises the President and Council at Surat that the settlement of a factory in Synda must not be undertaken except after good consideration. Sir W. Foster in his *English Factories in India, 1630-33, Vol. IV*, notes about Synda that this name was often applied to Laribandar, (the Diul-Sind of the Portuguese) the port of Tatta in Sind; but here Tatta is meant.

William Fremlen in his account of his voyage from Swally (Surat), to Tatta writes on Nov. 28th, 1635, "anchored right against the river's mouth; all this day we sailed in five or six fathoms water; on December 3rd. About midday I left the ship; about two hours before night we came to the river's mouth, and found it divided into divers creeks, which severally fall into the sea.....with the help of tide and oars we arrived at Bundar about midnight." Foster's note about Bandar is as follows..... "Laribundar or Lahoribandar was for long the port of Sind in general and of Tatta in particular. Its exact position is doubtful owing to the great changes that have taken place in the Indus Delta but it seems to have been situated on the right bank of the Piti branch of that river, not far from the mouth." Alexander Hamilton who was there at the end of the 17th

century, when it was first declining in importance, describes the port. "The custom-house is an open place upon the river's side and betwixt it and the town is nigh two flight shott. The town well inhabited though well built. The houses being most of mud supported with such poor timbers that it is a wonder how they stand ; to their rooms they have Kita Ventos." (Por. catavento, a weathercock but also applied to a ventilator, air-shaft.) Fremlen continues, about three o'clock in the afternoon on 9-12-1635 we set forwards ; and having travelled about as much ground as is betwixt Surat and Barlow (Variao, about three miles north of Surat) ; we came to pass the river that runs under the port ;we hired camels to carry six maunds pucca to Tattah for $1\frac{1}{2}$ rupee per camel. It was an hour within night before we got all our things over, being ferried over by one and the only boat which is kept there to that purpose ; yet thence we travelled in the night time about five course to a town called Hingora (a village of Hingora is shown on the Indian atlas sheet of the district as $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Mosque Lahorre Bundur, and $27\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Tatta) equal with that of Bandar Laharoe. Next morning (Dec. 10th) being Thursday we removed thence and passed underneath the town a creek of the river pretty deep..... About three o'clock in the afternoon we passed the said river again, having travelled about 14 course ; thence to Tattah is 6 course ; so that towards nine o'clock at night we arrived there.

Richard Forder in his account of the voyage of the Discovery to Laree Bandar and Gambroon writes 22-11-1635...November 28th anchored at the mouth of the river and sent the skiff ashore to Bandar-larrye..... being 12 or 14 miles up the river.

Fremlen and Spiller wrote from Tatta to the President at Surat on 18th December 1635. On Dec. 9th they set out for that place (Tatta) Fremlen being carried in a pallankeene lent for that purpose by the customer ; on the night of the following day after a journey of more than 20 kos, they reached their destination. In the same letter they state that Tattah, distant from Bundar Lahroe about 28 course by land hath in itself about 3,000 families of weavers.

W. Fremlen writes from aboard the Hopewell near Lari Bandar to the President and Council at Surat on 10th March 1636, "Left Tatta on February 23, reached Bunder (Lari Bandar) two days later, and sent the goods on board next day." Fremlen again writes on 1st May 1636, "Left Tatta on February 23rd reached Bundar Laree the third day after and by March 2 was ready to embark."

We also hear of pinnaces being despatched from Surat to Laribandar the port town of Tatta, in Sind, the trade with which had become well established.

The Bar of the river always came in the way of the vessels ; five vessels which were laden and ready to set sail out of that river over the bar met with such extraordinary great seas that they were forced to

return to Bandar Laree where they must winter till the fine (end) of September.

In a Firman from the Emperor Shah Jehan dated 23 Shaban in the 24th year, A. H. 1060, (11th August 1650) Lahri Bandar is mentioned as only "Lahri; that the English having paid the usual customs at Surat, Broach or Lahri (bandar) are not to be troubled with any further demands."

A point of interest about 1651 was the failure of an attempt made by Prince Aurangzeb to draw the trade of the Indus from Tatta to a new port he was making. For Richard Davidge at Delli wrote to the President at Surat on 4th January 1651 that the said Aurangzeb doth endeavour to make a seaport 40 course to the north east of Larrebandar and to invite merchants thither has given out that he will remit all customs. Prof. Sirkar in his History of Aurangzeb says that finding trade at Tatta affected by the silting up of the river the Prince opened a new port at the mouth of the Indus and built there a fort and dock to give it security and usefulness. But it took time for the new harbour to become known to mariners and for some months the only ship that used it was a vessel belonging to the Prince. The Emperor excused the duty on merchandise in order to attract trade to it. The name of the port or its exact position is not given. Spiller's letter dated 31st March 1651 calls it "Cuckerhallah" which suggests that it was situated in the district of Chakarhala, part of which now forms the Kakrala subdivision of the Ghorabari Pargna. Hence Prof. Sarkar is inclined to regard Shahbandar as the place indicated; but Aurangabandar to the N. W. of Shahbandar seems more likely. In any case the statement in the text that the new port was N. W. of Laribandar must be a mistake. The scheme of the new port was a failure, because it was found inaccessible for shipping of any reasonable burthen.

SACKING OF THATTA BY THE PORTUGUESE IN 1555.

The following narrative taken from "The history of the discovery and conquest of India by the Portuguese" a translation by Capt. John Stevens of the Spanish work of Manuel de Faria y Souza (London 1695) no doubt sets matters in a much truer light..... He spent eight days in destroying all on both sides Indus (that is between Thata and the coast). The fort of Bandel made some resistance, but being taken was demolished. NOTE...Lahri Bander is evidently the place intended. Bandel is perhaps a mistake for Bandar. In the next extract we shall see the place called Baradel. Both names might be corruptions of Bari Dewal, Dewal estuary, but this name is not met with in local histories.

In a work entitled "Histoire des decouvertes et conquetes des Portugais dans le nouveau monde" par le Pere Joseph Francois Lafitan,

de la compagnie de Jesu, Paris 1733, it is written that "not a single tribe being left unharried as far as the fort of Baradel at the entrance to the river, which they took by excalade and treated as they had done every other place."

Mr. Nathan Crow who was for many years the British resident in Sindh puts Debal between Karachi and Thatta.

Its position is fixed approximately at the point of junction which is 5 miles to the north of Lari-bandar, 17 miles to the S. W. of Bhambara and about 30 miles from the Piti and Pittiani mouths of the river.

Ibn Batuta writes in 1333, A. D. "I then proceeded by the Sind to the city of Lahari, which is situated upon the shores of the Indian sea, where the Sind (River Sindhu) joins it. At a few miles from this city are the ruins of another in which stones in the shape of men and beasts almost innumerable are to be found. The people of the place thought that on account of the wickedness of the men, God had turned men, beasts, trees and even the seeds into stone, and indeed stones in the shape of seeds were there in large quantities." This large ruined city with the stones in shape of men and beasts, Cunningham takes to be the once great emporium of Debal. According to MacMurdo the people of Debal moved to Lari-bandar, and according to Capt. Hamilton Lari Bandar possessed a large stone fort for the protection of merchants against the Baluchis and Makranis. It can be deduced that the people who deserted Debal removed the materials of their old city for the construction of the new one, and therefore that the stones of Lari-bandar were brought from the deserted city of Debal, the remains of which excited the curiosity of Ibn Batuta in 1333.

This statement of Ibn Batuta can be connected with the curious account of an Indian City in the Arabian Nights which is found in the story of Zobeide. This lady sailed from Bassora and after 20 days anchored in the harbour of a large city in India, where on landing she found that the king and the queen and all the people had been turned into stone. One person had only escaped the general transformation and he was the king's son, who had been brought up as a Mahomedan by his nurse who was a Mahomedan slave. This legend appears to be the same as that of Raja Dilu and his brother Chota, who had become a Mahomedan and when the city of Brahmanabad was destroyed by earthquake on account of the wickedness of the king, Chota alone escaped; and as Debal was the only large city on the coast and was besides the chief mart to which the Mahomedan merchants

traded, Debal must be the Indian city in which Zobeide found all the people turned into stone.

MacMurdo thinks that Brahamanabad was destroyed in A. D. 757 and as the story of Zobeide is laid in the time of Khalif Harun-ul-Rashid who reigned from A. D. 786 to 809, there is no difficulty of chronology to interfere with the identification of the two legends.

This reminds me of an article I wrote on 29th October 1932, in the Daily Gazette about the finding of script of Mahenjo Daro seals in the Easter Islands. Easter Island, Rapuni, or great Rupa is an island in the eastern part of the South Pacific Ocean, belonging to Chile. This island is famous for wonderful archaeological remains; there are statues from 4 to 37 feet in height. The remains of stone houses are seen in one part of the island; one of them is 100 feet long and 20 wide. The only ancient implement found was a stone chisel, but it seems impossible that such large and numerous works could have been executed by such a tool.

MAP PREPARED BY WALTER PAYTON IN 1613.

(See *Frontispiece*)

Heare followeth ye portrait of ye ryver Sinda, so neare as I can judge, by the description thearof made to me, by those whoe have seene most part thearof, wch. although it bee not soe exact as I desyred, yett such as may geive some light to our imployers vizt.

Here follows the map.

The following appears immediately below the map:

At spring tydes there is 18 foote (full sea) over ye barr of Sinda, it highes (sic) and falls 6 foote water, and hath 11½ or 12 foote lowe tydes, but being over ye barr is deep enough for ye greatest shipp in ye world. The Wynde blowe from ye middle of September neare ye shoare upon yt coast, from ye Westwarde of ye Northe, as NbW, NNW and Nw. all October, soe yt shippe may sayle from thence to Surratt, or any other place upon ye coast of Malabar at pleasure, and may happen to meet with a wynd to carrye him about Cape Comorine, yf hee will adventure ye danger in missing thearof (because of ye Maldivas).

ye deapthe of
water over Sinda
Barr.

Shippe maye sayle
to Surratt from
Sinda in October.

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ART. 2.—A CHAPTER OF FORGOTTEN HISTORY.

BY

SIDIKI MD. HANIF, B. A. LL. B.

(Read on 25th February, 1934).

Though the first British official connection with Sind began in 1809 with the visit of the mission under Nicholas Hankey Smith¹, the "Unhappy Valley"² was known to the imperial adventurers and factors of the Honourable East India Company³ and other European travellers long before that.

The fame of the valley as "very fruitful and pleasant, rich and fertile, almost as covetousness could wish"⁴ had already gone far and wide. To the sixteenth and seventeenth century European travelers it was an El Dorado and Utopia of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice⁵—a garden of Avalon, where the happy consorts Peace and Prosperity reigned undisputed. But of all the places that gave Sind a proud position among the nations of the world⁶ and wealth that tempted the cupidity of the West the chief was Thatha—the eye of Sind and the emporium of the East⁷. The city, one of the most commodious in India⁸ and as large as London⁹, was embellished with public buildings, beautiful gardens and aqueducts¹⁰ that brought health and gave recreation to the citizens. Articles of trade and merchandise from all over the East [were brought and landed at the very door of the merchants by means of canals¹¹ cut from the river four miles away. During the heat of summer or at night merchant-princes and rich officials retired to their villas in the island suburbs¹² to chase the flying hours with dance and music in the arms of their mistresses till they surrendered to the even more powerful charms of Morpheus.

1. Pottinger. *Travels*; Bruce, *Life of Sir C. Napier*.
2. Burton; Eastwick.
3. J. Abbott; Company's Records.
4. Terry.
5. J. Abbott.
6. J. Abbott.
7. Captain Payton.
8. Thevenot; Thomas Kerridge to E. I. C.; Tavernier; Withington.
9. Letter of instructions issued by the Company to her factors.
10. Pottinger.
11. Pottinger.
12. J. Abbott.

Forty thousand vessels¹ plied for hire at Thatha bringing men and merchandise from all quarters of the world; and it was here too, that the arts and sciences flourished. The loom was perfected and the indefatigable weaver worked day and night to produce calico, shawls, loongies of mixed gold, silk and cotton (supposed to be the 'zonae' of Periplus)² for the princes and potentates of Central Asia and Hindustan. Captain Hamilton writes that at one time 80,000 weavers died of plague and famine. The artisans of Thatha were the most industrious in the kindgom of the Moghul³. The finest palanquins were manufactured at Thatha and there was nothing neater or more convenient than the chariots made there⁴. Nor was it backward in the pursuit of knowledge and cultivation of letters. The torch of learning was kept burning in the four hundred colleges⁵ to which students from all parts of the country flocked to study theology, politics, philology⁶, and humanities; and poets and divines gave a tinge of gravity and sanctity to the general atmosphere of gaiety. Mian Nur Mohamed Kalhora deplored that the blood-thirsty ruffian Nadir had despoiled him of his most precious books⁷. Such was Thatha in the prime of its glory and now the six mile cemetery containing not less than a million tombs⁸ alone remains to remind us of its great past.

In 1607, the East India Company, for the first time, instructed their captain to extend their commercial activities to Sind. In 1613, Sir Robert Sherley and his company landed at Dind (Debal) and in 1685 the beginning of a factory was made at Thatha⁹.

On 22nd September 1758, Ghulam Shah Kalhora¹⁰ the ruler of Sind granted a '*parvannah*' to Mr. Sumption of the East India Company for the establishment of a factory in Sind with a view to encourage trade between Sind and Hindustan and cultivate friendly relations with the British. The permit was coupled with several valuable immunities and exemptions, for the enforcement of which orders were issued from time to time.¹¹ In 1761, on the arrival at his court of Mr. Erskine as Resident

1. J. Abbott.

2. Burton.

3. Mandelso.

4. Tavernier.

5. J. Abbott.

6. J. Abbott.

7. Will of Mian Nur Mahomed Kalhora. MS.

8. Kennedy.

9. J. Abbott.

10. Postans; Burton; Napier's *Conquest*; Hughes' *Gazetteer*, Aitkens, etc.

11. Postans,

for the affairs of the Company, Ghulam Shah issued another friendly *paricannah*¹ which ratified all the former advantages. The commercial connection continued uninterrupted until 1775, when owing to political excitement and upheaval, and the general insecurity consequent thereupon, the factory was withdrawn.²

In 1799, Abul Hassan, a native merchant, was deputed to reopen relations with the Sind Government, with the ostensible object of reviving trade, but in reality to counteract the alarming activities of Tippu Sultan and the French, and to anticipate the ambitious designs of Zaman Shah.³ Mir Fateh Ali Khan, the founder of the Talpur dynasty, promised protection and privileges, wrote a flattering letter to the Governor and allowed Mr. Nathan Crow to build a house at Karachi. The agent, however, did not remain long, being suddenly ordered to quit Sind in pursuance of an order from Zaman Shah (as the Amir explained) or more probably, as Mr. Postans suggests, as a result of Tippu's intrigues with native traders. The matter was, however, dropped—presumably because the Sindian question had ceased to be of importance owing to new conquests in the south.

During the years 1807 and 1808, the hostile schemes of Napoleon Bonaparte began to excite apprehension, and it was deemed necessary to send embassies to Persia, Kabul and Sind. In 1807 Mr. Seton entered into an offensive and defensive alliance⁴ with Mirs Ghulam Ali, Karim Ali and Murad Ali on behalf of the Bombay Government; but the supreme Government refused to ratify it. "No sooner was this alliance formed than,—with that inconsistency and want of faith which has characterised all our dealings with the Amirs—a mission was despatched in 1809, to annul it."⁵ On the 27th April 1809, Mr. Smith and his party embarked from Bombay in the country ship *Maria*, accompanied by cruisers and armed gallivats⁶ with the determined idea of checking the arrogance and superiority of the Amirs in its infancy⁷ and establishing the 'proper relative ranks of the British and Sindian Governments.'⁸ On the 9th May, the *Maria* was received at Karachi with salutation of guns and the Nawab welcomed the envoy with presents of sheep and vegetable,⁹ receiving in return a sharp reprimand for improper

1. Postans.

2. Postans; Napier; Burton. Hughes says that concessions were rudely withdrawn by Sarfraz Khan.

3. Postans; Burton.

4. Eastwick; Aitkens. The Blue Book makes no mention of it.

5. Eastwick. Pottinger says the treaty was entered into through misconception of instructions.

6. Pottinger.

7. Pottinger.

8. Eastwick.

9. Pottinger.

assumptions.¹ The Sindhians were, naturally, alarmed by the presence in their harbour of armed ships and the Nawab tried to get in touch with Hyderabad. A letter received from the Amirs at this time was returned, "accompanied by a polite communication, acquainting the Amirs that it contained not merely an unwarrantable assumption of rank on their part but want of due acknowledgement of that of the exalted Government etc."² The party at last reached Hyderabad, where Mr. Smith again tried to dispense with the customary forms of etiquette observed at oriental courts, demanding that he should be provided with a chair at the audience and that the Amirs should rise on the entrance of the mission. In spite of these indignities, the Amirs received him cordially and the tedious and trying negotiations ended in the drawing up of a treaty, which provided for eternal friendship, mutual exchange of vakils and expulsion of the tribe of the French.³

"An indifferent reader may smile at the complaints then uttered of the jealousy and suspicion of the Amirs when he learns that at the very moment we were sending an ambassador to the court of Sind with expressions of friendship and good-will, our envoy at Kabul was proposing to the Governor-General to subjugate the country, pay over a large portion of its revenues to its natural and implacable foe and incorporate the territory with the British possessions in India."⁴ Nor were these suspicions likely to be removed by the invasion of Cutch in 1816 and its final occupation in 1819, bordering as it does on Sind and at one time almost incorporated with it by Ghulam Shah Kalhora.⁵ The subjugation of Cutch led to a renewed treaty⁶ with Sind in 1820, with a view to guard against the occurrence of frontier disputes and to strengthen the friendship already subsisting. The treaty also excluded Europeans and Americans from Sind. Nothing further occurred till 1825, when 5,000 or 6,000 British soldiers were assembled in Cutch as a demonstration against the "former great annoyance given to our ally the Rajah of Cutch"⁷ and the alleged incursions of predatory tribes into the desert between Sind and Gujrat.

In 1828, Dr. Burnes, brother of the celebrated Sir Alexander Burnes, was invited by the Amirs to visit the court of Sind and treat Mir Mohammed Ali Khan who had been troubled by a carbuncle. The doctor was treated with the utmost kindness and when he returned to Cutch he spoke of the Amirs in glowing terms, extolling their kindness, cleanliness,

1. Pottinger.

2. Pottinger.

3. *Blue Book*.

4. Eastwick.

5. Eastwick.

6. *Blue Book*.

7. Postans.

generosity, forbearance and temperance as anyone living intimately with them could not fail to do.¹

For some time past, the authorities in England and India had been anxious to get detailed information regarding the river Indus, but had been prevented from prosecuting their design by the fear of exciting the alarms and jealousy of the rulers of Sind.² One such expedition had already been planned and abandoned.³

By the end of 1830, however, an opportunity presented itself in the shape of a present of five horses from the King of England to Ranjit Singh the chieftain at Lahore; and Alexander Burnes was immediately ordered to proceed to the Sikh capital by way of the river Indus.⁴ On the suggestion of Col. Pottinger, a large carriage was included among the presents, to anticipate the objection of the Amirs, for it was obvious that an article of such proportion could only be conveyed by water.⁵ The Amirs' agents at first tried to prevent the passage of the mission up the river considering it a breach of the former treaty. "The Amirs were," says Eastwick, "all along aware of the real object of our visit." The mission was, however, allowed to proceed at the intervention of Mir Nasir Khan son of Mir Murad Ali⁶, and the envoy was received at Hyderabad with the utmost courtesy.⁷

Mir Rustam Khan, the venerable patriarch of Khairpur, evinced a still greater desire to please, despatching confidential servants eighty miles to meet the envoy. The mission was entirely successful in its object, and a full and comprehensive report on the river Indus was for the first time given to the world.⁸ The voyage was also remarkable for the curiously prophetic apprehensions of the Sindis, one of whom (a Syed) remarked, "Alas! Sind is now gone, since the English have seen the river which is the road to its conquest."⁹

The knowledge thus gained was naturally succeeded by the very legitimate and humane desire of opening up the river Indus to commerce; and Lord William Bentinck himself began to take a personal interest in the achievement of that object.¹⁰ Lt. H. Pottinger, who had accompanied N. H. Smith's mission in 1809, was chosen to conduct the delicate task, and the result was highly gratifying. In addition to the treaties¹¹ obtained, an

1. Burnes, *Visit to the Court of Scinde*.

2. Alexander Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*.

3. Burnes.

4. Burnes, Hughes; Aitkens; Napier; Burton; Eastwick.

5. Burnes' *Travels*.

6. Mir Nasir's letter to the Court of Directors; *Blue Book*.

7. Burnes' *Travels*.

8. Burnes' *Travels*.

9. Burnes' *Travels*.

10. Pottinger; Napier; Burton; Postans.

11. *Blue Book*.

accurate report and survey of the river was made by Lt. dell'osto. All the former bonds of amity were ratified and "the two contracting parties bound themselves never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other." The British Government requested a passage for the merchants and traders of Hindustan by the river and roads of Sind etc., and the Government of Hyderabad acquiesced to the said request on the following conditions: (1) that no person shall bring any description of military stores by the above river or roads; (2) no armed vessels or boats shall come by the river; (3) no English merchant shall be allowed to settle in Sind etc.¹ A fixed scale of tolls and duties was to be promulgated and adhered to. By the commercial treaty of 1834² tolls were fixed and apportionment thereof made between the Sindian chief, Bahawal Khan and Ranjit Singh. For the better adjustment of any differences that might arise, a British agent under the authority of Col. Pottinger was allowed to remain at the mouth of the river Indus.

The result of the treaties of 1832 and 1834 was the opening up of the river Indus to commerce. Major-General Napier, in defence of this policy, says, "It is an injury and injustice, if a nation, profiting from its geographical position, seals the navigation of a river to those above or below."

In 1835 Col. Pottinger succeeded with great difficulty in obtaining from the unwilling Amirs a still further permission to survey the sea-coast of Sind, and the delta of the Indus³; and for this purpose a steam-boat—the private property of a Moghul merchant named Agha Mohammed Rahim⁴—was despatched to the celebrated river for the first time. An Indus Steam Navigation Company⁵ was formed in England and agents despatched to Bombay; but the project did not materialise.

"Lasting and irrevocable friendship had been the heading of every treaty ——— and in 1836 the Anglo-Indian Government commenced a direct and peremptory interference with the affairs of Scinde; an interference not founded on commercial interests."⁶ At this time, the influence of Russia was increasing in Central Asia by leaps and bounds, and Lord Auckland thought friendship with the Afghan people would be the surest way of counteracting the hostility of the Czar. "The ruler of Punjab was too wary and too powerful to be coerced into furtherance of this plan, but the weakness of Scinde offered facilities not to be overlooked ———." This was certainly an approach to the abuse of superior power but founded on the instinct of self-preservation not the desire of

1. Other articles relate to passports, tolls, exchange of vakeels etc.; see also supplementary treaty in the *Blue Book*.

2. *Blue Book*.

3. Postan; Napier; Burton; Hughes.

4. Napier; Postans; Wood's *River Oxus*.

5. Postans; Napier.

6. Napier.

aggrandisement etc. But where interest pressed, when did a powerful nation ever scrupulously regard the rights of a weak one?¹ "We now come to the political events which led to subsequent, more questionable treaties."²

Ranjit Singh, who had long been coveting the rich town of Shikarpur and the fertile lands towards the north-east, under pretext of chastising the predatory tribe of Mazaris commenced hostilities in 1836 by capturing the town of Rohjan on the north-east frontier of Sind and threatened a regular invasion.³ "Considering the great courage and barbaric skill of the Scindian Belooches," says Napier,⁴ "it is by no means certain that he would have succeeded, and it is certain the Amirs neither desired nor asked for foreign aid against him." They had confidence in their own power and strength. "We have vanquished the Sikhs and will do so again," said the Chief Amir. Ranjit, now with characteristic audacity, demanded from the Anglo-Indian Government a large supply of arms and ammunition to be sent up to him through the river Indus and the territories he was going to invade! By coercion and persuasion, Ranjit was induced to suspend his hostile activities and Col. Pottinger was deputed from Cutch to take the best advantage of the Sindhians' predicament. The Amirs were offered protection and a British force paid by themselves to be stationed in their capital.⁵ The force was actually assembled at Bombay⁶, but better sense prevailed with Lord Auckland and the proposal was modified. On the 20th April 1838, the treaty⁷ was concluded and the Governor-General-in-Council, in consideration of long friendship, agreed to use his good offices to adjust the differences subsisting between the Amirs and Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The grateful Amirs, in return, allowed a British minister to reside at their court and to change his ordinary place of residence from time to time, attended by such an escort as may be deemed suitable by his Government. "This was the first open encroachment on the independence of the Amirs. It is impossible to mistake or deny the injustice. Analyse the negotiations. The Sikh monarch menaced Scinde with invasion; the danger was imminent and the Anglo-Indian Government seized that moment of fear and difficulty to offer protection, on condition of permanently occupying the capital with British troops to be paid by the Amirs! Was not this simply an impudent attempt to steal away their country? The modified proposal to mediate which followed, was more

1. Napier.

2. Aitkens.

3. Napier.

4. Aitkens says, the Amirs unable to resist him by force accepted the British mediation.

5. Napier.

6. Napier.

7. Blue Book.

subtle, not less immoral; the intent in both cases was profit, covered with a sickening declaration about friendship, justice and love of peace," says Napier. In the meantime, events had been occurring in the far north, which agitated the whole country and had their repercussions in Sind.

On the north-west frontier of India lies a small, rugged, mountainous country, intersected by rich and fertile valleys smiling with fruit and corn, which has had more influence on the destiny of India than perhaps any other country in the world. The Kabul monarchy, with which we are now concerned, arose out of the dismemberment of the empire of Nadir Shah, following his assassination in 1747.¹ On the death of Nadir, Ahmad Shah, the founder of the Durani house, (then 23 years old), seized the reins of government and was crowned king at Kandahar.² He left to his son Timour a vast and well-knit empire extending from the Oxus to the sea. Timour transferred his seat of government from Kandahar to Kabul and was succeeded by one of his youngest sons Zoman Shah. Zoman was blinded and dethroned by his brother Mahmud, who, in turn, was dethroned but not blinded by his brother, the celebrated Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk. The Shah ruled for seven years in the teeth of general opposition and popular discontent, till he was driven out by Fateh Khan, chief of the great Barukzye family. Shah Shuja now threw himself on the protection of Ranjit Singh, who, soon getting wearied of his unfortunate guest, imprisoned and ill-treated him in order to extort from him valuable jewels including the famous Koh-i-noor.³ Shah Shuja at length contrived to escape with his harem to Ludhiana⁴, where he remained as a prisoner of the British. After his flight, Fateh Khan became the virtual ruler; but Mahmud, the puppet king, getting jealous of his power and influence, blinded and killed him. The death of the old vizier was the signal for dismemberment of the Durani empire. Mahmud and his son were driven out. Dost Mahommed, brother of Fateh Khan, became the king of Kabul; Kamran seized Herat, Kandahar passed on to the Sirdars, and Sind became independent.

Matters continued thus, until the fears of the Indian Government about Russian influence were brought to a head by the siege of Herat in 1837. Endeavours were made to win Dost Mahommed, who was willing to embrace a British alliance on condition of protection against the encroachments of Ranjit Singh; but it was considered impolitic to offend the Sikh

1. Buist, Allen's *Diary*, Hough, etc.

2. Allen.

3. Allen.

4. *Frerenamah* says that Shah Shuja fled to Jalalabad and from Jalalabad he came secretly to Hyderabad.

chieftain. In an evil hour, it was decided to remove Dost Mahomed and place the fugitive monarch (Shah Shuja) on the Afghan throne. A tripartite treaty¹ was drawn up with Shah Shuja and Ranjit Singh in June 1838. According to it, the Shah agreed to relinquish all claim to supremacy and tribute from Sind on condition of receiving a large sum of money to be determined under mediation of the British Government, out of which fifteen lacs were to be paid to Ranjit Singh. Col. Pottinger, now Resident in Sind, was asked in "shamelessly explicit" instructions² to tell the Amirs that Shah Shuja would be at Shikarpur in November and that arrears of tribute must be paid or Shikarpur would be seized. He was also to announce suspension of the article forbidding transport of military stores by the river Indus.³

The restoration of Shah Shuja having been determined upon, a large British force was despatched from Bengal with instructions to effect a junction with the Bombay troops under Sir John Keane, the Commander-in-chief at Shikarpur, the principal rendezvous, and then proceed to Kandahar through the Bolan Pass. The nearest course would have been through the Sikh territory but the insurmountable objections of our "ancient ally" Ranjit Singh to the passage of a formidable force through the heart of his country, compelled the authorities to take the western route. In December 1838, the whole of the Bombay army, consisting of 5,500 troops⁴, landed at the Hujamri mouth of the river Indus, where it was detained for nearly twenty days, owing to want of supplies and means of conveyance, attributable to the obstacles thrown in the way by the Sindhian Durbar. Before the arrival of these troops, Col. Pottinger had been in attendance upon the Amirs at Hyderabad for preliminary arrangements and Mir Nur Mahomed, in spite of the general opposition of the Baluch Sirdars and other Amirs had promised a safe passage and all necessary assistance. There was however, general discontent, and Col. Pottinger was pelted with stones by boys in the streets of Hyderabad. "But the truth is," says Postans, "they disliked from the first our making a road through their territories and only did not deny it at once when demanded from fear of incurring our displeasure." Again: "From this period, it became absolutely necessary to adopt a different course and to demand as a right that which was refused as a favour." Camels and supplies were, however, soon procured by Col. Outram with the assistance of the Raja of Cutch and Seth Naumal, a "wealthy banya" of Sind.

1. Hughes, Aitkens, *Blue Book*, Burton.

2. Napier.

3. Hughes, Bruce.

4. Buist

With great difficulty the troops at length reached Thattha, and while the army was still there, Col. Outram and Eastwick were sent to Hyderabad to tender the treaty. On 22nd January, they had an interview with the Amirs. Mir Nur Mahomed, producing a box from which he took out all the previous treaties, said, "What is to become of all these....., since Sindh has been connected with the English, there has always been something new. Government is never satisfied; we are anxious for your friendship but we cannot be continually persecuted. We have given a road to your troops and now you wish to remain. This the Baluchis will never suffer. But still we might arrange this were we certain that we would not be harassed with other demands." But the Amirs did not give a definite reply and the envoys, returned to the camp through the over increasing throngs of armed Baluchis, restrained from giving vent to their feelings by the presence of the escort. Public feeling had run very high and more than 16,000 men had gathered near Hyderabad to attack the English force. The Amirs had to spend over five lacs of rupees from their pockets to check their enthusiasm, and Mir Sher Mahomed, who had expressed his determination to oppose the English and had actually arrived with 12,000 men, was prevailed upon to retire by earnest and repeated entreaties of his friend Mir Sobdar. In the meantime the Amirs had obtained some knowledge of the tripartite treaty¹ and their indignation was naturally great. On the 31st evening, news was brought that the Baluch rabble had plundered the granaries at Hyderabad.²

The army was now put in motion and advanced menacingly upon Hyderabad. A detachment of the Bengal army,³ which had reached Rohri was also ordered to march down upon the capital and co-operate with the Bombay column in reducing the fort. Shah Shuja with 6,000 men moved down from Shikarpur and occupied Larkana.⁴ At the same time, to overawe the Amirs and form a basis for troops in advance,⁵ a reserve force of 5,000 troops⁶ was despatched from Bombay, reaching Karachi on 3rd February. They were informed by a fisherman that it was one of the strongest forts in Lower Sind defended by one of the Amirs in person with 3,000 men. "Some slight opposition⁷ shown to this movement by a Baluchi guard stationed at Fort Manora called for a brisk cannonade from the admiral's ship (Wellesley), protecting the landing of troops, and the

(1) *Frerenamah*; Napier.

(2) Aitkens; Outram. Napier says, "Rendered furious by these menacing movements, they plundered the stores etc." *Frerenamah* says that Nur Mahomed and his brothers, hearing of these outrages tried their best to check the wild Baloochis and with great difficulty succeeded in quieting them, after they had shaved the beards and cut the ears of a good many of them.

(3) Sir Willoughby Cotton had started before he got orders.

(4) Letter to Secret Committee.

(5) Postana.

(6) Buist.

(7) Aitkens; Hughes; Outram.

place was soon in possession of the British." ¹ The walls were levelled within an hour² by the first broadside of the men-of-war without troops firing a single shot. The garrison was captured while endeavouring to escape and was found to consist of no more than 20 men!

On the 21st February, the Amirs, finding their capital hemmed in on all sides³, sent a deputation to intimate that they had resolved to submit, to the treaty, adding that the plundering of granaries was in opposition to their authority and that many persons had been killed in an attempt to prevent it. They further promised to make good the loss so sustained and requested a few alterations in the treaty.

On 10th February, 1839, the army resumed its march after having compelled the Amirs to agree to the payment of 23 lacs of rupees⁴ in commutation of all arrears of tribute due to the Kabul throne, 10 lacs being paid on the spot.⁵ The treaty was actually signed on 11th March, the Amirs at the same time sending the infirm vizier Ismail Shah to the Governor-General at Simla to appeal; but the old man was taken ill and returned only to die.⁶ The terms of the new treaty⁷ were: the revision of former treaties; lasting friendship; a British force not exceeding 5,000 men to be stationed in Sind and places for its cantonments; the three Amirs (Nur Mahomed, Nasir Mahomed and Mir Mahomed) to pay one lac of rupees each annually, Mir Sobdar being exempted on account of his undeviating attachment. The Amirs were to rule absolutely in their possessions without interference on the part of the British Government, and the British representative was to mediate in case of differences between the Amirs. The Company's rupee was legalised in Sind, and all tolls on trading boats were abolished. "This treaty is binding on both the parties and their successors for ever."

"The guarantee of independence here," says Postans, "is a new feature in the position of the Sindhi durbār (!); for hitherto it was beyond a doubt a tributary to the Kabul throne, though it had long evaded the acknowledgment; nor had it been demanded. Sind paid a nominal respect by despatch of vakils and interchange of messages of friendship to the Barukzye chiefs as also the rulers of Punjaub and Bahawalpur, but nothing more."

Regarding this tribute to Shah Shuja, Lt. Eastwick has the following observations to make: "It happens, however, that so long back as 1809 the Governor-General had acknowledged that the claims of the Afghans

1. Postans. Karachi was taken after the Amirs had agreed to sign the treaty.

2. Within a quarter of an hour, says Ferenamah.

3. Hughes. Aitkens says the treaty was presented at the point of bayonet.

4. 'The amount, if claimable, would have been double that sum,' says Postans.

5. G-G's Letter to the Secret Committee.

6. Postans, Napier.

7. *Blue Book*, Aitkens.

for tribute from Sind were obsolete. It is true that on one or two occasions Shah Shuja at the head of an army had extorted sums of money from the Amirs on pretence of tribute anciently exacted. He was, however, wholly unable to enforce such demands without our aid and the Amirs produced, moreover, two releases from all future demands on this score, written in the Quran and sealed and signed by His Majesty. Our Resident confessed himself very much puzzled by these documents and, out of that regard which all honourable persons ought to have for their character before the world, it was felt absolutely necessary to suppress them."

Soon after this, Mir Sher Mahomed of Mirpur, in spite of his previous hostility, requested to be admitted to a treaty and was allowed on payment of Rs. 50,000 annually to a participation of the terms granted to other Amirs.¹

"But it is in our dealings with Mir Rustam that the integrity and the good faith of the British character shone pre-eminent," says Eastwick, "and while the Hyderabad family was thus writhing in Pottinger's grasp, Sir Alexander Burnes' equally strong but more courtly hand was upon the family of Khairpur; and it was now said that all the Amirs had designed to march on Kandahar if the Persians had taken Herat."² Burnes was going on a mission to the Prince of Kelat, when he was ordered to turn aside and negotiate a treaty with the Khairpur Amirs as he passed.³ He was instructed to demand money and a loan of the rock fortress of Bukhar and evade all questions as to remuneration.⁴ In reply to the Governor-General's letter of instructions, Burnes suggested the seizure of the fort as soon as the loan of it was given on the ground that the Government had covenanted not to appropriate the possessions of the Amirs on both sides of the river but said nothing of the islands. "This must be confessed to be a felicitous thought and one worthy of a Christian diplomatist."⁵ The aged Amir at first, refused to walk into the net and offered counter treaties, but what with the danger of the Sikhs menacing his frontier and promises of independence, he was at last induced to sign the treaty which bears the date of 25th December, 1838. The Amir also agreed, after a sore mental struggle which led him to contemplate suicide, to cede Bukhar⁶, "the heart of his country," at the same time throwing himself on the protection of the British.

1. Postans; Hughes.

2. Napier.

3. Napier.

4. Bruce.

5. Eastwick.

6. "The consternation caused by this declaration was very great; the Amir first offered another fort in its stead, next to find security that our treasure and munitions were protected; but the moonshae, as instructed, replied to all that nothing but the unqualified cession of the fortress of Bukhar during the War would satisfy me. He said it was the heart of his country—his honour was centred in keeping it—his family and children would have no confidence if it were given up." Burnes' *Letter to the G.-G.*

The three armies now advanced towards Kandahar. With the details of that expedition we are not here concerned. Suffice it to know that Kabul, Kandahar and Ghazni were duly conquered, and the phantom monarch installed on the throne with due pomp. A portion of the victorious army returned to India, and the Government now tried to cultivate peaceable relations with the Amirs with a view to reconcile them to the new conditions.¹ The Amirs, on their part, remained friendly and when a serious rebellion,² culminating in the murder of a British officer, broke out at Kelat towards the end of 1840, they rendered every assistance by furnishing guides and supplies; and large bodies of British troops were rushed hither and thither without the slightest opposition.³ "But in justice to them it must be said that, when our fortune turned and the news spread over all India of successive disasters in Afghanistan and their opportunity appeared to have arrived, not only did they refrain from active hostility but some of them materially assisted us."⁴ This forbearance is generally attributed to the marvellous influence, tact, and liberal policy of Major Outram, who had now succeeded Col. Pottinger as Resident.⁵

But misunderstandings had already begun. There had been disputes as to the interpretation of some articles of the treaty and delays in payment of tribute. The Amirs were also suspected of treacherous intrigues and Major Outram, who had already started collecting proofs, which he afterwards declared to be groundless⁶, determined to have a revision of the treaties⁷ which altered circumstances necessitated. The Afghan storm had blown over and Lord Ellenborough with his policy of land for money had now succeeded Lord Auckland.

About this time, unfortunately, domestic quarrels broke out between the Amirs, in order to understand which and their influence on the course of future events, it is necessary to give a brief history⁸ of the rise of the Amirs to power and the several branches into which they were afterwards sub-divided.

The Talpurs⁹ rose to eminence from humble beginnings, having originally been a tribe of shepherds which immigrated into Sind from countries bordering on her north-west frontier. They came into prominence

1. Hughes; Postans.

2. Hughes; Postans.

3. Postans.

4. Aitkens.

5. Aitkens; Burton; Postans; Hughes.

6. Outram's *Commentary*.

7. Aitkens; Outram; Hughes.

8. Napier says he deprived the Amirs of their country because they were usurpers.

9. This account is based on Burton, Aitkens, Hughes, Postans, Outram's *Campaign*, Napier, Eastwick, and Burnes. The Amirs themselves traced their origin from Arabia. See *Narrative of Mir Nasir Khan*.

during the rule of the Kalhora princes—a dynasty of dervishes which governed Sind for forty-six years. In 1774, Sarfaraz Khan, the capricious tyrant of Sind, caused Bahram Khan, the head of the Talpurs and one of the most illustrious chiefs of Sind, to be murdered. This barbarous action led to the dethronement of the tyrant, but one of his successors, Ghulam Nabi, undeterred by the punishment which had followed his predecessor's crime, prepared to destroy the surviving son of the murdered chief, who had gone to Mecca, by intriguing with the Arabs of Muscat. Mir Bijar, however, returned from pilgrimage and defeated Ghulam Nabi who was killed in the battle. But the victor, though all Sind lay at his feet, now transferred his allegiance to Abdul Nabi, the brother of the tyrant. No experience could, however, make the ill-fated Kalhoras wise. The ungrateful prince, feeling jealous of his powerful subject's influence, caused him to be treacherously murdered. All Sind now rose to a man and drove the cruel and perfidious Kalhora from the land. Mir Fateh Ali Khan, the oldest of the Amirs, whose bravery had been chiefly instrumental in bringing about the change, was by the general voice called to the helm of affairs. But in trying to consolidate his position, he so alarmed his nephew Sohrab (who had marched with him upon Hyderabad) and Mir Thara his cousin that they threw off his allegiance, possessed themselves of portions of the conquered territory and established independent principalities. In 1786, the Amirs were confirmed in their sovereignty by the patent of Timour Shah.

Mir Fateh Ali Khan now ruled at Hyderabad along with his three brothers Ghulam Ali, Karm Ali and Murad Ali, whom he had on his elevation admitted to participation in his high office. Henceforth the four reigned together, evincing strong and unvarying attachment for each other, which gained them the honourable appellation of the “Chahar Yar” or Four Friends. Fateh Ali died leaving his son Sobdar; but the turban passed on to his brother Ghulam Ali who left a son named Mahomed Khan. Karm Ali left no issue, and Murad Ali was succeeded by his sons Mirs Nur Mahommed and Nasir Mahommed.

Mir Tharo of Mirpur left Ali Murad, who was succeeded by his son Sher Mahommed, the “Lion” of Sir Charles Napier's despatches. The Khairpur Amir left several sons, chief among them being Mir Rustam, Mir Mubarak, and Mir Ali Murad.

On the death of Mir Nur Mahommed, son of Murad Ali, there was a dispute as to succession between his two sons at Hyderabad, but it was amicably settled by the timely intervention of Major Outram.¹

1. Postans.

Major Outram was now removed from Sind and Sir Charles Napier was given the sole military and political command of Lower Sind.¹ This nervous little old gentleman, who despised "smart lads who speak Hindustani and Persian, misnamed political agents," had conjured up, before he came to Sind, a vast conspiracy of Afghans, Brohis, Balochis and Talpurs with an army of 200,000 men banded together with the sole object of destroying British power in the East; and he now determined to crush it. He easily grasped the situation and said, "We have no right to seize Sind. Yet, we shall do so and a very advantageous, humane, and useful piece of rascality it will be."² He had instructions from Lord Ellenborough to keep possession of Karachi and to inflict a signal punishment on any of the Amirs who "may have evinced hostile feelings against us."³ On the 3rd September 1842, "old Oliver's fortunate day"⁴ he embarked at Bombay in the *Zenobia* and landed at Karachi on the 10th, where his leg was injured by the bursting of a rocket train. On the 19th he reached Hyderabad, where a princely reception awaited him, the Amirs sending an open, high-arched palanquin of crimson and gold with green cushions for his use and richly caparisoned camels for his staff. In consideration of his torn leg, the durbar was held in the court down below to save him the pain of ascending their great staircase. Sweetmeats and provisions were presented after the manner of their court and compliments exchanged. But the general had not come to bandy words. "Hence, he put aside all thoughts of their flattering attentions, and frankly and honourably, even in the midst of their grandeur and while the flow of their politeness seemed to invite friendship, gave them an austere but timely and useful warning that the previous unsteady policy of diplomatic agents in Scinde would no longer facilitate deceitful practices against the tenour of international obligations."⁵ His brother the historian tells us that he had already obtained proofs of the Amirs' disloyalty at Karachi. Accordingly, he addressed to them a letter, penned in the dictatorial and offensive tone which pervaded all his negotiations, without any complimentary preamble deemed essential in all political correspondence, and specifying the charges which were as follows; (1) that the Amirs had prohibited inhabitants of Karachi (a town belonging to them) to settle in the bazar (of the British cantonment); (2) that they had ordered everything landed at the bunder (their own wharf) to be taken to the customs house; (3) that they levied tolls on boats belonging to the subjects of Sind. Major Outram, who carefully went into these charges, has clearly shown that the Amirs were strictly within their rights both by treaties as well as on moral and international grounds. But the fact is that the general, as he himself said, "wanted a fair pretext to coerce the Amirs." From Hyderabad, the general

1. Burton; Hughes; Aitkens, Napier.

2. Aitkens.

3. Burton.

4. Bruce, *Life of Napier*; Napier.

5. Napier.

hurriedly passed on to Sukhar, where he spent some time in getting his small army into fighting trim¹ and investigating the charges against the Amir of Khairpur.² The offences with which the Amir was charged were: (1) the authorising of certain hostile letters³; (2) levying of tolls from his own subjects; (3) seizure of British subjects, released on demand but no reparation made; (4) escape of Mahommed Sharif with the aid of Mir Rustam and (5) maltreatment by an agent of the Amir of a servant of a British officer.

These charges were equally frivolous and no opportunity was given to the Amirs of refuting them. The hostile letters were never proved, as they were a forgery. "But the more closely I investigated the charge of hostile negotiations, which the accused parties resolutely denied, the greater appeared the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of proving the authenticity of intercepted letters on which it was founded."⁴ Again: "No legal proof of the authenticity of the document was obtained."⁵ But the General was convinced. "I was resolved, when there was a breach of treaty, whether great or small, I would hold all the Amirs responsible and would not be played off like a shuttle-cock and told this was done by one Amir and that by another and so have a week's inquiry to find out who was responsible for the aggression."⁶

In the meantime, the Amirs got information of new treaties intended to be inflicted on them.⁷ Their suspicions were further confirmed by the augmentation of Napier's army by General England's column which had now returned, and bazar gossip did the rest. The political authorities did absolutely nothing to assuage their suspicions or allay their fears. The chiefs, who had been exasperated by the treatment meted out to the sirdars of hill tribes by the political agent at Sukhar⁸, became nervous and began to take defensive measures.

We now revert to the domestic broils hinted at above. Mir Rustam⁹, the Rais of Khairpur was now eighty-five years of age and his death was expected every moment. In ordinary course, the *gadi* would have descended to his eldest son, but his youngest brother Ali Murad, "crafty,

1. Aitkens.

2. Aitkens.

3. The letters were supposed to have been written by the Amirs to Sanwalmal of Multan and the chief of the Beebruck tribe. Mir Nasir resolutely denied all knowledge of them. They were of course never proved.

4. Outram.

5. Outram.

6. Napier.

7. Aitkens.

8. Burton.

9. Napier and Burton delight to call this venerable man a debauched old prince in a state of dotage.

ambitious, and unprincipled¹" coveted it for himself. So far he had stood ostentatiously aloof; but now he came to the general to solicit his good offices² and was promised support.

On 4th and 6th December Sir Charles caused the drafts of the new treaties to be tendered³ to the Amirs of Khairpur and Hyderabad respectively. The former was called upon to cede in perpetuity the *pergunnah* of Bhoong Bhara and a part of the district of Subzulcote to His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur, and Sukkar and the island of Bukkar, with the adjoining islets, to the British Government. The terms of the Hyderabad treaty were as follows: the Amirs were relieved from payment of tribute: the coin legally current in the dominions of the Amirs would be the Company's rupee; the British Government would coin for the Amirs rupees bearing the effigy of the sovereign of England; the Amirs renounced the privilege of coining money; the Government would have the right to fell wood within one hundred yards of the banks of the Indus; Karachi, Thatha and Subzulcote ceded in perpetuity.

"It will be seen that these measures were not calculated to be palatable to Sindian chiefs; for, independently of the loss of revenue which the cession of such important territories as these must have occasioned, a portion being made over to a foreign and inferior power, the dignity of the whole Baluch faction was most vitally assailed: whilst a most important point to the Amirs was at length decided against them in the infringement of their game preserves, an immediate result of our taking territory on both banks of the river."⁴ The terms not only vitally infringed the rights of the Amirs and their Baluch jagirdars and feudatories but seriously interfered with the prescriptive and long established order of things. Moreover the Amirs objected to the Queen's effigy on religious grounds, the use of such emblems having been prohibited by their Prophet.

But the Amirs, who were allowed short time for debate or council, after twice sending agents⁵ to the general, representing loss of revenue and respect which the acceptance of the terms imposed would entail upon them, signified their willingness to submit under protest to the 'new treaty'.⁶ On 8th December, before the treaty was ratified, Sir Charles Napier issued a proclamation⁷, intimating his intention of seizing the territories ceded to the Nawab and forbidding payment of revenue to the Amir's kardars. The proclamation was followed by arrogant letters threatening the capital with

1. Burton.
2. Burton; Aitken; Hughes; Napier; Outram.
3. Aitkens.
4. Postans.
5. Burton.
6. Outram; Aitkens.
7. Aitkens.

destruction.¹ A few days later, the general crossed the Indus with his army and took the field.² Mir Rustam, feeble in mind and body and distracted by his brother's plots, was at his wit's end to guess the meaning of all this. He wrote³ to the general to say that he would come to his camp and throw himself on his protection. But the general advised him⁴ through Ali Murad, who was at this time in his camp, to listen to his brother's advice and trust himself, to his care. Rustam now betook himself, with his wives and attendants, to Ali Murad's fort of Diji and the general was informed⁵ a few days later that he had, by a solemn engagement written on the Quran, resigned his turban and territories to him. It transpired afterwards that Ali Murad had, while his aged brother was with him, confined and ill-treated him and taken his seal by force. The general now expressed his intention of advancing upon Diji, whereupon Rustam immediately fled to the desert with a few personal followers, his wily brother, who wanted to eliminate all chances of a personal explanation, having scared the old man with fears of being made prisoner by the British.⁶ Ali Murad, then, seized upon Khairpur and took possession of all that belonged to Rustam.⁷ Sir Charles Napier was now offended at Rustam's flight and thought he had gone with his treasure to join his sons in the desert. He now resolved to "impress the Baloochis with a wholesome conviction that their deserts could not protect them against British troops"⁸ and undertook a most quixotic expedition, which his brother is pleased to compare with the campaign of Alexander the Great two thousand years ago in the same country—with only this difference, that Alexander was only five days in the desert while the English general was eighteen⁹—to Imamgarh, the "Gibraltar of Sindh," as he pompously styled it. Major Outram, who had been recalled at the earnest desire of Sir Charles Napier, himself "ignorant of India, its people, its languages, unversed in diplomacy and impatient of forms,"¹⁰ after meeting the General at Diji, now proceeded to Mir Rustam's camp alone and brought the chief's son and nephew to the general's presence.¹¹ But nothing could now avert the coming storm.¹² On the 12th January, after forced marches worthy of a better cause, he reached Imamgarh, which he found deserted, blew it up with gunpowder stored within its

1. Burton ; Hughes.

2. Burton.

3. Aitkens ; Hughes ; Napier and Outram.

4. Aitkens ; Napier and Outram.

5. Aitkens ; Napier.

6. Mir Rustam's Letter to Napier ; Aitkens. Hughes says "Ali Murad made false representations to the general as well."

7. Aitkens.

8. Napier ; Aitkens.

9. Napier.

10. Outram ; Aitkens.

11. Burton.

12. Burton.

walls¹, and returned in time to deal with the Amirs of Hyderabad. On the other hand, the aged Rustam, beloved of his people, was wandering as a dethroned outcast in his own dominions. "Not only were they, without a fault, fugitives in their own country, but they knew not where to place those in safety—who to Christians and Mussalmans are alike dear—their wives and children. And ladies, who had been nursed in the lap of luxury, were now, like themselves, wanderers and condemned to all the privations and hardships of a fugitive life, in weather so inclement," etc.² While flying from the palace, the Kajawas carrying Mir Hassan's mother (Rustam's wife) fell and her arm was broken near the elbow, two female attendants being killed. Mir Rustam was obliged to sell some of his saddles and trappings mounted in gold to procure the means of life for himself and his family.

Sir Charles Napier now marched towards Hyderabad where Major Outram had already preceded him³, to make "a last effort to save the Amirs." The Amirs sent a deputation to the general at Nandahra under Mirza Khosro Beg⁴, with a message that they were ready to accept the terms of the new treaty provided Mir Rustam, who had now thrown himself on their protection, claiming their hospitality and intercession, and whose cause they were therefore bound in honour to espouse, was restored to his possessions. The old Mirza indulged in some home truths, which exasperated the irritable general. "I am for war," said he, "let us see how the swords of the Baloochis resist volleys of muskets and guns;" and the message was faithfully conveyed.

At Hyderabad Major Outram was joyfully received⁵ and the Amirs promised to sign the treaty after the 10th of Moharrum—a sacred month of mourning to the Shias, at the same time appealing for a redress of Rustam's wrongs. Major Outram had of course no authority to open that question. "Then let us settle accounts with Ali Murad ourselves" said they; but the permission was refused. The Amirs wanted even a faint assurance, and delayed in the hope that it would be given, so that they might be able to disperse 30,000 Baluchis, who were clamouring for blood and would have heard no other argument. At last, on the 12th February, the Amirs signed the treaty; and Major Outram sent a special messenger to the general, requesting him to suspend his march.⁶ But, in spite of repeated messages,

1. Aitkens; Napier; Burton; Hughes.

2. Eastwick.

3. Burton; Napier's Letter.

4. *Frerenamah*.

5. Read the famous "*Notes of the Conference*" by Outram a document that brought about the quarrel between Sir Charles Napier and Major Outram. But for the quarrel, we should never have known the real facts. Bruce.

6. Outram sent a message to the General at Sakrand by camel supplied by Mir Nasir. The General immediately set out towards Hyderabad, though he had no previous intention of marching. Napier says he rejected Outram's advice because he thought he was being deceived by the Amirs.

Sir Charles Napier kept advancing menacingly upon Hyderabad. The Baluch tribesmen were now furious, and threatened to rise in arms. Just then intelligence arrived that Sir Charles Napier had imprisoned a Murri chief named Hayat Khan without cause. That was the last straw. At night, the Baluch chiefs assembled in a solemn conclave and took an oath that they would attack Major Outram on his return to the Agency. But the Major was safely conducted by a strong escort of horse led by principal chiefs, which the Amirs had provided.¹ Mir Nasir Khan, who had now lost all power over his turbulent subjects and was no longer a free agent, sent repeated messages to him, warning him of his danger and entreating him to retire from the vicinity of Hyderabad.²

On the 15th February, a Baluch rabble of 8,000 men mounted on wretched horses, attacked the Residency which was gallantly defended by major Outram and his little band for four hours. At length, they decided to effect their retreat and embarked on board the steamers to join Sir Charles Napier at Hala.

Regarding this attack on the Residency, Major Outram says, "I have, I trust, already satisfied the reader that no intention of massacring myself or my escort ever entered the minds of the Ameers. The general's advance compelled the Belooches to march out in defence of their capital; a necessary military preliminary was to expel me from their rear; and, as the evidence adduced by Sir Charles Napier against the Ameers proves, my expulsion was all that was desired." That the Amirs had no intention of proceeding to extremities is also clear from the fact that they had left all their property and families at Hyderabad.

The Amirs³, with 17,000 men and 12 guns now occupied a strong position in the dry bed of Fulaili, flanked on either side by thick woods; and the English general advanced with 2,800 men⁴ and eight pieces of artillery. The two armies met on the morning of the 17th. The Baluchis fought with desperate resolution but the musket triumphed over the matchlock. The Amirs were defeated with heavy losses.⁵

Next day Mirs Nasir, Shahdad, and Husain Ali, (a boy of sixteen) entered the camp on horseback and offered themselves as prisoners. The general returned their swords, rebuckling them on their waists with his own hands, and spoke kindly to them. They were told that their ultimate disposal rested with the Governor-General, who was being

1. Burton; Postans; Nasir's Letters.

2. Burton; Postans.

3. For accounts of the battle of Miani read Sir Charles Napier's despatch, *Frerenamah* and *An Account of an Eye-witness*.

4. 2,700, says Burton.

5. Their loss is computed at 5,000, while on the side of the British, it did not exceed 257.

communicated with. In the meantime, they would be treated with the indulgence and consideration due to their fallen state. On the following day, Mirs Rustam of Kairpur and Nasir, along with the former's son, also surrendered. Sir Charles Napier now moved with his army to his camp at Nauabad, leaving the Amirs to stay in a garden on the banks of the river, in charge of his secretary.

On the 21st of the same month two English regiments¹ with guns entered the fort, the gate of which had already been secured by a guard to cut off all communications. The Union Jack was hoisted, and the keys of the fort and treasury secured. In three days' time all the treasure, buried or otherwise, in fact everything found in the fort, public or private,² had fallen into the hands of Mr. MacPherson and his two colleagues, Mir Nasir's valuables being the most considerable. The looting of the fort had better be described in the words of the Amir³ himself:—

"At last, Mr. Fallon and Col. Pattle and Major Reid and several other officers, with two regiments of cavalry and infantry, entered the fort and seized on all treasures, gold, silver, swords, matchlocks, knives, daggers, shields and other property, such as jewels and what else belonged to our establishment, costly fabrics, Qurans and books, horses and camels and mules, saddles of gold and silver, everything in fact of the value of a needle; so complete was the plunder that precious stones were falling out of the bosoms of sepoys and they were selling jewels and other valuables in the city. The work of plunder was continued for seven days; the first day, they rushed into the seraglio of the late Meer Kurum Ali Khan⁴; and the occupants of the seraglio, for fear of their lives and shame lest they should be exposed to the gaze of intruders, abandoning their houses, fled on foot from the fort. Afterwards, the seraglios of other Ameers were entered by the British troops; and their inmates who had never before crossed the threshold of the seraglios, fled on foot from the fort; the sepoys, who were at the gates, on seeing a woman with ornaments on her person, immediately stripped them off, so that those who would avoid exposure threw away their jewels, taking with them only the clothes on their backs. The officers carried off even our coats and beddings, leaving us nothing but the ground. I had taken to the seraglio the books and clothes they (the officers) had given me the day they entered the fort, all of which were again taken from me the day I left; also the swords of my sons, Meer Hossain Ali and Meer Abbass Ali; depriving

1. Burton says the general marched into the capital and seized on all treasures.

2. Aitkens.

3. Mir Nasir's Letter to the Directors.

4. Mir Mahomed and Mir Sobdar prefer similar charges which Napier and his agents deny. But Major Outram believes every word of them. Read his nine questions beginning with, "If the Ameers were not plundered, what was left to them and their families?"

us also of our bedding. The horses and saddles of gold, on which my sons came to me, were also taken away, notwithstanding my remonstrances to Captain Brown and Ali Akbar; and to this day they are without swords. Although my sword and matchlock are of iron and of little value, yet having descended to me from my ancestors they are by me prized as my life. Besides that, the late Meer Kurrum Ali Khan and Meer Murad Ali Khan treated Mirza Khosro as a son; he was imprisoned with us; one day he was taken to the fort and charged with having misdirected them to the post where the treasure of the late Meer Kurrum Ali Khan was hidden, for which they had him disgraced and flogged until he fainted; on his recovery he was tied up for two hours in the fort and afterwards brought back to the place where I was imprisoned."

Major Outram further adds that a woman, concubine of one of the officers, was employed to search the ladies belonging to the *zenana* and stationed at the gate to prevent the possibility of their passing out unsearched; and that the process of search conducted by her was most indecent.¹

The total loot is said to have amounted to a million sterling;² indeed much less than the expectations which Burnes' glowing descriptions of the Amirs' wealth and jewellery had inspired in the minds of the prize agents. Sir Charles Napier's share of the Hyderabad plunder alone is reported to have exceeded £70,000 sterling.³

On the 23rd,⁴ the English general reinforced by troops from Sukkar, started in pursuit of Sher Mahommed, the "Lion," as he called him. The two armies met at Dubba, four miles to the east of Hyderabad. The English were victorious once more, after a combat of three hours. Sher Mahommed fled to the desert, returning years afterwards, when he was allowed to settle in Sind and pensioned.

On the 12th March, before the battle of Dubba had been fought, Lord Ellenborough had issued a proclamation⁵ annexing Sind and ordering the Amirs to be sent to Bombay as prisoners. All Sind now lay at the feet of the conqueror who with characteristic contempt for words, worthy of a man of action, and, brevity which would have put Caesar to shame is said to have laconically described his achievements in a single phrase "*peccavi*," "I have sinned (Sind)"⁶. He was put in political charge of Sind as its first Governor on Rs. 8,000 a month. In 1847 Sind was annexed to the Bombay Presidency, Mr. Pringle being appointed its first Commissioner.

1. *Commentary*.

2. Hughes.

3. Outram, *Commentary*.

4. Read Sir Charles Napier's own account and *Feroz-namah*.

5. Aitkens, *Blue Book*.

6. Aitkens and Baillie. Not authentic.

The rest of the Amirs, who had taken no part in the battles, were also secured and sent to Bombay, where a local journal described their condition as follows:—

"The Ameers, being prisoners of State, are retained in strict seclusion; they are described as broken hearted and miserable men, maintaining much of the dignity of fallen greatness and, without any querulous or angry complainings at this unalleviable source of sorrow, refusing to be comforted."¹

From Bombay, the Amirs were taken to the village of Sasur near Poona, (where the aged Rustam and his nephew Nasir died) and thence they were deported to Calcutta and Hazaribagh. The survivors returned to Sind in 1854 after an exile of ten years.

From their captivity, the Amirs sent appeals, vakils, memorials and petitions but they all fell on deaf ears. Mir Nasir wrote: "I have read that Christianity is opposed to oppression of every kind, but from the time the British arrived in India to the present day no such tyranny was ever practised as on us. Had a shot been fired from the walls of Hyderabad, the British army might have lawfully plundered it; but, after promising security and making peace, to console us with a promise to restore us to power and afterwards to plunder the treasury, and to disgrace the rulers of the country, is not allowed by any law; and I have heard from experienced persons that it is not the custom of the English to punish a man before he is proved guilty, and not to degrade him on the hearsay evidence of others. I therefore hope that you will first investigate my case, and then determine by the laws of Christianity, whether or not we are suffering from injustice."

An Englishman² makes the following impassioned appeal on behalf of the unfortunate princes:—

"Let those whose blood still boils at the tale of Austrian tyranny and Hungarian woes comes here and read of tyranny as gross, of wrongs as unmerited, inflicted on an independent people—and by Englishmen. It cannot be that those who sympathise deeply with every other tale of suffering and of wrong should turn unmoved from this—one of the most piteous that ever was listened to with mingled pity and indignation by Christian men. What! shall savage Dayaks and tribes more wild and barbarous still.....all find their advocates, and none move a hand or utter a voice for our own allies to whose protection we were pledged by solemn and reiterated treaties, for victims, round whom was woven a web of cunning villainy, and who were trapped with falsehoods which now make day hideous by their revelation! Men of England! think of your boasted

1. Quoted by Postans, probably from *The Bombay Times*.

2. Eastwick, *Dry Leaves from Young Egypt*.

freedom and let your pulse beat quick for those who died by your sword in defence of their own liberties and homes, and for that smaller, but far more wretched band, once your friends, once aye! your benefactors, now lingering out a miserable exile in a distant land, whose jailors you now pay, whose hospitality, whose alliance you once sought. Women of England! think of the mothers and sisters of princes, stripped of their ornaments, torn from their homes, driven to wander houseless and friendless in the wild jungles and poisonous swamps of Burdikah. But, if you will not listen, think not that the ears of all nations are closed to those outrages." And then he goes on to describe how Sultan Haji ben Musa Ettani, in the heart of the Great Sahara, significantly asked an English traveller (James Richard) "Christian! do you know Sind?"

But the appeals fell on stony soil and bore no fruit. The v. kils returned to India, where "they will never cease to send up their prayers to Heaven for justice, in the hope that God will grant what man refuses,"¹

1 Statement of the Amcoers' case drawn up by Dewan Metharam.

ART. 3.—THE EARLY BRITISH TRADERS IN SIND.

BY

A. B. ADVANI, M. A., LL. B.

(Read on 25th March, 1934.)

Up to the last decade of the 16th century, Sind was like a sealed book to the people of the West. The record of Western knowledge about Sind was full of numerous errors, of which the following may be cited as representative illustrations. Duarte Barbosa, who sailed from Hurmuz to Cambay,¹ in the beginning of the 16th century, said that Sind was a kingdom over which a Moorish king held sway, that its people were Moors who fed their horses on dry fish, that canes were available in Sind, of the thickness of man's leg, and that the Indus started from Euphrates and passed through the midst of Persia finally emptying itself in the gulf of Cambay. 1. This ignorance regarding Sind was perhaps due to the fact that after the march of Alexander the Great—the Macedonian hero, in 325 B. C. through Sind², the face of a white man had not been seen in this valley of the Indus.

Of the Western nations, the Portuguese were the first, who came to Sind and that was about the year 1555 A. D. In that year, Mirza Isa Tarkhan, the ruler of Thatta, marched to Bukhur in the Upper Sind, to subdue its governor—Sultan Muhammad. Finding his means of coercion inadequate, Mirza Isa Tarkhan despatched an embassy to Bassein, the seat of government of the Northern Portuguese province, to ask for military aid³. Considering it politic to cultivate friendship with the Chiefs of Sind, Pedro Barreto Rolin was despatched to Sind, with a fleet of twenty-eight ships to succour Mirza Isa Tarkhan. Before he arrived in Sind, Mirza Isa Tarkhan had made peace with his enemy. Consequently the Portuguese help was found unnecessary. The Portuguese soldiers desired that, in all fairness, they should at least be compensated for their trouble. On this request being refused, Barreto landed his men, entered the city of Thatta and killed over 8,000 men, taking away with himself one of "the richest booties ever taken in Asia."⁴ It appears that soon after this event, the Portuguese established themselves in Sind. Hardly anything is known about the Portuguese connections with Sind in the latter half of the 16th century. If some painstaking student of Sind History were to search

1. Dames, M. L., *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, pp. I, 106-107.

2. Aitken, E. H., *Gaz. of the Province of Sind*, p. 85.

3. Haig, M. R., *The Indus Delta Country*, p. 97-98.

4. Danvers, F. C., *The Portuguese in India*, I, p. 508.

diligently for material on this subject in the archives of Goa, Lisbon and other places, I am sure he will not find his labour in vain.

The Englishmen came to Sind much later on. On 31st December 1600 A. D. the East India Company was incorporated in England, by Royal Charter, under the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies". The first epoch in the Company's history was that of separate voyages. These were conducted between 1601 to 1612 A. D. After 1612, however, there came a change and the "Separate Voyages" were followed by "Joint Stocks". The first Englishman to come to Sind was one Anthony Starkey, the steward of the ship the "Dragon". Thomas Best the Captain of the "Dragon" asked Anthony Starkey in the middle of February 1612 to traverse the land route for England, and carry with himself some important letters and documents. Starkey appears to have landed safely at Thatta and written hopefully about the trade prospects in Sind. He and his Indian attendant, however, died shortly after, in Thatta perhaps, poisoned by two Portuguese friars there.⁵ The object of the English merchants at this time, was to get some share in the trade of Sind. In the beginning of 1613, the good ship "Expedition" sailed from England for India. It carried on board, an Englishman Walter Payton by name, from whose journal we get very useful information about Sind. On board the same ship, were also Sir Robert Sherley, the ambassador for Persia. Sir Thomas Powell, their wives and other members of the suite, about fifteen in number who were all to go to the Kingdom of Persia. For nearly eight months the "Expedition" was voyaging, touching many small islands and sea ports, observing strange people and their stranger customs. On 17th of September 1613, the "Expedition" anchored at Guader, a port of Mekran. The governor of the place sent a message to Sir Robert Sherley that though Mekran did not belong to the Shah of Persia, yet he acknowledged "a kind of dutifull love unto his Majesty", and the English ambassador was welcome to his place. He also promised a safe escort to Sir Robert Sherley and his party through his country to Persia. Sherley was overjoyed at this reception and at the prospect of reaching Persia in about twenty days' time. He sent most of his goods on shore and was about to go on the shore himself, when the perfidy of the governor of Guader and his men was revealed by a sailor chancing to overhear their conversation. It was found that the people of that part of the country were all rebels to the King of Persia and that their intention was to massacre Sir Robert Sherley and his whole party and rob them of their property. Some Baloch residents of Makran were detained as prisoners on board the "Expedition" and they were released only when all the goods of Sir Robert Sherley were handed back. The "Expedition" then sailed Sindwards and arrived safely at

5. Purchas, S., *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, IV, p. 133 and Foster, W., *Early Travels in India*, p. 191, n. 1.

Diul Bunder on 26th of September 1613.⁶ Sir Robert Sherley sent two men ashore to seek the permission of the governor of that place to land and to have passage through Sind to Persia. The governor of the place ———Arah Manewardus (*Sic.*)^{6A} welcomed the ambassador and offered his hospitality. Christopher Newport, the Captain of the "Expedition" gave some presents to Sir Robert Sherley for the governor and also a letter, in which he wrote that if the governor pleased, the English people might establish a factory in Sind, and that although this time they were but slenderly provided, yet hereafter they would bring with themselves a large quantity of goods. But if such permission were not granted, then they begged leave to refresh themselves with water and provisions and depart. At Diul Bunder, Sir Robert Sherley found several Portuguese who perhaps fearing trade competition, spread false stories about Sir Robert Sherley and his intentions. But Arah Manewards—the governor, was a sensible person and he silenced the slanderous Portuguese traders. He then suggested to Sir Robert Sherley to invite two, three gentlemen from the "Expedition" to explain to him about the establishing of trade factory in Sind. Accordingly a small deputation including Walter Payton went to him whom he received in style and listened patiently to what they said. He then told them that as they had brought very little stock with themselves, he could not entertain their request but that he would give them all facilities when they came to Diul next time. He also would not allow them to sell the few things which the English traders had brought, on the plea, that thereby he would be offending the Portuguese merchants of the town. He however permitted them to take fresh water and buy their provisions from the town and then depart in peace. All persuasion having failed and finding no other remedy left, the deputation went back disappointed. Sir Robert Sherley advised them to send one of their party to the Moghul Emperor at Agra and get a "*Firman*" from him allowing the English to trade in Sind. On 9th October 1613, the "Expedition" sailed away from Diul leaving behind Sir Robert Sherley and his party to proceed to Persia as best as they could.⁷ The promises of Arah Manewardus, to help Sir Robert Sherley to proceed to Persia turned out to be false. He not only did not keep his promises, but on the contrary connived at the outrages of the Portuguese to which the English ambassador's party was frequently exposed. During this period of distress, Sir Thomas Powell and Francis Bubb, the Secretary died at Diul Bunder. Sir Robert Sherley getting fed up with the whole business sought liberty to go to Thatta, but as permission was not given to him to do so, he went away without leave to Thatta. On the way he had to cross the Indus and as no boatman

6. Purchas, op. cit., IV, pp. 192-200,

6. A. Arah Manewardus . Manohards. Arahāt, Sanskrit, a candidate for Narvana; venerable; a Mahatma; arah is the Palli form of Sanskrit Arhat, a worthy.

In Maxmuller's translation of Dhamapada XXIII, we read "These wise people-arahats meditative, persevering, ever full of strength, attain to Narvana, the highest bliss."

7. Purchas, op. cit., IV, p. 201. and ff,

would carry him over, being prohibited on pain of death to do so, the intrepid Englishman and his party made rafts and sailed on the Indus. Hardly had the rafts sailed when a party of twenty or thirty horsemen appeared on the bank of the river who dismounting, plunged in the water and swam to the rafts. Thus Sir Robert Sherley and others were brought back to Diul Bunder but not before Master John Ward who had long been the companion of Sir Robert Sherley, had been shot dead in the skirmish. After a short period of imprisonment at Diul Bunder, the party was at last permitted to depart for Thatta, the governor of which place, being a Persian, entertained them all, in a most friendly manner. At Thatta, Sir Robert Sherley waited for two months, during which period, Lady Tomasin Powell the widow of Sir Thomas Powell was delivered of a son, but both the mother and the child, as well as Master Michael, who was a brother of Sir Thomas Powell, died. Sir Robert Sherley at last reached Agra safely and was received with great honour by the Moghul Emperor—Jehangir.⁸

In 1613 we hear of another Englishman in Sind—Nicholas Withington the British factor. Mr. Withington was called upon in December 1613, to undertake an overland journey from Ahmedabad, to Lahri Bunder⁹ on news having come to Ahmedabad, of the arrival of three English ships at Lahri Bunder. Withington set out and reached very near Thatta, when his party was seized by a local chief, who bound them and robbed them of all that they possessed. Withington and his party, however luckily escaped back to Surat with their lives.¹⁰

However a start had been made towards the practical acquaintance of the West with Sind, and the Englishmen began to take interest in Sind's trade possibilities. Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador, who had been sent from England to the Court of Emperor Jehangir, to obtain some trade concessions for his countrymen, looked on Sind, as a fair field for commerce. On 24th November, 1615, he wrote from India, to the East India Company, that, "according to such relations as I have gotten, the River of Syndu were most commodious of all others, to which from Lahor anything may passe by water; besides the cuntry is more healthy and plentifull in indico and comodities fitt for England."¹¹ In his Treaty of Commerce, which he presented at the Royal Court of Jehangir, in March 1616, the second article provided for trade facilities in Sind. An extract from the second article of Sir Thomas Roe's draft treaty, reads thus:—

".....that the subjects of the most renowned King of Great Brittain shall come freely without any prohibition to any of the ports or havens in

8. Ibid., pp. 296-297, and Orme, B., *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, pp. 358-359.

9. Lahori Bunder was an old port of Thatta, near the Pitti mouth of the Indus. It has disappeared now.

10. Pureshas, op. cit., IV. pp. 168-171, and Foster, *Early Travels in India*, pp. 190-191.

11. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, pp. 75-76.

the dominions of the said King of India, as well in Bengala and *Syndu*..... with their ship and other vessels, and so arrived may quietly, safely, and peaceably land theyr goods" etc.¹²

On 26th of April, 1616, Sir Thomas Roe wrote to the English factors at Surat, that an attempt should be made to open up trade with Lahore and Sind.¹³ The factors at Surat were not however very keen on trade connections with Sind. They considered trading with Sind, a risky matter, as the Portuguese had settled at Lahri Bunder. Sir Thomas Roe however pacified the Surat factors and dispelled their doubts, by saying, "The number of Portugalls residing is a good argument for us to seek it; it is a signe ther is good dooing.....It is to bee understood wee must fire them out and maynteyne out trade at the pikes end."¹⁴ Seven years afterwards in 1623, the English traders were permitted free trade in Sind, by the Surat authorities.¹⁵ Though permission to trade had been given, and Sir Thomas Roe had encouraged the idea of trading with Sind, yet hardly any interest was shown and no commercial project undertaken till 1629, when an invitation was sent from Sind, to the English factors at Surat, for the establishment of an English factory in that country. Thereupon a native broker was despatched, to make inquiries and procure samples of the goods available there.¹⁶ The Surat factors had, in the meantime, written to the East India Company in England about the establishment of a factory in Sind, and a discouraging reply had been received from England, saying that "The settlement of a factory in Synda must not be undertaken except after good consideration."¹⁷ By April 1630, the native broker who had been sent to Sind, to collect samples and information, returned from that place bringing the samples of several articles, made in Sind. Two bales of Sind indigo and some samples of white cloth of Sind, were thereupon sent to the East India Company with a request that ".....if they shall be found usefull in England and beneficiall to recompence the expence and charge of settling a factory in that place, your Worships may determine and we shall endeavour itt's performance."¹⁸

For the next five years the question of the establishment of a factory in Sind, does not seem to have been agitated. However in November 1635, the bitter feelings which the English and the Portuguese entertained for one another, having subsided, an English ship—the "Discovery" anchored off Lahri Bunder.¹⁹ This year 1635, is important, as it was in

12. Ibid., p. 134.

13. Ibid., pp. 146 and 148.

14. Ibid., p. 193, n. 2.

15. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1622-1623*, p. 309.

16. Foster, op. cit., 1624-1629, p. XXXII.

17. Foster, op. cit., 1630-1633, p. 5.

18. Ibid., p. 85.

19. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1634-1636*, pp. VII-X and XVI.

this year that the East India Company mustered up courage, to trade on a large scale with Sind. Before the "Discovery" sailed for Lahri Bunder, William Fremelen, John Spiller and Richard Moyle, who had been nominated for service in Sind, were instructed, to inquire chiefly for piece-goods, suitable for the English market and to remain at peace, with the Portuguese residents there, and not to "encroach upon nor prejudice their royalties of renewes." Fremelen was to be the leader of this expedition, with Spiller as his assistant to keep the cash and the accounts; and on Richard Moyle, "a youth well-born and educated," fell the task of helping in writing and keeping the petty cash accounts.²⁰ On 28th November 1635, the "Discovery" anchored right against the river Indus's mouth. On 3rd December, Fremelen and his companions landed at Lahri Bunder, at midnight. Next day, they were received by the local officials with due respect and courtesy. One of the best houses in the town, was ordered to be prepared for them. Fremelen found the town of Lahri Bunder, well-inhabited, containing mud houses. The articles of food were both cheap and abundant. Hens were to be had at four pice each, and a sheep cost only one rupee. The country round about belonged to one Rana Jeeah. In the town, a Portuguese factor dwelt in a decent house, whereas three or four *padrees*, had poor dwellings "to exercise their devotions in."²¹ After enjoying the hospitality of this town, for five days, the party left for Thatta, which place they reached on 10th December 1635. For nearly two months and a half, Fremelen's party remained at Thatta investigating in the commercial possibilities of Sind. The Governor of Thatta—Daulat Khan, extended a hearty welcome to them. In his report to the President and Council at Surat, Fremelen mentioned, that Nasarpur (in the Hyderabad district) was the chief cloth centre in Sind, boasting of nearly 3000 families of weavers, that the chief commodity of Sehwan, was an inferior kind of indigo, "because in the making they are accustomed to mingle sand with it, which not only makes it hard but heavie withall." Among other articles of commerce, were mentioned saltpetre and opium.²² On 23rd February 1636, Fremelen and his party left Thatta, and embarked for Surat a few days later, in the "Hopewell," which ship had come to Lahri Bunder, a week before the Christmas of 1635.²³ It should be borne in mind, that even after Fremelen's arrival at Thatta, no English factory had been established there. The President and the Council at Surat were still intending "to settle a constant factory at Tatta." One John Drake, who had been sent to the Royal Court of the Moghul Emperor, was instructed to obtain a fresh "*parwana*" for

20. Ibid., pp. 117-119.

21. Ibid., pp. 123-124.

22. Ibid., pp. 127-129.

23. Ibid., p. XVI.

Thatta.²⁴ He succeeded in obtaining the necessary "*parwana*" and sent it to the Surat factors on the 25th of August 1636.²⁵ After the return of Fremelen from Thatta, the English interests in Sind were left in the hands of a native broker.²⁶ But it appears that the trade connections with Sind were yet uncertain. The samples sent to England, found favour with the Directors of the East India Company who wrote to their Surat factors on the 16th of March 1638, that a factory in Sind should be established and cherished, "for the goods received from thence..... are the flower of the whole parcell and are preferred before all others for their making and prizes..... Wee shall therefore desire that you do not neglect that place....."²⁷

The next two years are uneventful. Two, three Englishmen had gone or passed through Sind and sent reports to the Surat factors about commerce and commodities of Sind, but it was in 1640, that an important step was taken, by sending John Spiller To Sind.²⁸ John Spiller had come to Surat in 1630, as a youth of seventeen or eighteen. He had also accompanied Fremelen to Sind in 1633. Now in June 1640, he was despatched to Sind as the chief factor and in Sind he remained upto 1652.²⁹ In 1643, presents were sent to Emperor Shah Jehan and his sons, with a view to obtain trade immunities. The result was very satisfactory and Dara Shikoh, Shah Jehan's eldest son, granted several *nishans* to facilitate English trade in Sind.³⁰ Though Spiller had gone to Sind in the middle of 1640, yet very little is heard of him, for the next three years. The establishment of the Englishmen, employed in Sind in 1644, consisted of John Spiller, Daniel Elder and Revett Walwyn, on salaries of £ 133-6-8, £ 70, and £ 18 per annum respectively.³¹ From May to September 1644, John Spiller toured in Upper Sind, studying the productions, and finding suitable places for the purchase of calico and indigo. He found, that the calico that was being produced, was of an inferior quality, the reason being the great demand for it, which had grown lately. In spite of fertile soil, he found that the people were too poor to produce good indigo.³² Two reasons have been assigned for the production of inferior quality of indigo in Sind, at this time. One was the oppressive government in Sind, which left the people "neither will nor means" to grow the crop. The second reason was the "reduced demand (for it) and a heavy fall in price."³³ Expectations of great

24. Ibid., pp. 271 and XXVI.

25. Ibid., p. 241.

26. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1637-1641*, p. VII.

27. Ibid., p. 57.

28. Ibid., p. 275.

29. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1655-1660*, p. 53.

30. Foster, op. cit., 1642-1645, p. X.

31. Ibid., p. 132.

32. Ibid., p. XII.

33. Moreland, W. H., *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 114 and 190.

quantities of indigo, having thus been frustrated, it was deemed advisable, to concentrate on the Sind cloth, and President Breton at Swally Marine wrote to the Company on 3rd January 1646, that, "the cloth of those parts (Sind) affoordeth much better encouragement."³⁴ By January 1647, some change in the Sind Establishment, had been made. Daniel Elder and Revett Walwyn had been replaced by Henry Garry, Nicholas Scrivener and Gilbert Harrison at Thatta,³⁵ with Spiller as chief factor in Sind. Trade conditions were not at all favourable in Sind, in 1647, and John Spiller, reported to the Surat factors on 21st January 1647, that "Trade has been very dead" and that, "there is such a scarcity that merchants that trade up in the country are faine to runne all over the towne for a 100 rupees, and perchance not get them neither."³⁶ Trade transactions in Sind, of this period are not of much historical interest. Trade reports, an occasional death of some one from this small band of English trading pioneers, difficulties experienced at the hands of local officials, these sum up the activities of Messrs. Spiller, Gary, Scrivener and Harrison, in Sind. In 1650, the factory servants in Sind, had been hindered by the obstructions, set by the native officials, at two places—Kandiaro and Nasarpur.³⁷ Richard Davidge, who was proceeding to Agra, was requested to place this matter before the Moghul Emperor. The result was satisfactory and Richard Davidge, succeeded in obtaining a "*firman*", ordering the governors in the province of Sind, and more particularly at Kandiaro and Nasarpur, "not to interrupt the free course of our trade in that province."³⁸ In April 1652, John Spiller embarked on the "Lanneret" for Persia, where he had been appointed as the chief English factor.³⁹ But before proceeding there, something had happened at Labri Bunder, which deserves some notice. So far, only two Western nations, were competing for trade in Sind, the Portuguese and the English, but in March 1652, we hear for the first time of the Dutch nation competing with the English, for Sind trade. In March 1652, Spiller found, much to his annoyance, some Dutch traders, who finding the English people, doing profitable trade in Sind, had sent a mission to Thatta, headed by Pieter de Bie,⁴⁰ seeking permission, to establish a factory in Sind. This permission was easily granted to them, much to the chagrin of the English traders in Sind.⁴¹ But Spiller was optimistic that "inspite of the recent intrusion of the Dutch, the Sind

34. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1646-1650*, p. 13.

35. Ibid., p. 96.

36. Ibid., pp. 72 and 73.

37. Ibid., pp. 276-277. Kandiaro is a taluka head-quarters in the Hyderabad district. Nasarpur is a small town of great antiquity, also in Hyderabad district.

38. Ibid., pp. 303 and 321.

39. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1651-1654*, p. 90.

40. Ibid., p. 116, n.

41. Ibid., p. X.

trade will continue to be prosperous and profitable."⁴² Trade conditions in Sind, in 1656, were causing great anxiety, and Scrivener who was now the East India Company's chief factor there,⁴³ wrote on 24th April 1656, that the traders in Sind, were put to great inconvenience, by the retiring Moghul governor—Jaffar Khan, who had seized all their boats for his accomodation.⁴⁴ The new governor of Thatta, Kabad Khan,⁴⁵ was no better than his predecessor. Though not exactly a hen-pecked husband, yet his wife commanded all, "the Governour not daring to controule her." The trouble with Kabad Khan's masterful spouse was, that she harassed the local traders considerably by taking away their goods and not paying even half the price for them. So Scrivener reported on 5th June 1656, that "there is a madd kinde of goverment at present in Tatah."⁴⁶ During the following year, all that we learn about the trade affairs in Sind, is that Scrivener was still in Sind, clearing up matters, before going away with the goods, recently brought from thence.⁴⁷ A band of five Englishmen, namely Messrs. Nicholas Scrivener, William Bell, Humphrey Fox, Thomas Atkins and John Widdrington were sent to Sind in 1658 to be the factors there.⁴⁸ The year 1658, is historically important, on account of the conflict, in Northern India, between the four sons of Shah Jehan. Prince Shuja's defeat by the Imperial forces near Benares, in February 1658, the defeat of Dara Shikoh at Samugarh in May 1658 at the hands of Aurangzeb and Prince Murad, the captivity of Shah Jehan in 1658, the imprisonment of Murad by his wily brother Aurangzeb, who crowned himself as the Emperor on 21st July 1658, and Dara's flight from Delhi to Lahore, from Lahore to Multan, and finally to Gujerat are matters too well known to the students of Indian History. While this political tornado was sweeping away everything before it in the Northern India, there was a terrible famine raging in Sind, in 1658, which swept away the majority of the people.⁴⁹ Mention has been made of this famine, as it affected the English trade in Sind. So terrible was the famine that the living were hardly able to bury the dead,⁵⁰ and consequently the number of the weavers diminished considerably. The cloth that was produced was of an inferior quality, as whatever the Sindhi weavers produced was bought immediately by the native merchants at any price. The Surat factory, sent some grain, to be distributed

42. Ibid., p. 130.

43. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1655-1660*, p. 58.

44. Ibid., p. 78.

45. Kalich Beg, *History of Sind*, II, p. 129.

46. Foster, op. cit., 1655-1660, p. 79.

47. Ibid., p. 115.

48. Ibid., pp. 147 and 152.

49. Moreland, op. cit., p. 209.

50. Foster, op. cit., 1655-1660, p. 307.

51. Ibid., p. 210 and n.

among the Sindhi weavers, to keep them at work,⁵¹ but the East India Company's trade affairs were by no means in a flourishing condition. In April 1660, orders were issued to Scrivener, in Sind, to cease buying cotton goods there, and to buy a stock of saltpetre instead.⁵² The affairs at Surat, had taken a bad turn in 1660, owing to a clash between the Surat factors and the local authorities there. The Surat factors had been subjected to affronts and abuses and petty indignities, like prohibiting them "to wear sword, dagger or knife."⁵³ The factors resolved to be patient, till the arrival of their ships, and then to demand satisfaction for insults and injuries heaped on them. They wrote to their factors, scattered all over India, to be in readiness to depart, on receiving a warning from them, to do so. The factors at Thatta, were also informed on 14th June 1660, to be in readiness to withdraw at a short notice.⁵⁴ The situation however improved by September 1660, when the governor of Surat.... Mirza Arab, evinced signs of friendliness. The proffered peace, was readily accepted, the justification on the part of the English factors being, "our masters business."⁵⁵ Nicholas Scrivener still continued to be the chief factor in Sind, assisted by Messrs. William Bell, Valentine Nurse and John Cox.⁵⁶ The trade with Sind, as mentioned above, was becoming less profitable day by day. It was feared in the beginning of 1662, that the Sind factory "will not be worth the charge."⁵⁷ On 20th March 1662, a strong letter was written to William Bell, the chief factor in Sind now, in place of Nicholas Scrivener, who had evidently given up his post in Sind,⁵⁸ that if a "steady supply of saltpetre and calicoes, at reasonable prices were not procured, the Sind factory would be withdrawn."⁵⁹ It appears that William Bell, the chief factor in Sind, was a person of extravagant tastes. He returned to Swally on the 14th November, 1662, with the other Sind factors,⁶⁰ and was reprimanded, for his various misdemeanours. While in Sind, he had, not only been most scurrilous, in his correspondence with the President of the East India Company at Surat, but he had also misappropriated the Company's money and had failed to pay into the Company's treasury at Surat, the money he had brought from Sind. He was accused and found guilty, and the Council at Surat decided to send him back to England, "as a person most unfit to serve the company."⁶¹

52. Ibid., p. 311.

53. Ibid., p. 312.

54. Ibid., p. 313.

55. Ibid., p. 319.

56. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1661-1664*, p. 27.

57. Ibid., p. 30.

58. Ibid., p. 72.

59. Ibid., p. 78.

60. Ibid., p. 108.

61. Ibid., pp. 116-117.

With the departure of William Bell and other factors, the English factory in Sind, may be considered as finally withdrawn. After 1662, we hear no more of any English factors in Sind.

Very little is gathered from Sir William Foster's monumental work in thirteen volumes———“*The English Factories in India*”, about the social and the political life in Sind in the 17th century. But in the year 1699 an Englishman, by name Captain Alexander Hamilton visited Thatta and from his interesting book———*A New Account of East Indies* we gather some information about the social customs prevalent in Sind and the trade conditions of the country. Hamilton visited Thatta at a time when Thatta had reached the zenith of its glory. The large and rich city boasted of a citadel, capable of lodging 5,000 men and horse, with a palace built in it for the governor of the place. Hamilton had brought with himself goods worth 10,000£ with the intention of trading with the people of Sind. He was very kindly received and hospitably treated by the *Nabob* of the town who sent him a present of “an ox, five sheep, as many goats, twenty fowls, and fifty pigeons, with sweet-meats and fruits in abundance.” At an interview between the *Nabob* and Captain Hamilton, the Nabob after praising the bold Englishman, told him that he was free of all customs duties and tax on his goods that he had brought or should export from Sind. He also allowed him the privilege of “imprisoning those people who failed to pay him for the goods bought from him, without going to the *Kazi* for justice.” Hamilton stayed at Thatta for three months. Thatta in 1699 appears to have been a very populous town, for Hamilton mentions that three years before he came to the place, 80,000 weavers and manufacturers of cotton and silk had died on account of a severe plague caused by the rain not having fallen. He further refers to four hundred colleges at Thatta training the young men of the place in theology, philology and politics. Though Hamilton's account of Thatta smacks of hyperbole, yet it must be admitted that Thatta at this time was “the emporium of the province of Sind.” Hamilton's account throws some light on the local manufactures and articles of export. Cloth of silk, cotton and wool was the special manufacture of the place. Beautiful coverlets for beds, and fine cabinets, some of them inlaid with ivory were also made at Thatta. Great quantities of butter were exported in jars of all sizes. Another articles of export was the *Ligna Dulcis* which found its way from Thatta to even China. Though the religion established by law was Mahomedan yet general religious tolerance was observed towards the Hindus who formed the majority of the people. The Hindus were allowed to observe their fasts and feasts unmolested. Another interesting fact is brought to light by Captain Hamilton and that is the absence of *Suttee* system in Sind, for, Hamilton distinctly mentions that “the wives of (the Hindus) are restrained from burning with the corpses of their husbands.” After a pleasant stay

of three months at Thatta, Captain Hamilton left for Gujerat, passing through Cutch.⁶²

After Alexander Hamilton, we learn of only one more Englishman in Sind—Edward Cooke. Nothing is known about him and his doings in Sind. But it is clear from the inscription on his grave that he was a private merchant who died at Thatta in 1748. The date of his death, is found inscribed on his grave, which lies hidden in some cactus bushes, at a short distance, from the Travellers' Bungalow, on the Makli table-land near Thatta. The grave of Edward Cooke, bears the following inscription:—

“Here lyes the manes of Edward Cooke, who was taken out of the world in the Flower of his Age, a person of great esteem and much lamented by his friends, learned in many languages, of great humanity, a sound judgment and generous disposition, who departed this life on the 8th of May 1743. *Ætatis Suxæ* 21.

As blooming lilies grace the field,
So for a day they shine,
Like him to God, so they yield
Their selves, but not their name resign.

To whose memory his servants erected this tomb.”⁶³

This summarises very briefly the doings of early English traders in Sind, in the 17th and the early decades of the 18th centuries. From Anthony Starkey the first Englishman in Sind to Edward Cooke, the list of the English pioneers has been fairly exhaustive.

62. Hamilton, A., *A New Account of the East Indies*, I, p. 117 and ff.

63. Cousens, *Antiquities of Sind*, p. 123.

OBITUARY.**MR. E. M. DUGGAN.***(March, 1931.)*

It is with deep regret we have to record the death of one of the members of *The Sind Historical Society* namely Mr. E. M. Duggan, B. Sc., M. Inst., C. E., the *Chairman of the Karachi Port Trust*. His death came very sudden to all the members of the Society.

His loss will be regretted by the Society and by the Karachi public. We offer our sincere condolence to Mrs. Duggan and family in their great bereavement.

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THE HISTORICAL ROMANCE OF SHIKARPUR.

BY H. C. MALKANI, M. A.

(Read on 29th April, 1934)

Of all the towns in Sind there is none perhaps which has as romantic an incident connected with its foundation as is reported to be the case with the building of the town of Shikarpur. Shikarpur was built in the Hijra year 1026, corresponding to the A.D. year 1617. This date of the founding of the town is revealed by the word

Date of found-
ing of the town.

Ghok غوك engraved on the mosque of Hajee Fakhur Allah outside the Lakhi gate of the town. The numerical value of the word according to the *Abjid* system is thus explained: 1,000 + 6 + 20 giving the year 1026 A.H. The town is built on a piece of land which was originally a forest lying between the old town of Lakhi and Khanpur—6 miles from Khanpur and 9 miles from Lakhi; the word غوك means a frog, which also indicates a marshy neighbourhood.

At this period of history, Sind was ruled by Imperial governors appointed by the Kings at Delhi. The *Tufatul-Kiram** mentions 40 of these governors who held office in succession for 127 years from A. D. 1612 to 1739 when Sind was annexed by Nadir Shah after subduing the Kalhora chief Nur Muhammad. For purposes of administration Sind was divided in those days into two *Subhas* viz. Tatta and Multan. But the Imperial governors at these two places were mostly farmers of revenue, the actual government was left to local chiefs. Upper Sind was under two chiefs—one at Sewhan and the other at Bukkur. It was during this period that the Daudpotras (or sons of Daud), the family to which the present ruling dynasty of Bahawalpur belongs and which founded the town of Shikarpur, came into power. The Daudpotras trace their descent from the Abbaside Khalifas through one Amir Ahmad, who came to Sind *via* Makran and set up a kingdom. The story goes that Ahmad and his son married daughters of the Hindu Kings of Tatta and at first ruled in that quarter, but they were afterwards driven across the Indus by the Hindu King of Brahmanabad and settled near Sewhan. Later on, we are told, on account of quarrels in the family they moved further north and took to agricultural life.

* Quoted in the *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind* by Aitken, p. 106.

Some say that they became weavers. Daud Khan from whom the tribe takes its name is said to have lived for 200 years so that his posterity knew him down to the sixth or seventh generation and called themselves Daudpotras—sons of Daud. The correct word for them should really be 'Daudpotas' rather than 'Daudpotras' considering the fact that "potah" is a more natural word to use for the Muhammadans than the word "potra."

The founder of Shikarpur was one of the line of Daudpotras by name Bahadur Khan. Captain F. G. Goldsmid, in his Historical Memoir on Shikarpur, identifies Bahadur with Muhmad, son of Bakur, son of Hybut, whose grand-father Daud Khan gave his name to the whole tribe. In the genealogical tree of the

Daudpotras there appear to be two Bahadurs but both the Bahadurs have to be dropped on account of chronological incongruity. "It is in no way improbable," says Captain Goldsmid, "that Mahmud was known by that name himself, according to the prevailing custom among Musalman tribes of transferring the distinguishing designation from grandsire to grandson. The Daudpotras do not seem to have claim to kingly title but appear mostly as warriors and weavers living an erratic and restless life. Bahadur Khan is reported to be very fond of sport and as a matter of fact was 'more skilled in the use of matchlock and bow, than of the loom and shuttle.'" The Daudpotras thus issued forth from their respective dwellings and beat the neighbouring Shikargahs in quest of game. Upon the ground on which the town of Shikarpur is built was a noted forest and this became a favourite resort of the Daudpotras. This led to a conflict, in course of time, with the rulers of Lakhi who at that time were a family known as Mahars. The Mahars were zamindars of great power and influence; as there was no love lost between them and the Daudpotras, they forbade them from making any more use of the hunting-ground. The weavers appealed to the spiri-

Actual Founder of Shikarpur.

Circumstances that led to the founding of Shikarpur.

tual authority of Pir Sultan Ibrahim Shah who had both Mahars and Daudpotras among his disciples. He sided with the Daudpotras and got them permission to use the forest. But the Mahars stopped them again and this time they openly defied the authority of the Pir. Baffled and distressed, says Captain Goldsmid,* the Pir bethought himself of the final resource in such cases. He invoked curses upon the rebelling Mahars and blessings upon the oppressed Daudpotras. He told his protégés, that "they were as the iron sickle, and their enemies as grass or chaff" and promised them the victory in the event of an en-

**Historical Memoir of Shikarpur* by Captain F. G. Goldsmid.

gement. The quarrel grew on and battle became imminent. According to the story of the sons of Daud, their ancestors had hardly a force of 300 to 400 whereas the Mahars assembled nearly 12,000. The battle was fought in a canal which is now destroyed. Strangely enough the battle terminated in favour of the Daudpotras who lost very few warriors; the losses on the other side, if the account of the Daudpotras is to be believed were quite considerable. The victors pursued the vanquished and plundered the town of Lakhi. They are said to have made themselves rich at the expense of the Mahars. The Pir, Captain Goldsmid narrates, received his successful pupils with as much mundane satisfaction as allowable to be expressed by so holy a man. He congratulated and entertained them; mounting his palfrey he led the weavers to the scene of their exploits. "Muttering some mysterious words," which, we are told, instilled a desirable dramatic awe in the hearts of the bystanders, "he raised his hand high in the air and gracefully dropped an iron nail, which had long been held there unnoticed. The nature of the movement brought the point well into the earth. It remained transfixed there in an admirable position. He pointed to the nail upon which all eyes were drawn. "Here," said the Pir, "let a city be built; and let it bear the distinguished name of Shikarpur!" The air rang with shouts, we are told, and the proceedings terminated with a popular craving for building the town. The jungle was cut and cleared; neighbours were called and the work proceeded with great rapidity and in a short time an important town appeared on the scene of the quarrel of the Mahars and the Daudpotras. The *Shikargah* of the latter was converted into what has become the important commercial city of Shikarpur.

There is another story told of the building of the town of Shikarpur and that is in a manuscript of one Abdul Abid. Ac-

Another account
of Building of the
town.

According to this account the town is said to have been built by the followers of Pir Sultan Ibrahim Shah long after he was dead. One of the followers saw their spiritual guide in company of Khwaja Khizir (the Prophet possessing آب حیات) drawing water at a well without the assistance of menials or cattle. The Pir is said to have informed the followers that he and his friend the Khwaja were thinking of building the town of Shikarpur. The followers on hearing of this dream built the town. It need hardly be added that the former account is more credible though not less romantic. Anyway Shikarpur had a romantic origin.

The subsequent history of Shikarpur is equally interesting. The Daudpotras do not appear to have enjoyed an undisturbed

Subsequent
History.

occupation of the town built by them. Their fortunes went up and down alternately. The governor of Bukkur took a spite at them and

they were compelled to take refuge in Multan. But good fortune returned to them with the dawn of the eighteenth century.

Varying fortunes
of Daudpotras.

Mubarak Khan Daudpotra rendered valuable services to Prince Moizuddin, grandson of Emperor Aurangzebe. A rebellion broke out among the zamindars of Tatta and Multan and the Prince was sent to put down the rebellion. But the Prince was unsuccessful and escaped with his life. Mubarak Khan had the distinguished honour of rescuing the Prince's Harem ; it need hardly be added that the Prince was very grateful to the exiled Daudpotras and made a grant of land in the vicinity of Shikarpur. But the success of the Daudpotras led to the jealousy of their neighbours. When the Kalhoras rose to power, Mjan Nur Muhmad turned the eye of covetousness towards Shikarpur and endeavoured to wrest the place from the Daudpotra. Mubarak Khan and his son Sadik Mahmod on the plea that the Daudpotras themselves had usurped the property of others. As often happens in a quarrel between the weak and the strong, the Daudpotras were compelled to portion out the town and a third party was introduced as the rightful Jagirdar. Four years later, the Daudpotras were made to retire before the compelling power of the Kalhoras.

The next epoch in the history of Shikarpur is the visit of Nadir Shah, the Persian Conqueror. On this occasion Sadik

Restoration and
Final Expulsion of
Daudpotras.

Mahmod Daudpotra hastened to make submission, while Nur Muhmad hesitated and ran away to Umarnote. It is well-known how Nadir Shah marched on Umarnote and took the Kalhora chief by surprise. The Daudpotras were restored the rule of Shikarpur. A tradition prevails that Nadir Shah encamped at Shikarpur, though there is no mention in the *Tawarikh-i-Nadiri* about the same. Nadir Shah is said to have left one Shaikh Sadik in charge of Bukkur to exercise surveillance over the Daudpotras. Not many years afterwards, Shaikh Sadik was killed and an army under Tamsap, one of Nadir Shah's generals attacked Shikarpur and took possession of it after a fierce struggle. The Daudpotras put up a bold fight ; they slaughtered their women-folk, buried them in a well and fought with the Afghans but to no avail. They were defeated and their chief Sadik Mahmod killed. The sons of Daud were now effectually banished and under a new leader Bahawal Khan, the son of Sadik, passed

into the Punjab and became the founders of a new kingdom viz. Bahawalpur. Shikarpur passed into the hands of the Afghans.

It is supposed that this occurred in the A. D. year 1747 just about the time at which Nadir Shah was murdered and Ahmad Shah, the chief of Abdali Afghans (known also as *Duranis*) made himself independent at Kandhar. Thus Shikarpur fell into the hands of the Kandhar kings and for a period of seventy-seven years (1747-1824) Shikarpur was ruled by governors appointed by the Kandahar kings. There were in all 35 governors who ruled in succession. The first was Bhogra Khan aged 64 years who is described to be a brave and politic man and good Governor for the people. The last was Abdul Munsoor Khan who governed for five months. The Talpur Meers took possession of the government when under his incumbency. It was under the Afghans that Shikarpur grew into an important trading centre. Lying on the trade route to Sind through the Bolan Pass, it became a stopping place for caravans and soon attracted a colony of Banias, who established agencies in every commercial town in Central Asia. The commercial reputation of Shikarpur led the

Shikarpur under
the Afghans.

Capture of Shikar-
pur by the Amirs
(1824).

Sikhs to meditate an attack on Shikarpur. The Ameers of Sind both of Hyderabad and Khairpur seeing that it would be of great advantage that they should, at this juncture, take charge of the town, deputed Nawab Wullec Muhmad Khan Laghari to dispossess the Afghans. The capture of Shikarpur by the Nawab is another romantic event which would be hardly believable anywhere else. The Nawab commenced by writing to Abdul Mansoor Khan, the Afghan governor of Shikarpur. He advised him to go back to Khurasan and join his comrades at table "in discussing the *pilau*s and fruits." Abdul Mansoor Khan became perplexed. Meantime the Mirs assembled an army outside the walls of Shikarpur on the plea of protection against a Sikh invasion. They encamped in the *Shahce Bagh*. The Nawab sent an emissary by name Juma Khan Barukzak; he tried every artifice to persuade Abdul Munsur Khan to quit his post. Finding a bold stroke of diplomacy necessary, he urged that he would hold him responsible for the town revenues, accruing after the date of the original proposition for transfer to the Amirs! This argument had the required effect. Abdul Munsur refused to refund, but agreed to abandon Shikarpur! In this interval Dilawar, Khidmutgar to the Nawab, entered the city and coming to the house of Shahookar Muya Ram established there the headquarters and caused the change of government to be notified throughout the bazar

and the streets. The Meers' followers came gradually in and obtained the keys of the eight gates. Abdul Munsoor Khan retired to Garhi Yasin and being ordered by the Nawab to depart was soon far on his way to Kandhar. Thus was Shikarpur transferred from the hands of the Afghans into the hands of the Amirs. The revenue was divided into seven shares: four became the property of the Meers of Hyderabad; three, of their relatives of Khairpur.

The Meers had at first one governor, Syed Kazim Shah. An after arrangement placed two of these officials in the city; one for the Hyderabad Mirs and another for their cousins of Khairpur. These were the actual executives, corresponding with the Naibs or deputy governors of the Afghans and their presence in the town or neighbourhood appears to have been an essential part of office. Consequent upon this double rule, there were two *Kucheries* in the city. This illustrates the curious system under which Sind was governed at this time.

The historical romance of Shikarpur may be summed up in a small poem written by Professor S. N. Pherwani in the current issue of the "Upper Sind Collegian."

Shikarpur under
the Ameers.

Once a forest, a happy hunting ground,
And next a warring weavers' village;
How Timur invited Hindu settlers,
How trade selected you for its own,
The passage point for Afghan goods and North East Ind !
Shikarpur! Thou hast witnessed the Daudpotas,
Afghans, Mirs and now the English.
Forest once, and then a fortified town,
Quaint relics of whose mud walls still remain.
Your merchants' roofed bazar continues on,
By your camel station, Railway station springs,
And the modern genii of light, have sought their power abode.
The soldiers' camp, new civic town becomes.
Towards station and Shahi garden growing,
When wilt thou organize for peaceful progress?

THE KALHORA DYNASTY AND ITS OVERTHROW BY THE TALPUR CHIEFS OF SIND.

By A. B. ADVANI, M. A., LL. B.

(Read on 20th May, 1934)

The origin of the Abbasi Kalhoras [1] is lost into hoary antiquity. We first hear of them in the 10th century A. D. A descendant of Abbas by name Mian Odhanah, resided in Makran. Being a virtuous and pious man, a large number of followers gathered round him. One of the descendants of Mian Odhanah, Thal by name, separated from the original stock, and journeying towards the east, established himself in Kahrah Belah, the capital of Mekran. Thal's grandson Chinah or Jhuniah Khan, after a dispute with his brothers, over the question of succession, left his native place, and collecting a large number of followers, penetrated further east, fixing his abode at last at the village of Khambhath. The local chief of the place received him well and made him his son-in-law. To Jhuniah, a son was born, whom he named Muhammad, and this Muhammad is considered to be the latest ancestor of the Kalhoras [2]. This was in the beginning of the 13th century. From 1204 to 1557, the Jhuniah family appears to have sunk into comparative obscurity. The glory of the family was revived by Adam Shah Kalhora, the ninth in descent from Muhammad [3]. Mian Adam Shah became the leader of the Kalhoras and resided in a village in Chandukah district [4]. In the year 1586, the celebrated Nawab Khan Khanan, the commander-in-chief of the Imperial army of Akbar came to Sind and gave to Adam Shah, the *zamindari* of the Chandukah district. Thus, the Kalhoras who had been religious mendicants before, now became landholders and gained strength accordingly. The landlords of the surrounding lands, at whose expense the Kalhoras were rising into prominence, grew jealous, and at their instigation, the Kalhoras were dispersed and Mian Adam Shah, then at Multan, was put to death. His dead body, according to his dying wish, was brought to Sukkur and buried there [5]. To the present day, the hill, on which he was

1. They are called Abbasi Kalhoras, as they claim descent from Abbas, the paternal uncle of the prophet Muhammad.

2. Kalich Beg, *History of Sind*, II, p. 135.

3. McMurdo, *The History of the Kalhora Family of Sindh*, Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, (hereinafter referred to J.B.B.R.A.S.) I, p. 406.

4. Kalich Beg, *op. cit.*, II, p. 136, n. 3, writes that the parganah round about Larkana is even now called Chandko.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137.

buried, is called Adam Shah-ji-Takri (Adam Shah's hill) and his tomb at Sukkur is a conspicuous object.

During the next hundred years, the power of Kalhora chiefs, slowly increased. Their attendants and adherents, having grown into a large body, the Kalhoras found it necessary to have some permanent source of income. Necessity, combined with a highly developed sense of acquisitiveness, made them possessors of lands, forcibly usurped from different landholders, who unable to cope with these sturdy saints, reported the matter to the Moghul Governors of the province of Sind. Some troops were sent against them, but the Kalhoras defeated the Imperial force. The local Moghul Governors, reported this state of things to Prince Muzjud-Din, eldest son of Bahadur Shah, the Governor of Multan. The Imperial troops were despatched to Sind and after some determined fights, succeeded in putting the Kalhoras to flight. Their chief, Mian Din Muhammad Kalhora, was taken away as a prisoner and by a royal command was "chopped to pieces." Din Muhammad's brother, Mian Yar Muhammad, prudently repaired to the Moghul court. He was received with great compassion, and a *Jagir* was conferred on him. He was also given the title of "Khuda Yar Khan" or the friend of God. This occurred at the close of the 17th century [6]. By these fights the Kalhora sect, acquired a military character and "the patriarchal authority began to assume the appearance of an organized government." [7]

Though, in their eagerness to acquire temporal power, the Kalhoras often resorted to violence and rapine, yet the most remarkable thing about them was their persevering industry, in the cultivation of land. We are informed that, "Wherever they carried their lawless self-assertion, they turned wastes into productive fields and laboured hard to justify the claim that none so well as they, could make a good use of ill-gotten gains." [8] The digging of Ghar canal, near the town of Larkana by Mian Shahal Muhammad Kalhora [9], is a clear proof of the agrarian pursuits of the Kalhoras. They preferred the sickle, but necessity and self-defence often made them change it for the sword. Mian Yar Muhammad, after getting the *jagir* and the title of Khuda Yar Khan, became one of the Imperial agents in Sind. His rule lasted for 18 years of which the first nine years, that is from 1700 to 1709, were full of fights, due to which, he

6. Postans, *Personal Observations on Sindh*, pp. 166-167.

7. McMurdo, *op. cit.*, J.B. B. R. A. S., I, p. 409.

8. Haig, *The Indus Delta Country*, p. 112.

9. Kalich Beg, *op. cit.*, II, p. 137.

extended his territory and increased his power [10]. The next nine years, were years of peace and plenty, except for a battle at Jhok [11] in which the Sufi mendicants of that village, were attacked and defeated by Mian Yar Muhammad [12]. He also founded the town of Khudabad, 17 miles north-west of Sehwan, which became the capital of the Kalhora Chiefs [13]. Mian Yar Muhammad died in 1718 [14] and was buried in a beautiful tomb at Khudabad—a most beautiful example of Moslem architecture in Sind. Mian Yar Muhammad Khan's reign was 'distinguished no less for activity and prudence, than by the signal success with which those were ultimately crowned.' Mian Nur Muhammad, succeeded his father Mian Yar Muhammad, but not without a struggle. His brother contested the succession for nearly three years, and this unnatural contest ceased only when Daud Khan, Mian Nur Muhammad's brother, was amply and honourably provided for. He too was given by the Emperor of Delhi—Muhammad Shah, all the *sanads* and offices granted to his father. The title of Khuda Yar Khan was also bestowed on him [15]. At this time, it may be noted, the Kalhora chief was the governor of a not very extensive portion of Sind. His territory was confined, only to some portion of Northern Sind. In 1722 Mian Nur Muhammad warred on Daudpotas [16], who had trespassed on the parganahs of Shikarpur, Khanpur and other places [17]. Twice did Mian Nur Muhammad invade Shikarpur, with the intention of reducing it, but the fort of Shikarpur was well defended, and the besiegers retired to their capital—Khudabad. After nine months, Nur Muhammad sent another large force, under the command of his brother, but this force too, was defeated and slaughtered by the Daudpotahs. These defeats did not dishearten Mian Nur Muhammad. The next year, saw another Kalhora force, marching towards Shikarpur. The chief of the Daudpotas now, was one Sadik Khan, who finding himself unable to fight with the Kalhoras, fled. "So the Kalhoras gained peaceably what they could not gain by force" [18]. After subduing the Daudpotas, in 1730, Mian Nur Muhammad commenced hostilities with the Khan of Kalat, who called himself "The Royal Eagle of Kohis-

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 142-144.

11. Jhok is a small town in the Karachi district and contains the shrine of Shah Inayatullah Sufi.

12. Kalich Beg, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 132—133.

13. Haig *op. cit.*, p. 114.

14. Kalich Beg, *op. cit.*, II, p. 144.

15. McMurdo *op. cit.*, J. B. B. R. A. S. I., p. 413.

16. Aitken, *Gazetteer of Sind*, p. 107, explains that Daudpotas, or sons of Daud, trace their descent from the Abbaside Khalifas through one Amir Ahmad, who came to Sind *via* Makran and set up a kingdom.

17. Kalich Beg, *op. cit.*, II, p. 145.

18. Shahamet Ali, *History of Bhawalpur*, pp. 19-21.

tan." The expedition against the Khan of Kalat, was crowned with success. A pitched battle was fought at the village of Jandehar in 1731 in which the Royal Eagle of Kohistan—Mir Abdullah Khan was slain, and Brohis, utterly routed. Peace was made with the Brohis, and the future good connections between the Kalhoras and the Brohis were guaranteed by the two sons of Mian Nur Muhammad Khan marrying the two royal ladies of the Brohi clan [19]. In 1736, the fortress of Bukkur and its dependencies were made over to Mian Nur Muhammad, who had already acquired Sehwan; and in the next year, Nawab Sadik Ali Khan, the governor of Thatta, being unwilling to retain the charge of the place, the "*Subha* of Thatta," was also given to Mian Nur Muhammad [20]. Thus by 1737, the whole of Sind practically, came under the rule of Mian Nur Muhammad. The Kalhora rule, therefore, may be said to have started from 1737.

We have mentioned before, that the Kalhoras were addicted more to agrarian than to war-like pursuits. They, therefore, invited mercenaries from the mountainous regions to the north-west of Sind, to take service in their armies. The Baloch tribes including Talpurs, left their mountains at this invitation, and came down to Sind where they enlisted in the Kalhora army [21]. The coming of the Talpurs and other Balochis in Sind is thus described by that famous orientalist—Richard F. Burton:—

"When the Balochis arrived within fifteen miles of Khudabad, the prince sent out several of his ministers and nobles, with presents of clothes and horses with gold saddles, to receive and escort his distinguished guests to the capital. As the procession advanced, it met a troop of beggarly shepherds, followed by their flocks, and women mounted on asses. The ministers enquired for Mir Aludo and were much astonished when told that the ragged wayfarer with the *Dheri* [22] in his hand and the *Kambo* [23] on his shoulders, was the personage whom they were sent to conduct with such ceremony. However, they saluted him with courtesy, took the *Dheri* and *Kambo* from him, mounted him upon the best horse and accompanied him on his way to the capital." [24]

19. Kalich Beg, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 146-147.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

21. *Alienations in Sind*, I, pp. 1-2.

22. *Dheri* is a bit of stone or other such material, round which the raw wool thread is [twisted].

23. *Kambo* is a long cloth thrown over the right shoulder, and so fastened round the waist as to leave a place for the lambs that are too young to walk.

24. Burton, *Sind and the Races that inhabit the Valley of the Indus*, p. 235.

The above story, of the Talpurs being originally shepherds and goatherds, supports the etymological theory advanced by Ansari. The word "Talpur," he asseverates, is a corrupted form of the word "Thal-Bur," which in Persian language means, the "cutter of branches," a task generally done by shepherds and goatherds. [25]

The latter Talpur chiefs, deprecated this theory about their humble origin, and were emphatic, that they were of the Arab origin, and were descended from "Amir Hamzah, the son of Hasham, the son of Abul-Munaf." [26] Whether of humble origin or of Arab pedigree, is not so much to the point as the rise of the Talpurs to eminence. The immediate common ancestor of the Talpurs, was one Kuka or Begam. One of his sons Hotak, begot a son, Shahdad by name. [27] This Shahdad Khan, left his paternal home on account of some difference of opinion with his paternal uncle Mir Sobdar. He migrated to the plains of Sind, where he took service with the Kalhora chief, Mian Yar Mahommed. [28] A large number of Balochis followed him. Extensive lands were given to them, on account of their military service, in the neighbourhood of Brahmanabad. Shahdadpur, [29] called after this Mir Shahdad, became their headquarters. [30] This must have occurred at the close of the 17th century or in the beginning of the 18th century, when Mir Shadad Khan is heard for the first time, fighting bravely in the Derah Ghazi Khan and Derah Ismail Khan, on behalf of Prince Muizzudin. On account of his bravery his position was raised and favours bestowed on him. [31] Mir Shahdad, gradually became the chief adviser of Mian Yar Mahommed Khan, and 'acquired a great deal of influence in political affairs' [32]. Mir Shahdad died in 1734, and one of his sons, Mir Bahram, served Mian Nur Mahommed Kalhora faithfully and well [33]. Hardly had Mian Nur Mahommed enjoyed his rule for one year, when he heard of the mighty Persian host, under the leadership of Nadir Shah, rushing like a mighty torrent from the North-West, and sweeping away everything before it. Nadir Shah, it is narrated got angry, at the refusal of the Moghul Emperor—Mahommed Shah, to deliver up some fugitives who had fled and found asy-

25. Ansari, *Muslim Races found in Sind*, p. 29.

26. An Ex-Political, *Dry Leaves from Young Egypt*, p. 358.

27. *Alienations in Sind*, II, p. 79.

28. An Ex-Political, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

29. Shahdadpur, the chief town of Shahdadpur Taluka, is at a distance of forty miles north-east to Hyderabad in Sind.

30. *Alienations in Sind*, I, p. 2.

31. Kalich Beg, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 143-144.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

33. *Alienations in Sind*, II, pp. 79-80.

lum in India. The rapid march of Nadir, the defeat of the "effeminate" Indian army, the general massacre in the streets of Delhi, and the plunder of every conceivable article in Delhi for 35 days [34], are matters too well-known to need any elaboration. On the 22nd April, 1739, the Moghul Emperor, Mahommed Shah, concluded a treaty with Nadir Shah, by which he ceded to him all the territories to the westward of the "River Attock." He made over to Nadir Shah, "The Castle Buckar, Sunker, and Khoudabad, the rest of the Territories, Passes, and Abodes of the Chokias, Ballches, etc., with Province of Tatta, etc." [35] Mian Nur Mahommed did not approve of this cession of Sind to Nadir Shah, by the Emperor of Delhi, as the ceded lands formed his territory, and he committed the blunder, of refusing to recognise Nadir Shah, as his sovereign. [36] When Nadir Shah came to know of this, he left Kabul on the 27th November, 1739, and marched towards Sind. On the 1st of February, 1740, he reached Larkana, where he learnt that Mian Nur Mahommed had fled to Umarmkot, with his treasure. Mian Nur Mahommed imagined that the desert, the forests and lack of proper roads in Sind, would prove too much for Nadir Shah, who would therefore fail to reach him in the desert fastness of Umarmkot. The army of Nadir Shah, however, marched towards the desert, and on the 10th February, 1740, at 3 o'clock, arrived in the neighbourhood of Umarmkot. Mian Nur Mahommed was captured by the Persian advance-guard and the poor fellow was made to disgorge all his wealth, which he had buried in the underground cellars of the fort of Umarmkot. This hidden treasure amounted to one crore of rupees. The Persian host left Umarmkot, with Mian Nur Mahommed in chains and reached Larkana on the 3rd of March, 1740. Nadir Shah pardoned the Mian, and restored back to him only Lower and Central Sind. The country, bordering Baluchistan was given over to Muhat Khan, the chief of that province, and Shikarpur was given to the Daudpotas. [37] This was not all. A further penalty of an annual tribute of twenty lakhs was imposed on Mian Nur Mahommed, and his two sons—Mahommed Murad Yab Khan and Ghulam Shah Khan, were taken away by Nadir Shah with himself, as hostages. After giving Mian Nur Mahommed, the title of Shah Kuli Khan, Nadir Shah and his army left Sind. [38] Nadir Shah's invasion of Sind, had disorganised the peaceful Government of the country, and some local tribes had shaken

34. Murray, *History of British India*, pp. 272-274.

35. Fraser, *The History of Nadir Shah*, pp. 223-226.

36. Haig, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

37. Jones, *Histoire de Nader Chah*, II, pp. 88-94.

38. McMurdo, *op. cit.*, J. B. B. R. A. S., I, p. 417.

off their yoke of obedience. The year 1741 was therefore spent in punishing these rebellious tribes. In 1743, Nadir Shah sent Thamas Kuli Khan to Sind to punish the Daudpotas. Mian Nur Mahommed deemed it wise, to remain quiet and not take part in any matter. This resulted into anarchy, as there was practically no Government in the country. After some time, the Mian went to the camp of Thamas Kuli Khan and was given back his authority. But Thamas Kuli Khan, compelled him to give his third son, Attur Khan, as hostage. During the next three years, after the departure of Thamas Kuli Khan, the Hindu chiefs of Kakralla and Dharaja [39] were chastised and subdued, and once more, the Kalhora authority was established in Sind. [40]

Nadir Shah was assassinated in 1747 and his Afghanistan territory was seized and retained by Ahmed Shah Abdali. [41] This new sovereign and successor of Nadir Shah, confirmed Mian Nur Mahommd afresh as the ruler of Sind, and gave him the title of Shah Nawab Khan. Soon after this, Mian Nur Mahommed's three sons returned from Persia, where they had remained as hostages [42]. Ahmed Shah Abdali, the founder of the Government of Duranis, was for the first few years of his rule, too much occupied with greater affairs than Sind and Mian Nur Mahommed taking advantage of this opportunity, stopped paying the annual tribute of twenty lakhs of rupees, fixed by Nadir Shah [43].

In 1754, King Ahmed Shah, advanced towards Sind, to enforce the payment of the annual tribute, which, as mentioned above, the Mian had foolishly evaded. The Mian fled to Jesulmir, where he died "of quinsy or the inflammation of the throat." [44] After the death of Mian Nur Mahommed in 1755, his eldest son, Mahommd Murad Yab Khan, succeeded him on the throne, which he enjoyed for only a short time. Ahmed Shah Abdali not only confirmed him in the rank and power of his father, but conferred on him the title of Sirbuland Khan. Mian Mahommed Murad Yab Khan's rule or misrule did not last long. He ill treated the noblemen and oppressed his subjects, with the result that he was deposed and his brother, Mian Ghulam Shah, was seated on the *Gadi* [45]. His another brother Mian Atur Khan, resented this and personally represented his case before

39. Bulchand, *History of Sind*, p. 27, identifies these two places as parts of Mirpur Bathoro and Mirpur Sakro Talukas, now.

40. Kalich Beg, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 149-150.

41. Haig, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

42. Kalich Beg, *op. cit.*, II, p. 151.

43. Haig, *op. and loc. cit.*

44. Kalich Beg, *op. cit.*, II, p. 152.

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-155.

the Durani king—Ahmed Shah. He succeeded in getting *Firman* from the king, appointing him as the ruler of Sind, instead of Ghulam Shah. Atur Khan was joined by his brother, Ahmed Yar Khan and both of them proceeded to Sind. Atur Khan being armed with the Royal Seal and a body of Afghan soldiers, the people of Sind deserted the cause of Mian Ghulam Shah, and turned towards the new nominee. The result was that having no other alternative, Mian Ghulam Shah fled to desert. [46] Then followed a period of incessant warfare between Ghulam Shah on one side, and his two brothers—Attur Khan and Ahmed Yar Khan on the other, in which, Ghulam Shah ultimately became victorious [47]. It is from 1762, that Mian Ghulam Shah's rule may be said to have commenced, as it was in this year, that he was confirmed as the ruler of Sind by the royal *Firman*. Along with the royal *Firman*, Ahmed Shah bestowed on him the title of "Shah Wardi Khan," an elephant, a robe of honour and many other presents [48]. The rule of Mian Ghulam Shah marks the zenith of the glory of the Kalhora rule. He was the most capable and vigorous of the Kalhora rulers. His brilliant career, and vigorous rule, arouses further admiration, when it is learnt that he was absolutely illiterate and was of lowly birth. If the oral tradition, quite popular in Sind, is to be given credence, then Mian Ghulam Shah, was a gift of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, a local saint and poet who flourished in the days of Mian Nur Mahommed. Mir Nur Mahommed, according to tradition, possessed a beautiful dancing girl—Gulan. This girl was wont to dance before the famous poet, every Friday night, with exquisite grace. On one such occasion, when Gulan had danced with great artistry and abandon, the poet was so pleased with her, that he desired her to ask him for anything. The dancer modestly asked for a son, and the poet, being endowed with supernatural powers, blessed her and promised her a son. In due course of time, the story runs, Mian Ghulam Shah was born to Gulan, and the saintly poet blessed the child, prophesying his greatness by saying:—

گلان مان گل بہذا ٿيو، ڪي ٿيو ڪي ٿو ڏو.

There being nobody to subdue in Sind, and nothing to conquer, Mian Ghulam Shah turned his covetous eyes, after his ascension in 1762, to the Cutch territory. (49) In 1763 Mian Ghulam Shah marched towards Cutch, conquering the frontier fort

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 155-156.

[47. Haig., *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118.

48. Kalich Beg, *op. cit.*, II, p. 161.

49. Haig, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

of Sindri on the way [50]. On the heights of Jarah [51] was fought a terrible battle between the Sind army and the Rajputs of Cutch. The Rajputs, according to their time-honoured custom, cut the throats of all their ladies and then donning saffron robes, came out to fight unto death. For six hours in a thick fog which obscured the light of day, the battle went on, and so terrible was the slaughter that "stones a pound in weight, were moved from the side of the hill, by the streams of blood." The loss of both the armies was considerable, and in the evening, both the armies, made a "precipitate retreat." Next year, Mian Ghulam Shah again invaded Cutch and arrived near the capital of Cutch. The Rao of Cutch, however, sued for peace and pacified the Mian, by offering him his two seaports of Basta and Lakhpat, on the borders of Sind. In 1765, on account of his bravery and successfully managing the affairs of Sind, Mian Ghulam Shah received a fresh title of "Shams-ud-Dawlat" or "The Sword of the State," from the king [52]. Two more facts, require to be noticed, in the career of Mian Ghulam Shah, namely, his founding the modern town of Hyderabad (in Sind) and his matrimonial connections with the Rao of Cutch. Khudabad, the capital city of the Kalhoras, had soon after its founding in the beginning of the eighteenth century, been abandoned. Each successive Kalhora chief, had thereafter founded a new capital, which, either to some idle whim or danger from the summer floods of the Indus, had to be abandoned. Thus Khudabad [53] Muradabad [54] Allahabad, [55] and Shahgarh [56] became capital towns for a short time, only to be deserted for new ones. In 1768, Mian Ghulam Shah decided to change his capital. He chose the site of old Nerun Kot, on the left bank of the Indus, which, since many centuries used to be called Nerun Kafri or the Nerun of the Infidels. The range of Ganja hills, lying far above the Indus inundations, with the newly formed Phuleli river washing its base, guaranteed security and permanence, and the northern spur of the low range of Ganja hill, was selected for building the new capital. The graves of certain Pirs or holy men, and the shapeless rubbish that once upon a time was the old fort of Nerun, were cleared away and a large fort was built on the site. And to this newly built capital, Mian Ghulam Shah removed his court in 1770 and called it Hyderabad. [57] In the same year, good connections between

50. Kalich Beg, *op. and loc. cit.*

51. This place is twenty-miles north-east of Lakhpat Bundar in Cutch.

52. McMurdo, *op. cit.*, J. B. B. R. A. S., I, pp.423-424.

53. Kalich Beg, *op. cit.*, II, p. 142.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 158.

57. Haig, *op. cit.*, p. 119-121.

the Rao of Cutch and Mian Ghulam Shah were established by matrimonial relationship. The Rao of Cutch gave Mian Ghulam Shah, the daughter of one of his cousins, in marriage. [58] It appears that the Mian wanted, the Rao's sister in marriage, but later on was content to have the daughter of the chief of Khanker [59]. The seaports of Basta and Lakhpat, were returned to the Rao, by the highly pleased Mian, in consideration of this marriage.

In 1772, several tombs, situated on a hillock to the southwest of the fort of Hyderabad, were razed to the ground, by Mian Ghulam Shah's orders, with a view to construct a small mud fort on the cleared ground; while this mud fort was being built, the Mian was suddenly smitten with paralysis, which proved fatal. In two days' time, he was dead. His death, which took place on the 2nd August, 1772, was attributed, by the superstitious people, to the sacrilege he had committed, in destroying the graves of the venerated saints on Shah Makai's hillock, to build his mud-fort there [60]. He was buried in a beautiful tomb, to the northern extremity of the town of Hyderabad. This tomb, "though sadly dilapidated, is by far the finest and was selected by Lord Curzon as the only one that deserved to be restored and kept in repair at the public expense" [61]. On the next day, after Mian Ghulam Shah's death, his son, Mian Mahommed Sarfraz Khan, was seated on the throne. King Taimur Shah, who had succeeded to the throne of Kandhar, after the death of his father—Ahmad Shah Durani, recognised the Mian, as the new ruler of Sind, by sending him a robe of honour and conferring on him the title of "Khuda Yar Khan" [62]. After settling the affairs in the northern districts of his territory, Mian Mahommed Sarfraz Khan led his army to Cutch, the ruler of which country, welcomed the Mian. This submissive attitude of the Rao of Cutch pleased the Mian, who left the Rao in peace and went towards Gujrat. The Jarejah chief of that province, too, submitted. Then the Mian returned back to Sind. [63] The submissive attitude of the Rao of Cutch and the Jarejah Chief, is a statement by the Mahommedan historian, which admits of some doubt. Dr. Burnes has clearly stated in his book, "A Narrative of a Visit to Court of Scinde," that Mian Sarfraz Khan invaded Cutch twice leaving behind a desolate and plundered country. [64] Had the attitude of the Rao of Cutch

58. Kalich Beg, *op. cit.*, II, p. 163.

59. Burnes, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Scinde*, p. 151.

60. Kalich Beg, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 163-164.

61. Aitken, *Gaz. of Sind*, p. 113.

62. Kalich Beg, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

63. *Loc. cit.*

64. Burnes, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

been submissive and humble, the entry of Sind army in Cutch, would have been peaceful and there would not have been any devastation or desolation in its wake.

The Talpurs it will be remembered had risen to power in the days of Mian Yar Mahommed, in the beginning of the 18th century. After the death of Mir Shahdad Khan Talpur in 1734, his son Mir Bahram, had continued to serve Mian Nur Mahommed, as faithfully as his father. [65] Mir Bahram, through ability, had come to occupy a very prominent position in the political affairs of Sind. It was through him, that Mian Mahommed Murad Yar Khan was dethroned in favour of Mian Ghulam Shah [66]. On account of this, he had won the respect of Mian Ghulam Shah. After Mian Ghulam Shah's death, Mir Bahram Khan continued to serve the Kalhora family, now represented by Mian Mahommed Sarfraz Khan. One of the courtiers of the Mian, by name Rajah Likhi, began to sow the seeds of distrust in the heart of the Mian, against Mir Bahram Khan. Mian Sarfraz Khan was not a fool, but the strategy of Rajah Likhi slowly began to work. The Mian began to evince distrust of the Mir and gradually became cold towards him. The advice of Diwan Gidumal [67], Mian Sarfraz Khan's faithful minister was not listened to, and the efforts of this Hindu minister, to bring about a reconciliation between the Mian and Mir Bahram Khan, failed.

Mir Bahram was a shrewd person and he felt that his life was in danger. He therefore called his two sons—Bijar Khan and Sobdar Khan, in his presence, and told them that he felt, he would soon be destroyed by Mian Sarfraz Khan. "You know we have sworn on the Koran to be faithful to him (Mian Sarfraz Khan) and he has sworn to be kind to us. If now, without any reason he causes some harm to us, we must quietly bear it, leaving him to the punishment of God." The two sons were told, to escape and save their lives, while the going was good, leaving their aged father to his fate. The eldest son took the hint and started on a pilgrimage to Mecca [68], but the younger son—Mir Sobdar Khan, preferred to stay with his father, and die along with him, if the matters came to a push. One day after this, Mir Bahram Khan went to the royal court, to pay his usual

65. Cf., *supra*.

66. Kalich Beg, *op. cit.*, II, p. 165.

67. This Hindu gentleman, according to Bherumal, *Amilan-jo-Ahwal*, pp. 40-41, was the actual founder of the town of Hyderabad Sind. Mian Ghulam Shah gave him the necessary money, and he built the fort of Hyderabad.

68. Mir Bijar's conduct is rather surprising. Knowing that his father's life was in danger, he still went away to Mecca, to save his own life obviously. The only conclusion, for his lack of filial regard, according to me, is the bad spirit existing between the father and the son.

respects. Mian Sarfraz Khan gave him a letter to read, telling him that it was from his son Mir Bijar. While Mir Bahram was reading the letter, a servant, at a previously arranged signal, drew out his sword, and killed the aged Mir Bahram Khan. Mir Sobdar Khan, who was standing outside, was then besieged by some courtiers and cut to pieces, but not before his strong hand had knocked off few heads. This event occurred in the year 1774 [69]. Mir Bijar Khan being away on pilgrimage, his cousin Mir Fateh Khan, collected an army of Baloches, with a view to punish the treacherous Kalhora chief—Mian Sarfraz Khan. He attacked the fort of Khudabad, but Mian Muhammed Sarfraz Khan, fearing the wrath of the infuriated Baloches, secretly fled from the Khudabad fort, and sailing hastily in a fisherman's boat, he reached the fort of Hyderabad. After his flight, his adherents placed Mian Sarfraz Khan's brother—Mahommed Khan on the throne. Mahommed Khan was a ruler only in name because the real power lay in the hands of Rajah Likhi. Mir Fateh Khan, after having taken his revenge, retired to Shahdadpur, the capital of the Baloches.

The incapacity of Mian Mahommed Khan made a change in the rulers necessary, and the choice of Rajah Likhi and his companions, fell on Mian Ghulam Nabi, who was a brother of the deceased Mian Ghulam Shah. In 1777, Mian Mahommed Khan was compelled to vacate the throne for his uncle—Mian Ghulam Nabi [70]. At this time Bijir Khan returned from his pilgrimage and summoned the Baloches to aid him in avenging the murders of his father and brother [71]. The evil counsellors of Mian Ghulam Nabi, prepared to march out, and fight with Mir Bijar. This was against Mian Ghulam Nabi's wishes, who being a peace-loving man, suggested that peace be made with Mir Bijar. To this, his counsellors would not listen and he was compelled to go with them and fight. At Lanyari in the Shahdadpur *taluka*, a battle was fought, between the Baloches and the Mian's army. When the Mian saw his soldiers losing ground, he sent a message to Mir Bijar, requesting him to get him out of the difficulty, as he felt himself quite helpless in the hands of Rajah Likhi, [72] and his other counsellors. When these wicked men came to know of this, they became very angry and murdered the Mian. The Kalhora army was defeated and Tajah Likhi and others of his band fled. In the Hyderabad fort at this time, Mian Abdun-

69. Kalich Beg, *op. cit.*, II, 166-168.

70. *Ibid.*, pp. 168-170.

71. Haig, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

72. This Tajah Likhi was the son of Rajah Likhi. He had taken his father's place after the latter's death, which according to Kalich Beg, *History of Sind*, II, p. 170, was due to fear, at the news of the coming back to Sind of Mir Bijar Khan.

nabi, a brother of the murdered Mian Ghulam Nabi, had the charge of four royal prisoners. They were Mian Sarfraz Khan, his two sons, and his brother Mahmud Khan who had been deposed in favour of Mian Ghulam Nabi. Learning of Mian Ghulam Nabi's death, Mian Abdunnabi killed all these four prisoners and thus removed his possible rivals for the throne of Sind. After the battle of Lanyari, Mir Bijar laid siege to the fort of Hyderabad, which Mian Abdunnabi stoutly defended. Peace was however made between the two, by which the throne was given to Mian Abdunnabi, and Mir Bijar became his chief minister [73]. During the reign of Mian Abdunnabi, Sind was invaded by the army of King Taimur, under the leadership of Izzat Yar Khan Abbasi, who had obtained from king Taimur, the rulership of Sind, to the exclusion of Mian Abdunnabi. A battle took place in 1781, near Shikarpur, between the Afghan army and the Sind force, in which after much bloodshed, the Afghan army was defeated. At this, king Taimur was so incensed that he personally marched against Sind. Mir Bijar Khan was not only brave but tactful too. He went forward to pacify the king and succeeded in doing so, with the result that the angry monarch not only went back to his country pleased, but he confirmed Mian Abdunnabi as the ruler of Sind [74]. On account of his ability and political sagacity, Mir Bijar came to be the real ruler in the land, Mian Abdunnabi being merely a puppet. The result was that Mian Abdunnabi began to chafe under the tutelage in which he was held. [75]

In 1781, one day, two Rajputs came to Mir Bijar, telling him that they had brought for him a confidential letter from the Maharaja of Jodhpur. Mir Bijar went to a private room, accompanied by these two Rajputs, from Jodhpur. As he was busy reading the letter, these two Rajputs taking their daggers, plunged them in the sides of Mir Bijar, who jumped up at this assault, and cut these treacherous Hindus into pieces, with his sword. But the dagger blows he had received, proved fatal and he too fell down dead [76]. What could have been the object of this murder? One theory is that Mian Abdunnabi fearing the growing power of Mir Bijar, hired two assassins from the Maharaja of Jodhpur, for the removal of this Baloch warrior, the consideration for this foul deed being the fort of Umarnkot, which was given to the Maharaja of Jodhpur [77]. According to another historian, this murder was committed, not at the instigation

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-176.

74. *Ibid.*, pp. 175-178.

75. McMurdo, *op. cit.*, J. B. B. R. A. S., I, p. 427.

76. Kalich Beg, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 178-179.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 180, n. 1.

of Mian Abdunnabi, but his mother, in whose heart, the murder of her son—Mian Ghulam Nabi, in the battle of Lanyari, had caused the birth of bitter feelings against Mir Bijar, whom somehow she held responsible for her son's death. She communicated her grievances to Maharaja Bijaising of Jodhpur, who undertook to help her. He sent two Rajputs to Sind to murder Bijar Khan, promising their families, in case they perished in their task, an annual *jagir* of Rs. 30,000 [78]. Lieut.-Col. James Tod, advances another theory, which exonerates Mian Abdunnabi, from having any hand, in the murder of Mir Bijar. Mir Bijar, according to Tod, had been presumptuous in demanding a daughter of the royal family of Marwar, to be his wife. Maharaja Bijaising, smarting under this insult, hired two assassins to destroy Mir Bijar, which they successfully did, at the cost of their own lives [79]. But if the motive for this murder is clouded with doubt, the deed anyway is clear.

After the death of Mir Bijar, his son—Mir Abdullah became the head of the Baloch tribe. Accompanied by his relatives, he went to Mian Abdunnabi, to pay the customary respects. But Mian Abdunnabi being guilty, feared revenge at the hands of the Baloches. He therefore fled to Kalat, with his treasure and confidential servants. The throne being vacant, Mir Abdullah selected one Sadik Ali, a kinsman of the Kalhora rulers, and placed the turban of rulership [80] on his head. Sadik Ali being religiously inclined, took little or no interest in the mundane affairs like the government of Sind. The result was that Mir Abdullah became the real ruler of the land, to the satisfaction of the people [81]. Mian Abdunnabi wanted to get back the rulership of Sind, so he appealed to Nasir Khan of Kalat, and Maharajah of Jodhpur for aid. The result was that two armies, one of Kalat and the other from Jodhpur, began to march on Sind, from the north and the east. Mir Abdullah prepared his army and marched out to oppose the Jodhpur army, which he totally defeated, gaining much booty. Without taking any rest, Mir Abdullah marched against the Kalat army, which also he defeated causing Mian Abdunnabi to fly for his life to Kalat [82]. While at Kalat, Mian Abdunnabi heard of the coming of the famous Afghan Chief—Sardar Madad Khan to

78. Shahamet Ali, *History of Bhawalpur*, pp. 65-66.

79. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, III, (1920 Edition) p. 1289.

80. Turban is the common head-gear in Sind. One of the customs, on the ascension of a new ruler on the throne was the tying of "Pugree" round the head of the ruler by his minister or the most important person at the court in recognition of his having become the king. This was a typical Muhammadan custom, to which great importance used to be attached.

81. Kalich Beg, *op. cit.*, II, 179-181,

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 181-184.

Bhawalpur. He solicited the Afghan Chief's help for getting back Sind. King Taimur Shah also wrote to Madad Khan, to take the Afghan army to Sind. Madad Khan rushed on Sind like a hurricane, devastating the country from the north to the south. Madad Khan's sole object was to obtain the treasure and the loot which Mian Abdunnabi had promised him. When these were not forthcoming, he commenced plundering towns and villages. Then commenced a reign of terror, the like of which had not been seen or heard of before in Sind. Rich or poor, high or low, irrespective of sex, all were mercilessly beaten and deprived, as the native historian puts it, of all their property, "even to the clothes on their persons, to the shoes in their feet, and to the mats in their houses" [83]. "Madad Khan," writes Elphinstone, "laid waste the country with fire and sword; and so severe were his ravages, that a dreadful famine followed his campaign, and the province of Sind, is said not yet to have recovered from what it suffered on that occasion." [84] Mir Abdullah and other Talpur chiefs, negotiated for peace but found out that Madad Khan intended treachery, so they prepared to fight with him. But Madad Khan and his savage Afghans, satiated with blood and ruin, left Sind for ever, leaving Mian Abdunnabi to shift for himself as best as he could [85]. Mian Abdunnabi now sought to be reconciled to Mir Abdullah Khan. This he successfully effected by sending the *Koran* to Mir Abdullah on the margin of which he wrote, "I hereby commit to writing and swear by the word of God that henceforth, I shall remain true to the Mir and will not prove treacherous." [86] On this sacred promise, the reconciliation was brought about between the Mian and the Mir, but the Kalhora family was ill-fated. Hardly had the reconciliation been effected, and peace and good will restored, when Mian Abdunnabi began to seek an opportunity, to have Mir Abdullah Khan murdered. And he had not long to wait. One day when Mir Abdullah and Mir Fateh Khan, the two Talpur chiefs, went to the court of the Kalhora chief, they were asked by the attendants at the gate, to unbuckle their swords, and enter the court unarmed. The Mirs thought that either it was a foul plan or the Mian was merely testing them. They bravely handed over their swords, but as soon as this was done, they both were surrounded by the Mian's men who immediately made them prisoners. The captive Mirs now realized that their end was near; so they started reciting the *Koran*. An executioner came on the scene and cut off their

83. *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185 and 187.

84. Elphinstone, *Kaulool*, p. 561.

85. Kalich Beg, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 186 and 189-191.

86. *Ibid.*, p. 191.

heads. This butchery took place in 1783. [87] This was the last proverbial straw which broke the Talpur camel's back. Again and again had the Talpurs reinstated the treacherous Kalhoras to power, forgetting their feelings of revenge and repeatedly they had experienced ingratitude for their good will, and treachery for their faithfulness. Under the leadership of Mir Fateh Ali Khan (grandson of Mir Bahram who had been murdered in 1774), the Baloches rose and engaged the force of Mian Abdunnabi, in the battle of Halani, defeating it. This battle took place in 1783 [88]. For the next few years Mian Abdunnabi strove hard and repeatedly to get back the Sind rulership. He returned to Sind, with the help of the Kalat army, which after plundering Abdunnabi's own camp, in lieu of pay and provisions, deserted him and went back to Kalat. The dejected Mian then went before Taimur Shah of Afghanistan, pleading for aid against Mir Fateh Ali Khan and other Talpur Chiefs. When this news was received in Sind, Mir Fateh Ali Khan, sent his envoys to the royal court, to represent his case. Taimur Shah, at last divided Sind, into two halves, bestowing one half on Mir Fateh Ali Khan, and the other on Mian Abdunnabi. An arbitrator and an Afghan army were despatched to Sind, to reinstate Mian Abdunnabi. The Mir's envoys had not been idle all this time, at the royal court. They at last persuaded Taimur Shah to issue a *firman*, appointing Mir Fateh Ali Khan as the ruler of the whole Sind and ordering Mian Abdunnabi to desist from attacking or invading Sind. [89] It is learnt that the consideration for obtaining this *firman*, in favour of Mir Fateh Ali Khan, was nine lacs of rupees in cash [90]. The chagrin and despair of Mian Abdunnabi, should rather be left to the imagination of the reader, than described. After wandering from place to place, he finally settled at Jodhpur, wher he was well received, [91] and where, to the present day, his descendants reside, as middle-class Jagirdars.

In 1793, Taimur Shah died and his son—Zaman Shah, succeeded him. The Talpur chiefs, who had ruled Sind now, for about 10 years, received recognition from him, as the rulers of Sind. [92] Thus ended finally the Kalhora rule, so promisingly started by Mian Nur Muhammed, and so gloriously maintained by his worthy son—Mian Ghulam Shah.

87. *Ibid.*, pp. 192-193.

88. *Ibid.*, pp. 193-195.

89. *Ibid.*, pp. 198-202.

90. Shahmet Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

91. McMurdo, *op. cit.*, J. B. B. R. A. S., I, p. 430.

92. Kalich Beg *op. cit.*, II, p. 206.

A general review of the Kalhora dynasty, makes one wonder, at the folly and villainy, which both in the case of the latter Kalhoras, are found striving hard for pre-eminence. For a period of three centuries, these religious mendicants, struggled for greatness, and hardly had that object, so ardently sought for, been attained, when by their folly and overweening ambition, they were hurled back in 1783, to their original obscurity. The latter Kalhoras were neither imbeciles, nor thorough sadists. How then explain their murders? We believe that they were driven to these treacherous murders, by a latent fear, inspired by the growing power of the Talpurs, that they were going to lose their rulership. That explanation makes their actions credible, though not creditable.

With the recognition of Mir Fateh Ali Khan by Zaman Shah in 1793, as the ruler of Sind, the pretensions of the Kalhoras were finally ended, and the Talpur rule commenced.

ANCIENT SIND.

By N. M. BILLIMORIA.

(Read on 17th June, 1934)

The earliest information which Europe derived from the writings of the Arabs upon India and the lands adjacent was that which the Abbe Renaudot published in the year 1718 under the title "Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine de deux voyageurs Mahometans qui y allerent dans le ixe siecle de notre ere." By curious coincidence the work so translated happened to be the earliest work extant of the Arab Geographers relating to India. The light thrown upon the East was so novel and unexpected that the translator was accused of inaccuracy, discrepancies, and even down right forgery. Time has shown that all the charges were groundless.

The early Arab Geographers are :—1. Merchant Sulemain and Abu Zaid; 2. Khurdadba; 3. Al Masudi; 4. Al Istakhri; 5. Ibn Haukal; 6. Suru-l-Buldan; 7. Al-Biruni; 8. Al Idrasi; 9. Al Kazwani.

Salsilatut Tawarikh of the merchant Sulaiman with additions by Abu Zaidul Hassan of Siraf. The basis of the work and that which bears in the text of the title of Book I is the account written by a merchant named Sulaiman, who embarked on the Persian Gulf and made several voyages to India and China. The date of this is 851 A. D. The second part of the work was written by Abu Zaidul Hasan, a connoisseur; he never travelled in India; Masudi met this Abu Zaid at Basra in A.D. 916.

Kitabul Masalik wal Mamalik, Book of Roads and Kingdoms; by Ibn Khuradadba, a name derived from his grandfather, who was a fire-worshiper, as the name shows, but who subsequently became a Mahommedan. Ibn Khuradadba attained high office under the Khalifs, and employed his leisure in literary work, the result of which was his book of Roads and Kingdoms. He died in 912 A. D. According to this Geographer the countries of Sind are Alkairumya (a large town in Makran); Makran; Al Mand (or rather country of the Meds); Kandhar; Kasran; Nukan; Kandabil; Kinnazbun; Armabil; Kanbali, Sabhan; Sadusan; Debal; Rasak; Al Daur (Alor); Vandan; Multan; Sindan; Mandal; Salman; Sairash; Karaj; Rumla; Kuli; Kanauj; Baruh (Broach).

Some of these can be traced from the distances given from Armun to Narmasia 7 days journey; and the latter is the boundary between Persia and Sind; from Narmasia to Debal, 8 days journey; and from Debal to the junction of the River Mihran with the sea is two parsangs (parsang equals 7 miles).

From Sind are brought the costus, canes and bamboos; from the Mihran to Bakkar which is the first place on the borders of Sind is four days journey; the country abounds with canes in the hilly tracts but wheat is cultivated in the plains; the people are wanderers and robbers; from this place to the Meds are two parsangs; they also are robbers.

III. Al Masudi.—The greater part of his life was spent in travelling and his wanderings extended over nearly every Mahomedan country. He says of himself that he travelled so far to the west (Morocco and Spain) that he forgot the east, and so far to the east (China) that he forgot the west. The fruits of his observations and travels were embodied in his work called *Murujul Zahab* (Meadows of Gold.)

Extracts.—Al Jahiz thinks that the river Mihrun in Sind comes from the Nile, alleging as a proof that crocodiles live in it. He did not know that the Mihran of Sind comes from well-known sources in the highlands of Sind, from the country belonging to Kanauj in the kingdom of Banura, from Kashmir, Kandhar, and Tapan; and at length running into Multan, it receives the name of Mihran of gold, just as Multan means boundary of gold. The King of Multan is a Kuraishite.....The River Mihran takes its course through the country of Mansura and falls near Debal into the Indian Ocean. In the bays of this sea there are many crocodiles, as in the bay of Sindabar in the kingdom.....The ancients at least agree that 5 rivers flow into the Mihran, for Masudi, continues "when all the 5 rivers have passed the boundary of the house of gold, which is the meaning of the name of Multan, they unite at about 3 days journey below this city and above Mansura at a place called Dushab into one stream which proceeds to the town of Alrur (Alor) which lies on its western bank and belongs to Mansura where it receives the name of Mihran; there it divides into two branches both of which fall at the town of Shakira (Sanskrit Sagara) which belong also to the district of Mansura into the India sea, under the name of Mihran of Sind, about two days journey from the town of Debal. Multan is 75 Sindian parsangs from Mansura; the estates and villages dependent on Mansura amount to three hundred thousands. The whole country is well cultivated and covered with trees and fields. It is constantly at war with the

nation called the Meds (who are a race of Sind) and other races on the frontier of Sind. Mansura derives its name from Mansur bin Jamhur, Governor of the Ummayyids. The King of Mansura has 80 war elephants, every one of which is supported by 500 infantry in battle.....The language of Sind is different from that of India. This reminds me of a story. A king had sent his learned vazir to learn all the languages of the world; he returned after a long time and produced several manuscripts etc; when asked about the Sindhi language, he went out and returned with a tin can containing pebbles, and he began to shake the can; he said the noise produced is like the S. language.

IV. Sheik Abu Isak received the cognomen of Istakhri from his native city of Istakhir or Persepolis and he is also called Al Farsi from the province of Fars in which that city is situated. His travels extended through all Mahomedan countries from India to the Atlantic Ocean and from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian sea. He wrote about the middle of the 10th century about A. D. 951. Ibn Haukal another traveller about whom we shall speak presently met Istakhri in the valley of the Indus. Istakhri's work is entitled Kitabul Akalim, book of climates.

Cities of Sind according to him are: Mansura, Debal, Nirur (Nirun), Kalwi (Kalari) Annari, Balwi, (Ballari), Maswahi, Nahraj, Baniya, Manhanari (Manjabari) Sadusan and Al Ruz (Alor.)

The description of Mansura and Multan is worth quoting:

Mansura is about a mile long and a mile broad and is surrounded by a branch of the Mihran. The inhabitants are Musalmans. The date tree and the sugar cane grow there. The land of Mansura also produces a fruit of the size of the apple which is called laimun and is exceedingly sour. The land also produces a fruit called Ambaj (mango) which is like the peach. The price of them is low and they are plentiful. The dress of the people is like that of the people of Irak but the dress of the kings resembles that of the kings of India in respect of the hair and tunic.

Multan is a city half the size of Mansura. There is an idol there held in great veneration by the Hindus and every year people from the most distant parts undertake pilgrimage to it and bring to it vast sum of money which they expend upon the temple and on those who lead there a life of devotion. The temple of the idol is a strong edifice situated in the most populous part of the city, in the market of Multan between the bazar of the ivory dealers and the shops of the copper-smiths. The idol is placed under a cupola in the midst of the building and the

ministers of the idol and those devoted to its service dwell around the cupola. In Multan there are no men either of Hind or Sind who worship idols except those who worship this idol and in this temple. The idol has a human shape and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture on a throne made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin like morocco leather and nothing but its eyes are visible. Some believe that its body is made of wood, some deny this; but the body is not allowed to be uncovered to decide the point. The eyes of the idol are precious gems, and its head is covered with a crown of gold. It sits in a quadrangular position on the throne its hands resting upon its knees with the fingers closed so that only four can be counted. When the Indians make war upon them and endeavour to seize the idol, the inhabitants bring it out pretending that they will break and burn it. Upon this the Indians retire, otherwise they would destroy Multan. Mansura is more fertile. At half a parsang from Multan there is a large Cantonment which is the abode of the chief who never enters Multan except on Fridays when he goes on the back of an elephant in order to join in the prayers of that day. The Governor is of the tribe of Kuraish, and is not subject to the ruler of Mansura, but reads that Khutba in the name of the Khalifa.

Before I speak about Noshirwan, I will treat the expedition of Darius. My source of information on this point is a valuable book—a history of Persian Navigation by Dr. Hadi Hasan of the Aligarh College. The Persians did not love the sea but they loved sea-power and tried to create a direct communication between the seclusion of Persia and the commerce of the world. Consequently the Nile canal was constructed and the construction of the canal was supplemented by an exploration of the Indian Ocean—from the Gulf of Persia to the delta of the Indus, and thence to the apex of the Erythraean sea. Herodotus says that a great part of Asia was explored under the direction of Darius. He being desirous to know in what part the Indus (which is the second river that produces crocodiles) discharges itself into the sea, sent ships both those on whom he could rely on to make a true report and also Scylax of Carinda. Accordingly they set out from the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyce, and sailed down the river, to wards east and sunrise to the sea, then sailing on the sea westward they arrived in the 13th month at that place (Suez) where the king of Egypt despatched the Phoenicians to sail round Libya. After these persons had sailed round, Darius subdued the Indians and frequented this sea. It is noteworthy that Darius himself frequented the Persian Gulf so that the inference—the Indian

conquest led to the establishment of commercial relations with the natives, which issued in a regular trade carried on by coasting-vessels between the mouths of the Indus and the Persian Gulf—seems perfectly legitimate. And indeed no other conclusion is possible on the evidence of Nearchus in the Gulf of Persia.

Schoff in his edition of *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, says Caspapyra is the Greek form of the Sanskrit Kasyapapura, City of the Casypa. The same word survives in the modern Kashmir. According to the division of Greek geographers, Gandhara was the country below Cabul while Kastapamata was the adjoining district in India proper. On the same authority I say that Pactyan land could not have been far above the modern Attock.

The expedition of Scylax, according to Sykes *History of Persia* was in B. C. 512.

Coming to a comparatively later period, we find from Tabari that Bahram Gur (420-438 A. D.) travelled incognito into India; he returned to Persia with an Indian wife and the rich dowry of Daibul, Makran, and the adjacent parts of Sind. Professor Rawlinson rejects this story, but F. D. J. Paruk in his "Sassanian Coins" supports it. The most charitable interpretation which we can put on Tabari will be that as Daibul was the rich seaport at the mouth of the Indus, and since Makran and Sind are both maritime provinces, the seacoast of Makran to the port of Daibul was subdued by the Persian economically.

Nushirwan who ruled Persia from 531-579 A. D. was one of the most illustrious sovereigns of the Sassanian line. On the north his authority extended to Lazica on the Black Sea and in the south to Yemen and if we believe Tabari, Hamza, etc., Ceylon was conquered by a Persian fleet. This is confirmed by M. Renaud and Sir John Tennent in his work on Ceylon. But Rawlinson questions that Nushirwan ever made an expedition into India. But a contemporary eye-witness Cosmas Indicopleustes (author of *Christian Topography*, translated by McCrindle) says the river Indus, that is the Phison, which discharges into the Persian Gulf forms the boundary between Persia and India.

I have not studied carefully the question of Persian navigation and of the advent of Persian Zoroastrians in Sind and the Punjab. I hope to do so in the near future; apart from the frequent navigation of Darius in the Gulf of Persia, and the naval activity of Ardashir-i-Pakpakan and Shapur the Great, were not the provinces of Uman and Yemen under Persian control before the rise of Islam, and is there not the evidence of Mukadasi that

"most of the shipbuilders and seafaring men along the circuit of the Arabian Peninsula are Persians?" Nevertheless though there were Persian sailors along the Gulf, and Persian landmen in the interior, it appears that the difference between the landman and the sailor was merely of degree and not of kind. For what the land is to the one, the circumambient sea is to the other, and what Masudi writes in 965 A. D. that Sofala is the limit of navigation of the vessels of Uman and Siraf in the sea of the Zanj (Zanzibar) is repeated almost word for word by Duarte Barbosa in A. D. 1514: Neither have the Moors of Arabia and Persia or the Indies ever navigated as far as this (Cape St. Sebastian) nor discovered these countries on account of the strong currents of the sea which is very stormy.

Siraf was on the Zuhayr coast to the north-west of Naband, and prior to the rise of the Kays island (or Kish) the chief emporium of the Persian Gulf in the 13th century. Istakhri says "Siraf nearly equalled Siraz in size and splendour. Siraf merchants were considered the richest in all Fars. Mukaddasi speaks of Siraf as commercially the rival of Basra.

History of Dynasties.

Rai Dynasty.—Their capital was the city of Alor and the boundaries of their country were: on the east Kashmir and Kanaui; on the west Makran and shore of the sea of Umam, that is the port of Debal on the south, the port of Surat (Saurashtra); and on the north, Kandhar, Sistan, the hills of Suleman, Kaikanan. The names of the Rulers are: Rai Dewraj, Rai Siharas, Rai Sahasi, Rai Saharas II, Rai Sahasi II. Nowsherwan had invaded Sind, and Nowsherwan and Siharas II were contemporaries.

Brahman Dynasty.—Chach was contemporary with Shariyar; Chach was a Brahmin at least by descent and the present Sarsat Brahmins of Sind claim him as one of their progenitors. We know of three rulers: 1. Chach, 2. Chandra, 3. Dahir (slain in A. H. 93). Some important dates are as follows:

Accession of Chach to the throne of Sind	A.H. 10 A.D. 620-21
His expedition to Karman	14
Mughaira's attack on Debal	15
Chach's death after a reign of 40 years	51
Chandra's death after a reign of 8 years	59
Dahir's death after a reign of 32 years	93

Ardesir Pa-
pakan inva-
ded Punjab
A.D. 540
534-579.

ADVANCE OF ARABS TOWARDS SIND.

In the year 22 H. (A. D. 643) Abdulla Bin Amar bin Rabi invaded Kirman: he penetrated to Seistan or Sijistan and advanced towards Makran.

Dynasty of the Umayyides.—A.D. 661-750.—The Khalifs were : 1. Muawiya 661-679 A. D. (during his Khilafat Abdur Rahman conquered Sind in the year 42 H. *i.e.*, 662 A. D.) 2. Yazid I, 679-83; 3. Muawiya II, 683 ; 4. Marwan I , 683-84; 5. Abdul Malik, 684-705; 6. Walid I, 705-15; 7. Suleman, 715-17; 8. Umar II, 717-20; 9. Yazid II, 720-24; 10. Hashan 724-43; Merwan II, 744-750.

The Alafis or Alavis as they are styled in the Chach Nama are conspicuous in the subsequent history of Sind; they rebelled against the Government and fled to Sind in H. year 65; where they sought the protection of Dahir who received them kindly and entertained them in his service ; the Alafis remained in Sind till the arrival of Mahomed Kassim, who afterwards forgave them. Md. Kasim conquered Debal in May 712 A. D. After the conquest of the capital Alor in the same year he does not go further than Multan from which place he returned on hearing of Hajjaj's death; but from Chach Nama we find that he went to the very foot of the Kashmir hills to the part where the Jhelum debouches from the mountains and form the streams and islands which cannot fail to strike the traveller with the minute correctness of Quintus Curtius in describing the scene of Alexander's decisive victory over Porus after passing the Hydaspes. In Chach Nama the place is called Panj-mahiat or five waters—a miniature Punjab; it was here that Chach fixed the boundary of Sind and Kashmir. I may say in passing that Jalapur is the place where it is said that Alexander crossed the Hydaspas. The Khalif Walid died 6 months after Hajjaj, January 715; and as Md. Kassim's recall was immediately consequent upon that event, he must have remained altogether about $3\frac{1}{4}$ years in Sind and the Punjab. Our authorities differ respecting the mode of Mahomed Kassim's death. Futuhul Buldan states that he was seized, fettered, imprisoned and tortured to death with the sanction of Khalif Sulaiman. While Chach Nama narrates that the two daughters of Dahir, who had been sent to the capital for the Khalif's Haram complained that they had been already violated by their father's conqueror—upon which Walid in a fit of wrath ordered that he should be sewn up in a raw cowhide and so transmitted to Damascus. When his body was exhibited to the girls they declared that their assertion was not true, and that they had uttered it merely to be avenged on

the destroyer of their family and country. The tale goes on to say that the capricious tyrant in an agony of remorse for his hasty conduct ordered them to be immured alive. Others say that they were tied to horses' tails, and so dragged about the city.

Yazid was appointed to succeed Md. Kassim; died 18 days after his arrival in Sind. Habib was appointed then; for 2 years after the departure of Md. Kassim the natives recovered and maintained possession of the countries which had been conquered from them. Habib encamped on the bank of the Indus and the inhabitants of Alor submitted to him.

One Governor succeeded another and when Amru was nominated Governor, he founded a city on this side of the lake which he called Mansura the Victorious and which was the capital where the Governors resided. Umar II, who ruled from 717-20 addressed letters to the native princes inviting them to embrace Islam and to swear allegiance; proposing as the reward that they would be allowed participation in the rights and privileges of other Musalmans. The son of Dahir and many princes assented to these proposals and took Arab names.

Dynasty of the Abbasides. 750-1031—Governors after governors were sent to Sind; they were transferred from Africa to Sind and *vice versa*. These transfers no doubt were designed to prevent governors becoming too powerful and independent by maturing intrigues and courting popularity with the inhabitants of any particular province. Khalif Harun Rashid who ruled from 786-809 sent presents to some kings of India and asked for the services of the famous Indian physician Kank or Manikba, promising on the honour of a prince that he should be permitted to return to his country immediately on the Khalif's arrival at Balk. The physician cured the Khalif and returned to his native country, which if not Sind itself was probably no great distance from it as the embassy of invitation had proceeded by sea; some authorities however represent that the physician in the first instance crossed over the Hindu Kush and returned home by the Persian Gulf. During the Khilafat of Al Manum 813-33, Bashar bin Daud, Governor of Sind raised the standard of revolt, withheld payment of revenue and prepared to resist the Khalif with open force. When an army was sent against him, Bashar submitted and was pardoned.

Amran Barmakide was governor of Sind during the Khilafat of Al Mutasim billah, 833-41. He took Mansura and subdued the Jats and Meds. Upon encamping near the river Alrur (or

Aral a artificial canal running from Lake Manchhar and falling into the Indus near Sihwan) he summoned the Jats who were dependent on his government. When they obeyed the call, he stamped a seal upon their hands (this means probably a permanent brand which at that time a favourite mode of making a distinction between Christians or Jews and Mahomedans) and received from them the capitation tax, directing that when they presented themselves to him they should each be accompanied by a dog, so that the price of a dog rose as high as fifty dirhams. The meaning of this strange provision is not very evident but it originated with the Brahman dynasty and was approved by Muhamad Kassim. It does not appear whether the dogs received in tribute were taken away by the Arabs or whether it was intended to encourage the breed by making it necessary that every man should have his dog. It is only for one of these two reasons that the price could have been enhanced. In the former, case, they must have been taken, either for the purpose of being slaughtered by the Arabs, in order to diminish their number, which might have amounted to a nuisance, or they were taken and kept to be used by themselves as by the Talpur rulers of later times, in hunting, or in watching flocks, as we see them employed to this day in the Delta, where they allow no stranger approach a village. For the same reasons they are held in high repute in Baluchistan.

It was in Amru's time that the Indian of Sindan (in Abdasa south portion of Cutch) declared themselves independent.

During the nine reigns of the Khalifs, *i. e.* about 841 to 932 A. D. the power of the Khalifs was gradually on the decline. Sind, neglected by Imperial Government came to be divided among several petty chiefs, who transmitted no revenues, but occasional presents of rarities were sent; two loyal offerings from India were a cartload of four-armed idols and the longest and largest teak tree which had ever been seen. The two principal kingdoms which were established in Sind were those of Multan and Mansura, both of which attained a high degree of power and prosperity; this independence commenced about the year 879 A. D.

Masudi who visited the valley of the Indus in A. D. 915-16 and completed his "Meadows of Gold" in 943-4 furnishes a brilliant account of the state of Islam in that country. The Amir of Multan was an Arab, and the kingdom of Multan is represented to have been hereditary in his family for a long time "nearly from the beginning of Islam (into Sind) and Kanauj was then a province of Multan, the greatest of the countries which form a

frontier against unbelieving nations. The Amir had an army in his pay and there were reckoned to be 120,000 hamlets around the capital. His dominion extended to the frontier of Khurasan. The temple of the sun was still an object of native pilgrimage to which people resorted from the most distant parts of the continent to make their offerings of money, pearls, aloë-wood and other perfumes. A greater part of the Amir's revenue was derived from this source. Masudi and Ibn Haukal both remark that the threat of injuring or mutilating the idol was sufficient to deter the native princes from engaging in hostilities with the Amir.

Mansura was governed by another Khureshi; the principality extended from the sea to Alor where that of Multan commenced; it was said to contain 3 lac villages, which is a ridiculous exaggeration but the whole country was well cultivated and covered with trees and fields. The account was written by Ibn Haukal in A. D. 976. The Amirs of Multan and Mansura were independent of one another; but both deferred to the spiritual authority of the Khalif of Bagdad. Alor the ancient Hindu capital was nearly as large as Multan, surrounded by a double wall, and was a dependency of Mansura. Its territory was fertile and rich and it was the seat of considerable commerce. Rahuk or Dahuk also on the borders of Makran and to the west of the Hala Range was included in Mansura. There were other principalities to the west besides the two in the valley of the Indus; *viz.* 1 Turan, which was under the authority of a native of Basra who was tax-gatherer, administrator, Judge and general who could not distinguish between three and ten. 2. Kusdar, 3. Makran the ruler of which had established his residence in the city of Kiz, about half the size of Multan; 4. Mushki on the frontier of Kirman. Ibn Haukal observes that at Mansura and Multan and in the rest of the province the people spoke the Arabic and Sindian languages; in Makran, Makranian and Persian.

The revenues which the Arab princes derived from Sind from their several provinces were very small, barely more than sufficient to provide food and clothing and the means of maintaining their position with credit and decency, and as a necessary consequence only a few years elapsed before they were driven from their kingdoms and compelled to yield their power to more enterprising and energetic assailants. No mention is made by Ibn Haukal of the Karmatians of India soon after his visit, these heretics who probably contained within their ranks many converted natives and foreigners as well as Arabs began to

spread in the valley of the Indus. Abulfida dates the commencement of their decline from 938 A. D. The weakness of the petty local Governments in Sind favoured their progress and led to the early occupation of Mansura and Multan from which they were driven away by Mahomed the Guznivide, who effected conquests in Sind. He possessed Kusdar and Multan, so the country was at all times open to his invasions; after the fall of Somnat he marched for some

1025 A.D.

days along the course of the Indus and captured Mansura in 416 H; he placed a *Mahomedan* prince on the throne, so that it can be inferred that the previous occupant had rejected that faith, and was therefore a Karmatian, who having usurped the government from the Habbari dynasty had thus after a duration of three centuries effected the extinction of the Arab dominion in Sind. Let us now consider some of the questions connected with the maintenance of the power of the Arabs in Sind. The internal administration of the country was necessarily left in the hands of the natives; as the Arabs upon their first acquisition of territory had brought with them no men capable of exercising civil functions. The maintenance therefore of civil officials (who were styled Brahmans in Sind) was a matter of necessity rather than choice at least at the early period of their way. It was Abdul Malik who adopted the Arab currency in supersession of Greek and Persian money; the old denominations of Denarius and Dhrachma were retained under the slight change of Dinar and Dirham. Walid next abolished the Greek language and character from public offices of finance and submitted the Arabic. Much also of the conquered land was during the whole course of Arab occupation liberally bestowed upon sacred edifices and institutions as wakf or mortmain. These ecclesiastical establishments, etc., under the Talpurs nearly absorbed one-third of the entire revenue of the State. In no place do we find any allusion to Arab women accompanying Sindian camps. When Mahomed Kassim upon passing the Indus gave leave to his soldiers to retire to their homes, only 3 came forward. They congregated into several military colonies seeking solace for their lost homes in the arms of the native women of the country, and leaving their lands and plunder to be inherited by their Sindo-Arab descendants. The Sindian troops were levied and sent to fight the battles of the Arabs in distant quarters. In admitting these provincials into their armies the Arabs merely followed the policy of the Romans who did the same from motives of expediency—hoping to find employment for turbulent spirit and to neutralize the elements of rebellion by sending foreign mercenaries into provinces remote from their native soil. Commer-

cial activity also succeeded to the zeal for war ; Sind was not backward in the season of enterprise for she kept up a regular commercial communication with the rest of the Muhammadan Empire. Caravans were often passing and repassing between that country and Khorasan most commonly by the route of Kabul and Bamian. She also had communication with Zabulistan and Sijistan by way of Gazni and Kandhar. Zabulistan was at the period of Masudi's visit, a large country known by the name of the kingdom of Firoz and contained fortresses of great strength. With respect to the routes from the North to India, Biruni says "We reach Sind from our country (Turkistan) by going through the country of Nimroz, *i.e.*, Sijistan, and we reach Hind through Kabul. I do not mean to say that is the only route for one can arrive there from all directions when the passes are open." There was commercial traffic by sea board also. Much of the merchandize which was carried through Sind to Turkistan and Khorasan, or even as far as Constantino-ple was the product of China and the ports of Ceylon, Uman and Malabar from which province timber was derived as at present used in the construction of boats which plied on the river. From Arabia horses were frequently imported into Sind and armies and munitions of war were sent up the mouths of the Indus. The whole coast of Kirman and Makran was studded with Arab Settlements of the Azids.

The toleration which the native Sindians enjoyed in the practice of their religion was greater than what was usually conceded in other countries, but it was dictated less by any principle of justice or humanity than the impossibility of suppressing the native religion by the small number of Arab invaders. When time had fully shown the necessity of some relaxation in the stern code of Moslim conquest it was directed that the natives might rebuild their temples and perform their worship. Dahir's prime minister was retained in office in order to protect the rights of the people and to maintain the native institutions ; while Brahmans were distributed throughout the provinces to collect the taxes which had been fixed. But where power had for a short time enabled the Moslims to usurp the mastery, the usual bigotry and cruelty were displayed. At Debal the temples were demolished and mosques founded, a general massacre was carried on for three whole days; prisoners were taken captive; plunder was amassed and an apostate was left in charge of the government exercising co-ordinate jurisdiction with an Arab Chief.

At Nairun the idols were broken and mosques founded notwithstanding its voluntary surrender. At Alor though the

lives of the inhabitants were spared a heavy tribute was imposed. At Rewar and Askalanda all the men in arms were put to the sword and women and children carried away captive. At Multan all men capable of bearing arms were massacred; six thousand ministers of the temple were made captive, besides all the women and children; and a mosque was erected in the town. Among the chief objects of idolatry at Multan a golden statue of the Sun is mentioned; Mahomed Kassim ascertaining that large offerings were made to this idol and wishing to add to his resources by those means left it uninjured; but in order to show his horror of Indian superstition he attached a piece of cow's flesh to its neck in order to gratify his avarice and malignity. But when the Karmatians became masters of Multan did not show themselves equally tolerant; for their leader Jalam, son of Shaiban had the idol broken in pieces, and the attendant priests massacred, and the temple converted into the Jami Masjid. The Arab Governors may be considered in the light of farmers general, for they usually bound themselves to pay to the Khalif the sums at which the various provinces, after deducting ordinary expenses, were set down in the public register. The assessment upon Sind and Multan was £ 270,000. Under the Talpurs, Sind is said to have occasionally yielded 4 lac pounds, notwithstanding many large and productive tracts were turned by them into forests for shikar. Under the Kalhoras the revenue was estimated at 8 lac pounds. The land-tax was usually rated at different rates, according to the nature of the crop, and whether the land was irrigated or not. The customs and transit duties for which unbelievers had to pay a double rate and taxes on trades and manufactures and handicrafts were also important sources of public revenue. Besides the ordinary landtax we read in the Chachnama of other burdens laid upon Sindian cultivators such as Baj and Ushri. Other extraordinary conditions were occasionally imposed on some of the tribes. We have seen above that under Mutasim the Jats dwelling beyond the River Aral were compelled to bring a dog on each occasion of paying their respects besides being branded upon the hand. The Bhatia, Lohana, Sitha, and other tribes had also peculiar duties imposed upon them. Certain tribes were prohibited from wearing fine linen, from riding on horses, and from covering their heads and feet. It must be confessed that many of the rules were already established under the Brahman rulers. If they committed theft their women and children were burnt to death. Others had to protect caravans and to furnish guides to Mahomedans. The natives were also enjoined to feed every Mahomedan traveller for three days and nights. All unconverted tribes, without exception, were liable to the capitation

tax (jizya). To the Hindus the public tribunals were only the means of extortion and forcible conversion as they have proved themselves to be to the very latest period of Mahomedan dominion in Sind, under which there were judicial penalties for riding on horseback, especially with a saddle, under which the wearing of beards and adoption of Mahomedan costume were compulsory; and under which religious processions and even music were altogether prohibited. Hence there was and could be no sympathy between the conquerors and the conquered. It is expedient that these matters should be often brought back to remembrance and pondered on; for the clamorous demagogues of India and England are very apt to forget the very depth of degradation from which the great masses of the people have been raised under the protection of British Supremacy. In language, architecture, arts, traditions, customs and manners the Arabs have left but little impress upon the country or the people. It is worthy of remark that no people ever constructed so many buildings as the Arabs, who extracted fewer materials from the quarry; the buildings of their first settlers being everywhere raised from the wrecks of cities, castles and fortresses which they had themselves destroyed.

Sumra Dynasty.—It is one of the most difficult problems in the history of Mahomedan India to fix the proper period of the rulers of this dynasty of Sind. It appears that when Sultan Abdul Rashid son of Sultan Mahmud inherited the kingdom of Gazni, the people of Sind finding him an indolent and weakminded ruler began to be refractory and in A. D. 1053 the men of the tribe of Sumra having assembled round Tharri seated a man named Sumra on the cushion of Government; there were 36 Sumra princes who reigned 500 years. That the Sumras were not Muslims during at least the early period of their ways is proved by their names.

The Summa Dynasty.—After expelling the Sumras in A. D. 1351 the Summas retained their power till they were themselves displaced by the Arghuns in 1521 A. D. The title of the rulers was JAM. The Summas are unquestionably Rajputs of the great Yadava stock that they have occupied the banks of the lower Indus; their ancestors may be traced in the Sambastae and Sambus of Alexander's historian.

Arghun Dynasty.—The family of the Arghuns derive their name from Arghun, Khan Tarkhan, the grandson of Hulaka, the grandson of Changiz Khan. The Arghun dynasty of Sind consisted of only two individuals—Shuja or Shah, Beg, and his son Mirza Shah Husain—with whom the family became extinct.

All authorities concur in representing that the Arghun Dynasty—Shah Hussain having died childless—closed in A. D. 1554-5.

Tarkhan Dynasty.—The kingdom remained with the Tarkhans for a period of 38 years. We must date the extinction of Sind as an independent kingdom from 1591-2, and thenceforward the consideration of its affairs merges in the general history of the Timurian empire.

Aborigines of Sind are given Banya, Tank, Mumid, Mahmir. All their names except one Tak defy positive identification. One thing is certain that the Taks were the progenitors of the Musalman kings of Gujrat, before that province was absorbed into the empire of Akbar.

Buddhists in Sind.—The temple of the sun at Multan was called Budd; not only temples but idols were called by the same name. As the Buddhist religion was evidently the prevalent one in Sind when the Musalmans first came in contact with Indian superstitions it follows that to Buddha must be attributed the origin of this name, and not to the Persian But, an idol. There are several indications of the Buddhist religion prevailing in the valley of the Indus not only specific announcement of the Chinese travellers and Arabic writers. The distinction between Brahminism and Buddhism was hardly mentioned. Thus when the priests are mentioned they are usually called Samani; the thousand Brahmins, as they are styled, who wished to be allowed to retain the practices of their ancient faith were ordered by Mahomed Kasim, with the permission of the Khalif to carry in their hands a small vessel as mendicants and beg their bread from door to door every morning, a prominent ceremony observed by the Buddhist priesthood. There are numerous remains of the Buddhist sculptures in the valley of the Indus but most of them are mutilated. Those who are interested in this question may read Stein's on Alexander's track to the Indus.

The Jats.—When the Mahomedans first appeared in Sind towards the end of the 7th century the Jats and Meds were the chief population of the country. Sir Alex Cunningham in his Archaeological Report for 1863-64 writes that if I am right in my identification of the Jats with Xanthii of Starbo, and Iatii of Pliny and Ptolemy, their present country must have been on the banks of the Oxus between Bactria, Hyrkamis and Khorasmia. At the present day the Jats are found in every part of the Punjab where they form about two-fifths of the population. They are chiefly Musalmans and are divided into not less than 100

different tribes. To the east of the Punjab the Hindu Jats are found in considerable numbers in the frontier States of Bikaner, Jesalmer and Jodhpur, where they are as numerous as all the Rajputs put together. To the south of the Punjab the Musalman Jats are said by Pottinger to form the entire population of the fruitful district of Haraud-Dajel on the right bank of the Indus, and the bulk of the population of the neighbouring district of Kach-Gandava. In Sindh where they have intermarried largely with Baluchis and Musalmans of Hindu descent it is no longer possible to estimate their numbers although it is certain that a very large proportion of the population must be of Jat descent.

We find the Meds frequently mentioned by the Arab authors on Sind, and together with their rivals the Jats, they may be considered the oldest occupants of that province who in their names as well as persons have survived to our own times. The Meds who devoted themselves to a pastoral life used to invade the territories of the Jats, putting them to great distress and compelling them to take up their abode on the opposite side of the river. At last these two tribes became friendly and agreed to send a deputation to the King of Hastina begging him to nominate a king to rule over them. Duryodhana accordingly nominated his sister Dassal who ruled over them with wisdom and moderation. This is ancient history; but in the time of Arab rule, Amru Governor of Sind directed an expedition against the Meds, in which he killed 3,000 of them and constructed an embankment, (probably for the purpose of depriving them of the means of irrigation) which he called the Meds' embankment, as was done so effectually in 1762 and 1802 at Mora and Ali Bandar when the Sindians ruined the prosperity of N. W. Cutch. The word "Sakar" embankment is preserved in the town of that name opposite to Rori where however the mound is a natural limestone formation of 100 feet high and not an artificial causeway. Sakar or Sukhar as it is now pronounced is better known to the natives as Chipribander. Ibn Haukal describes the Mands of his time, A. D. 977, as occupying the banks of the Indus from Multan to the sea and to the desert between Makran and Famhal. Masudi who visited India in A. D. 915-6 calls them Mind and states that they were a race of Sindh, and who were at constant war with the people of Mansura. These notices are sufficient to show that at some time previous to the first appearance of the Muhamedans in Sindh, the Meds must have been forced to migrate from the Upper Punjab to Sindh.

The Kerks.—The pirates whose insolence led to the final subjugation of Sind are stated to be the tribe Kçrak, kerk or

some name of similar pronunciation. Though the name of **Kerk** be now extinct, the resemblance of the name of **Krokola** which has conspicuous mention in the voyage of Nearchus is sufficiently striking to attract attention. Dr. Vincent and Heeren consider **Krokala** to be the modern **Karachi**. A late authority says **Chalna**, a small rocky island, about 4 miles from **Cape Monze**. There is at present a large insular tract, named **Kakrala** at the mouth of the **Indus** answering exactly all the requirements of **Arrian's** description "a sandy island, subject to the influence of the tides." It is situated between the **Wanyani** and **Pitti** mouths of the river; but modern travellers differ about its precise limits. **Capt. Postans** places it further to the west and makes it include **Karachi**. This is no shifting or modern name. **Ayin-i-Akbari** and other works applied it for the last three centuries; and it may without question be regarded as the **Krokala** of **Arrian**.

CROW'S ACCOUNT OF SIND.

By B. D. MIRCHANDANI, I. C. S.

(Read on 22nd July, 1934)

Nathan Crow was political and commercial agent of the East India Company in Sind. The English, who had been promised the same commercial privileges as they enjoyed under Ghulam Shah Kalhora, had again set up a factory at Tatta in 1799, and put Nathan Crow in charge. He, however, did not remain long in Sind, for towards the end of 1800 he was ordered by the Amirs to leave the country forthwith, ostensibly under instructions from Zaman Shah, but really because the Amirs had become suspicious of the English. To those interested in the history of the whole affair, I would refer to the correspondence available in the Home Miscellaneous Series of the Record Department of the India Office, a typed copy of which was recently made for the Karachi Municipality. Some additional papers on the subject are also available in the Bombay Record Office. While in Tatta Mr. Crow had collected material on the history, government, and conditions of Sind and compiled it in the form of a report which he submitted to the Company's Government at Bombay. This report—or rather the "Account," as it is styled in the government record—is now available in the Record Office, Bombay.

Crow's Account is a long document very important for students of Sind History. It has never been published before, but every writer on Sind in the last century has drawn largely on it, though sometimes without proper acknowledgment to the author. Apart from much useful historical information it gives us a complete and authentic picture of Sind at the end of the 18th century.

The "Account" begins with the history of the Kalhoras, their rise and decline, and traces the accession to power of the Talpurs. This historical portion has taken up nearly half of the report. I do not wish to reproduce it here as it has already appeared in print. [1] Mr. Crow next proceeds to describe the form of government under Mir Fateh Ali Khan and his brothers, and also the character and personality of the rulers. These observations have also been reproduced by Postans [2] at pp. 188-190 of his book, and I, therefore, do not wish to repeat them here.

1. See chapters X and XI of Postans' *Personal Observations on Sindh*.

2. Also by James Burnes in his *Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sind*, at p. 46.

It is really the latter part of the report, dealing as it does with political and economic conditions of Sind at the end of the 18th century, that is more important and also the more interesting. Excepting for a few extracts which appear in James Burnes and Postans, this part of the Account is not known at all. It is, therefore, my object in this paper to reproduce for the information of students of Sind history the more important passages from it bearing on the economic and political conditions of Sind under the early Talpurs.

Limits of Sind under Mir Fateh Ali Khan.

The boundaries of Sind under the "three chiefships of Mir Fateh Ali Khan, Mir Sohrab Khan, and Mir Tarrah Khan" were to the north, on one side of the river Noshur, a town few miles below Shikarpur, and on the other Ubauro; to the south the Arabian Sea; to the east the 'Registan' or the desert, and to the west the mountains of Balochistan and Makran. Mir Sohrab Khan's possession consisted of all the territory to the east of the Indus between Ubauro and the desert. Mir Tarrah Khan's share comprised the eastern part of the delta commencing on the south-east of Tatta and extending to the sea and included Shahbandar. Shikarpur and Sakkur, including the fort of Bukkur, were in the hands of the Afghan king.

Agriculture.

"The fertility of the country, where it is exposed to the inundation, is as great as that of Egypt, and subject to less variety and uncertainty; the waters being regular in their return, departure, and quantity, beginning to rise about the latter end of April, and to subside early in September.....The breadth of the swell varies according to the nature of the country through which the river passes; in general, I believe, it is felt at least five miles from the banks on either side, and in many parts much more particularly in the delta, where the land is flat and the intersections of the stream many, and in Sewistan likewise where the country is of the same description and the waters courted and retained by more industry and art than is practised in any other parts. Those parts of the country of Sind, which lie out of the reach of the benefits of the inundation, depend for their fertility upon the firmament which is as precarious as the river is constant. Situated in a manner at the extremity of the influence of the monsoon that prevails in India, Sind sometimes partakes and sometimes is deprived of the advantage of periodi-

cal rain. In the parts far removed from the river, grain is less cultivated, but they produce a very superior kind of grass and various herbage for the pasturage of horses, camels and horned cattle, of which latter the number is so great that the poorest people possess enough for the support of themselves and families; but in years of drought which often occur two to three in succession, the mortality amongst these animals is very great and the distress of the lower part of the inhabitants proportionately severe."

Soil.

"The soil of the country watered by the river is in general of rich clay but in many parts loose and sandy. It requires little labour of cultivation near the banks of the Indus, for the inundation retires and while the mud is yet soft, the husbandman scatters the grain and it sows itself. The land approaching the hills, particularly below Hyderabad, is rocky and stony but many parts of it are arable."

Productions.

(I) *Mineral Products.*

"Great quantities of salt are collected on the shore about Karachi and other places near the sea, and Iron ore [3] is found in abundance near Tatta. There are many salt petre [4] grounds in different parts of the country, but most in the Delta, particularly about Shah Bunder and Aurangabunder. Those in the vicinity of Tatta are exhausted, and the nearest are at Sacra a purgunnah about thirty miles distant. The Hon'ble Company had extensive works under their former establishment at Shah Bunder for purifying and crystallizing this article which is now imported in Bombay at a much cheaper rate from Bengal. The most extraordinary production of Sind is an alkali [5] found in the southern part of Meer Sohrab's Territory of extensive use in chemical processes and exported to India every year in great abundance."

II. *Vegetables and Fruit.*

"Of fruits and vegetables except mangoes and water-melons there is great scarcity. A few cocoanut trees are to be found in the neighbourhood of Karachi and a spurious kind of date above

3. Cheapness of the iron imported from abroad killed the little manufacture that went on in Sind.

4. Saltpetre was exported on a considerable scale by the English factors in Sind as early as the 17th century. See Foster's *English Factories in India*.

5. Carbonate of soda or in Sindhi *Chenio*, which I understand is still exported from Thar and Parkar District.

Hyderabad [6]. Wood for fuel is plentiful, but there is no timber for building, except what is brought from Malabar: of this all dingees and large boats are constructed and the pillars and beams of the houses are formed."

III. *Animals, etc.*

"Of the animal productions of Sind the camels are the most worthy of celebrity on the shore and the sable fish [7] in the River. Camels are bred in every part of Sind, and the greatest numbers in the salt marshes near the sea where there is an abundance of furze and shrub, affording them a rich food. Fresh water is brought down for them every week by the keepers who go two or three days' sail up the River for the purpose. These camels have an advantage over any other breed in hardiness and being able to reconcile themselves to all kinds of food, while those reared inland refuse the pasture of the salt marshes. All the land carriage from Currachee to Candahar is carried on by these animals. They travel with burdens of four, five and six hundred weight from fifteen to twenty miles during the night, which is most favourable to their constitution and speed, and are left to graze during the day while the people of the caravan repose. Many are broken into the saddle and exceed horses in despatch, with this further convenience that they carry two people and their cloths and provisions. They are employed in turning wells and mills, and in time of war small swivels are mounted on them. The horses bred in Sind are very strong but of a small size in general. The country, however, is not unfavourable to this animal, and there are abundant instances to prove that by judicious crosses the race might be improved. Mules, asses, and bullocks are used likewise in Sind and their number is not inconsiderable. The country affords much game of every kind and fortunately has no beasts of prey except wolves. Their depredations do not extend beyond the poultry and occasional mischief to children and men accidentally sleeping in the plains. Their bite generally occasions death in the same course of time and with the same symptoms as that of a mad dog. The jackals are so ravenous and bold that at night they will attack people sitting smoking in the open air. In mentioning the animals of Sind, the alligators [8] should not be forgotten, for they are numerous and much respected, not only by Hindoos but also by the Mahomedans. The tutelar God of Currachee is a scaly monster, with a train of females and dependants, nourished in the muddy

6. Kotri near Hyderabad is still famous for its dates.

7. Palla fish which is peculiar to Sind.

8. This description of alligators appears in James Buxton, *Narrative of a Visit to the Gwari of Sindh*, p. 121.

riverlets which flow from the hot spring already remarked near Currachee, called Peer Munga, from the name of a Saint who formerly resided there. It is singular to see these animals sometimes dozing close to the mouth of the spring where the water is almost boiling hot, and sometimes wallowing in the pools which are perfectly cold. There are many badgers and others in the River, the skins of which are bought at a high price at Cabul and Cundahar."

Climate.

"The climate of Sind is very unhealthy in all those parts affected by the inundation, and, therefore, particularly so in the Delta and its vicinity after the water retires and putrefaction of the mud and partial stagnations begin. There are few diseases in the catalogue of human misfortune which are not to be found amongst the natives, but the most prevailing are agues, fever, asthmas, consumptions, rheumatism, all the consequence of humidity and impurity of atmosphere. The heat in Sind in the summer months is a moderate near the sea, as in most places of the same latitude in India, but increases to an excessive degree as you advance to the northward. The samiels or hot wind prevails for two months in the year and with such force in Sewistan as to make the road to Candahar impracticable during the day and almost fatal to such travellers as may be encamped. The winters are severe in Sind but not quite in proportion as the summers are sultry."

Indus and changes in its course.

"The Indus, as a river, has few merits except its periodical swell; its stream is foul and muddy, and so full of shoals and shifting sands, that flat-bottomed boats only are safe, and scarcely any other are used; its course is excessively crooked, and towards the sea very inconstant. By a strange turn that the river has taken within these five and twenty years just above Tatta, the City is flung out of the angle of the inferior delta in which it formerly stood on the main land towards the hills of Balochistan. By another change in the course of the river Shah Bunder is left dry and the Lahory Bunder branch so much more favoured by the stream that is perfectly fresh now at a point where a few years ago it was salt even at low water. This point is near the Bunder of Lahory. Marks of the caprice of the river abound in the lower country; the most striking of which are, the bed of a large stream now perfectly dry, about five miles from Curruchee, and about five miles further, at a place called Guissary, a creek which opens from the Sea, and is still navigable for at least fifty miles, when it shallows and leaves only a dry

channel, where it is said to have been formerly met by the river from the traces still evident; and the fact is confirmed by the ruins of a City said to be ancient Tatta or Dewul Sindy on the eastern bank of this Creek about forty miles from its mouth. There is the ruin of another, it is said, still more ancient Tatta or Dewul Sindy in the heart of the Delta, which upon Examination would most probably prove to have been abandoned from the faithlessness of a branch of the River which had at first perhaps invited its founders. This is palpably the case with Brahminabad, called by the Natives Kulankote, the ruins of which lie four or five miles to the south-west of Tatta, and the inhabitants have a distinct tradition which appearance confirms of the River running close under the walls of that town. The only mouth of the Indus now open to dingies and those of a small size is the one leading to Lahory Bunder. Mineral waters are found in many places in Sind, but the most famous springs, both hot, are one in the neighbourhood of Nussurpoor and the other about ten miles from Currachee to the north-west [9]."

The People.

"The inhabitants of Sind are a strong and hardy race of men rather more fitted for fatigue than activity, and are most tall and dark complexioned. Those who enjoy rice and indulgence are uncommonly corpulent, which perhaps their great use of milk disposes all to be. The Princes are remarkably broad and fat, and many of the Beloochee chiefs and officers of their Court, too large by far for the dimensions of any European chair. As rotundity is so much the distinction of greatness, it is admired as a beauty, and sought as an ambition, and prescriptions, therefore, for increasing bulk are much esteemed. The Scindians in their tempers are proud, impatient, knavish, and mean. Placed betwixt Mekran and Hindoostan they seem to have acquired the vices, both of the barbarity on the one side, and the civilization on the other, without the virtues of either. Their natural faculties are good, and their energies would reward encouragement, but their moral character is a compound scarcely to be described, and still less to be trusted, and fanaticism, superstition, and despotism are debasing it more and more every day. There is no zeal but for the propagation of the faith; no spirit but celebrating the Ede; no liberality but in feeding lazy Seyuds; and no taste but in ornamenting old tombs [10]."

9. Part of this description appears in James Burnes, p. 130.

10. This paragraph appears in the form of a foot-note at pp. 113-114 of James Burnes' *Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sind*.

"The Hindoos are the most industrious and intelligent of the natives. In number with the Mohammedans they are about two to three only, and the knife of circumcision is always unsheathed on every excuse and occasion to reduce this proportion. Lukput Bunder, a port in Cutch on the confines of Sind, has been raised to a state of opulence and commercial prosperity by the accumulation of Hindoos, who being forcibly made Mohammedans by Meer Fattah Ali Khan, detesting equally his religion and his persecution and being disclaimed by their own caste, fled thither for an asylum in which their common misfortune might be kept in countenance and some ties of human fellowship still be open to them."

Population of Sind and the Condition of the People.

(I) Estimate of population not possible.

"Of the extent of the population of Sind any conjecture would be crude unless formed upon an attentive inspection of the whole country with the light likewise of certain public documents which are not obtainable. The country varies very much in different parts both in dimension and description and the erratic Tribes who are moving over the face of it with their cattle from pasture to pasture blend with the general inhabitants and perplex calculation."

(II) Misgovernment and resulting economic ruin of the people; their emigration to other parts of India.

"It may however be safely asserted that Sind is thinly inhabited comparatively with its means of subsistence from the great tyranny of the Government and discouragement to labour of every kind. The exercise of industry and the display of wealth provoke oppression in the place of receiving reward. The labours of the farmer are seized by the officers of despotism and the ingenuity of the artifices pressed into its service. Every man therefore finds it a necessary caution to curb instead of spurring his faculties and a torpid state of the human mind and neglected condition of the country are the consequence. Of the manufacturers of Tatta numbers have emigrated to India and from the mass of the people large bodies repair annually to seek foreign service of whom few return."

(III) Population of important towns.

"The town and fort of Hyderabad, the capital of Sind, cannot at the highest computation be said to contain more

than thirty thousand inhabitants, the celebrated city of Tatta forty thousand—and Curruchee the principal and with the exception of Shah Bunder and Lahory Bunder (the former choked and both nearly deserted) the only sea port town of the country, ten thousand."

(IV) *Professional soldiers, sailors, etc.*

"The Nomurdees who are in the vicinity of Hyderabad, the Jakias who are about half way betwixt Tatta and Curruchee and the Kurmatties who are situated near Lahory Bunder amount to twenty or five and twenty thousand men. These are professionally soldiers and the Jakias who are particularly renowned are generally employed on board the dingies which sail out of Sind. Rustics and watermen constitute the rest of the inhabitants and not a numerous proportion for the villages are thinly scattered and the boats few."

(V) *Shikargahs of the Amirs.*

"The country, therefore, between Curruchee and Hyderabad, Lahory Bunder on one side and the Hills on the other, exhibits no promising specimen of the population of Sind; but there is great reason to believe that it improves the further it is removed from the baneful influence of the Rulers. The present Prince had depopulated at a loss to his own revenue of between two or three Lacks of rupees annually, one of the most fertile spots in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad, because frequented by a species of antelope called Kasapacha, which he has most pleasure in hunting and a short time ago only the youngest Brother unrelentingly banished the inhabitants of an ancient village and razed it to the ground, because the crowing of the cocks and the grazing of the cattle disturbed the game in his brother's Jaghir which was contiguous. The territories of Meer Sohrab Khan and Meer Tarrah Khan are, as far as the soil permits in much better condition and more populous than those of Meer Fatteh Ali Khan from the greater mildness of their government [11]."

Religion.

"The Mohammedan part of the Sindian are in general Sunnies, with however a large proportion of Sheeas which sect the

11. This description of Shikargahs has been quoted by James Burnes, p. 79 of his *Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sindh*.

Love of hunting supersedes all considerations with a Baloochi, who never considers the loss of income which the appropriation of great tracts of land for the purpose of breeding game involves. This was carried to such an extent during the government of the Ameers that every head of deer killed must have cost 800 rupees; and this is said to be no exaggeration, as some of the richest land in Sindh was sacrificed in the formation of Shikargahs. Cf. E. G. Langley's *Narrative of a Residence at the Court of Ali Murad*, p. 265.

present Princes have adopted and therefore rendered it, if not more persuasive, at least more fashionable. The Hindoos both the followers of Vishnoo and Sheev are low in their caste, ignorant of their religion and relax in their scruples. They eat meat, drink wine and those in the employ of the Court let their beards grow and wear the Mussulman dress."

Language.

(I) *Vernacular.*

"The Sindhy language is composed of grafts of Arabic, of Persian, and of Afghany, upon Hindi dialect, evident from the character which a distortion of the Sanscrit, as well as the idiom and terminations. This is still more corrupted by the peculiarities which have been assumed by different tribes in writing and speaking, so great a degree in the former that the letters of one are not intelligible when they fall into the hands of another. Persian and Punjabi are likewise very generally spoken, but the dialect of India called Hindoostani is not understood except by some merchants and travellers. ❧

(II) *Court Language.*

"The Persian language is cultivated at the Durbar, and taught at the public schools, and the Prince with characteristic inflation and ignorance, conceiving himself the Rustom of the age, and the exploits of the Talpoori worthy of transmission to posterity, has employed a poet, a Sundian of more presumption than learning, to record them in verse like Ferdosi and called the book in rival distinction to his immortal work the Shah Nameh, the Futteh Nameh. With the same vanity he has lately directed the loves of a Belochee pair, as related in some of the country tales, to be translated into Persian verse, upon the model of Jami's Eusuph and Zuleka, that the diffusion of these poems may establish the fame of Sind, as well as in letters as in arms. The Futteh Nameh is rehearsed in Durbar, and many of the courtiers mark their adulation, by committing the most fulsome passages to memory. Whenever the Prince moves abroad he is preceded by a poet, who proclaims his praise in loud and hyperbolick strain, and the Prince does not blush, occasionally, to animate him by a command to raise his voice. [12]"

Dress.

"The dress of the Scindians like their characters is a compound of foreign habits. Their jackets and caps are both unseemly imitations, one of the fashion of India and the other of

12. This paragraph has been quoted by James Burnes, p. 47 of his book.

Persia. Their drawers are shaped like those of the Turks. Turbans are worn of a monstrous magnitude and it is since the accession of the present rulers only that the flowing robe of India has been laid aside. The Scindians are uncommonly proud of their hair in which particular they correspond with their neighbours the Sikhs. It is not orthodox for a Mussalman to keep the hair of his head but it is too great a favourite here to be sacrificed and the Princes themselves countenance the disobedience by their own practice. A Scindian measures his excellence and comeliness by the length of his beard and when it becomes white by age stains it either red or black, an art to which the women also have recourse to hide the greyness of their locks."

Sindhi temperament and amusements.

"When necessity does not impel to motion, the Scindians show their natural sloth. They will sit the whole day and night indulging in smoking and garrulity, intoxication through some medium or other is habituated to all descriptions of persons and Bang or wild Hemp as the most cheap is the most common. They make spirit both from Jagree and from dates which they perfume with spices and consume a great deal, the Hindoos particularly. The Scindians are excessively fond of singing and have good performers vocal and instrumental but they are diminishing with other marks of the former prosperity of the country. Their active diversions are shooting and chopping with their swords to prove their temper and the strength of their own arms. They are good marksmen with their match locks and inimitably dextrous with the bow and a blunt heavy arrow, which they use for game, and dart in a transverse instead of straight direction, so that the body and not the point of the arrow, strikes the object. With these arrows they take partridges flying, to the right and left as surely and expeditiously as a European sportsman with a double barreled gun. All the Princes are from great practice incredibly expert both with their guns and arrows. In riding and the use of the sword the Sindian have no skill. Nor have they any exercise peculiar to themselves [13]."

Revenues of Sind.

(I) Incomes of the Chiefs.

"The revenue of the whole territory of Sind including the three Chief-ships is considered to be forty lacks of rupees of

13. This description appears in James Burnes, pp. 113-114.

which Meer Futteh Ali Khan's share it may be concluded is about twenty five; since of the annual tribute to the King which is ten lacks of rupees, he pays six and half and Meer Sohrab and Meer Tarrah the rest. Meer Sohrab's revenue may be estimated at Eleven Lacks and Meer Tarrah's at four."

(II) Their hoards.

"The treasure of Meer Futteh Ali Khan and his brothers is said to be very great and with reason, for independently of the original property of the State and of the Family of Kulhora which has all fallen into their hands, they have themselves been for eighteen years past diligent in rapacity and inflexible in economy; but what they have amassed in wealth, they have lost in the spirit and affections of the people, the true riches and strength of a government. The hoards of the Princes are deposited in forts, which they have in the Registan or desert where there are many fertile spots and thither they would retreat in case of invasion from the King or other pressing emergency."

(III) Taxes.

"The Prince collects his revenue from the farmers in kind at the rate of three fifth of the produce and this he obliges the merchants and retailers of the town to receive in what quantity, and at what rate he pleases. The imposts are fruitful but exhorbitancy and vexation are fast destroying the trade, a matter of little concern to the rulers who do not look beyond their own time. The Customs of Currachee besides the taxes of the town amount eighty thousand Rupees. Those of Tatta and Shah Bunder which are generally included in one farm to one lack and twenty thousand and those of Hyderabad to about a lack and a half."

(IV) Disbursements.

"The principal disbursement of the Prince is his proportion of the tribute of ten lacks of rupees to the king and which as before observed is six lacks and half. This amount he does not render all in specie but a great part in the manufactures of Tatta which he first purchases and then charges at his own price. The administration of justice is here as in most eastern countries a source of emolument instead of expense. The charges of collections are about a fifth of the revenue and the household expenses of the Princes economical."

Military Strength.

(I) *Army.*

"The military force of Sind is furnished upon requisition by the Heads of the Tribes and land holders according to the extent of their Jaghirs of Zamindaris and are only paid by the Prince while on actual service. In order, however, to keep their recollections alive to their duty and engagements and perhaps to be prepared himself for emergencies, the prince keeps a small body of these troops in attendance by monthly relief. He has besides perhaps five thousand Men, Horse and Foot consisting of slaves and body servants. I conjecture, for it is difficult to pronounce, that Meer Fattah Ali Khan can bring five and twenty thousand fighting men into the field at any time and at a short warning. I am more clear in saying that Meer Sohrab commands ten thousand troops and that Meer Tarrah has five thousand of the choicest in the country. In a general clause therefore of the Talporry Family a force of forty thousand troops may be reckoned upon in Sind, and in a case of general enthusiasm the numbers would be great as every inhabitant is armed. The strongest man is among them the best soldier; for tactics they do not practise and bravery is common to them all. The weapons are matchlocks and swords; they have few horse among them and not at the utmost. I am speaking now of the collected force of the country five thousand, and most of these contemptible, but in marching perhaps their foot excel any troops in the world. Meer Fattah Ali Khan has abundance and choice artillery consisting chiefly of purchases or presents from the English during their ancient connections with Gholam Shah (which was of the most intimate and friendly nature) with many likewise of Portuguese and Dutch Manufacture. He had no better people at present to serve these but a surhung, a Tindal and some Lascars, deserters from the English but an expert European or two might soon put this train into a formidable state. Gun powder of good strength and quality is made at Currachee, Tatta, and Hyderabad likewise."

(II) *Fortifications.*

"The fortification of Hyderabad consists of high wall and a high citadel, upon which some very fine guns are planted. The wall is thin, but supported inside by a great depth of earth, partly original and partly piled up, which would make a breach difficult. The citadel is entirely brick work, but very thick, and the figure perfectly circular, of not more than a hundred

yards diameter. There is a dry ditch round one side of the fort, and low ground on the other. The circumference of the wall may be three quarters of a mile; it has few embrasures and no commanding angles, nor outworks. The figure of the fort comes nearest to an oblong square, and it stands upon one side of the extremity of a long and narrow rocky hill steep in its declivity every way. The country surrounding this rock is an island formed by the Indus, about six or eight miles broad, twenty or thirty long, well cultivated, and annually inundated by the periodical swell. Tatta has no fortification whatever. There is the commencement of a wall begun under some of the Kings of Delhi about a century and a half ago but it was countermanded from a report to the throne that the then Nabob of Tatta who was charged to execute the work instead of intending to carry a rampart round for the defence of the Town was projecting a citadel for the intrenchment of himself. Currachee is fortified with a thick mud wall upon which some Guns are planted. No vessels can batter it from the Sea for they obliged to lie at a distance of at least three miles from it but their guns could cover the landing of Troops abreast of the place of anchorage a vessel of more than two hundred tons could not safely cross Curachee Bar and if she entered in an hostile manner, she might expect to find herself surrounded by all the dingies then lying there and they would often be more than a dozen carrying guns some of them as heavy as her own and each of them perhaps more men, for on such an occasion of attack there would be no scarcity of volunteers."

Then follows a detailed account as to the best mode of landing an army in Sind in case of hostilities with the Amirs, which I omit as it will be of little interest to the general reader.

REVIEWS.

THE MAUKHARIS, by Edward A. Pires, M. A., with a preface by Rev. H. Heras, S. J. Publishers, B. J. Paul & Co., Madras 1934.

We welcome the publication of this small volume, for it somewhat satisfies a want that was keenly felt. In fact, monographs on individual dynasties are very essential for an authentic detailed history of India. The Imperial seat has often changed in ancient Indian History than is usually known and many individual dynasties attained to imperialistic positions for shorter or longer period. To reconstruct these vicissitudes as also the political relations of the imperial power with the various provincial kingdoms and principalities, a connected history of individual dynasties is essential.

We therefore welcome this attempt on the part of Mr. E. Pires. He has herein tried to bring together within the compass of one volume details of all the different branches of the Maukhari dynasty. Several features of the work are at once distinguished. Details given about their capital, as also about the administration, warfare, religion, social life, literature, and archaeology under the Maukhari kings go to make this work valuable. The relations that existed between the Cholas and the Maukharis are well brought out.

Another very important point which the author has discussed for the first time would be an outstanding research, only if the grounds on which it rests are more definite. We refer to his identification of the Magadha kula of the Kaumudimahotsava with the Maukhari family. The theory is attractive and there is nothing inherently impossible about it. But we should point out that the reasons adduced for the same are not convincing. For instance, the Mayurasarman inscription which has been taken by the author as mentioning Mokara has been taken by Mr. Jayaswal as having no mention of the word. (*History of India*, page 135). And it is this inscription on which the whole theory of Mr. Pires is practically based. We, therefore, think that we shall have to wait till future researches bring forward some convincing evidence.

The work, however, will be found invaluable by the students of ancient Indian History. It is nicely got up and the illustrations add to the usefulness of the book.

D. R. MANKAD.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Honorary Secretary acknowledges with thanks the receipt of a copy of MOHANJO-DARO by Mr. Bherumal M. Advani, and a copy of History OF AMAR KOT—SINDH (in *Sindhi* vernacular) by Mr. Tejsingh P. Solanki, which will be reviewed in the next number of the Journal of the Society.

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IDENTIFICATION OF SOME OLD PLACES IN ANCIENT SIND

BY

N. M. BILLIMORIA. (With a Map)

(Read 23rd September, 1934)

In this paper you will find several contradictory statements made, for all the authorities cannot agree on the same point.

Claudius Ptolemy lived at Alexandria in the first half of the second century A. D. His work on Astronomy is as famous as his work on geography.

Early Classical Geographers.

1. Hecatoeus, B. C. 500. The first Greek Geographer.
2. Herodotus, B. C. 484-431, the Father of History, was a traveller. 3. The Indica of Ktesias, B. C. 398, the royal physician of Persia is full of old wives' tales, not to be trusted.

The march of Alexander the Great through the Punjab and Sindh brought, for the first time the direct Greek knowledge of India to the banks of the Sutlej. The great invader caused the whole of India to be described by men well acquainted with it. Some of the well-known men who had accompanied him wrote valuable memoirs, which are lost, but they furnished materials to subsequent writers. (1) DIODORUS who mixed history with fiction. (2) PLUTARCH. (3) STRABO, B. C. 60—A. D. 19; (4) CURTIUS A. D. 100; (5) the best of Alexander's historians, ARRIAN, A. D. 200; (6) JUSTINUS, not later than A. D. 500.

Megasthenes, B. C. 305, lived for a time in India; his writings are lost; only fragments remain for us.

About B. C. 240, ERATOSTHENES, who was placed in charge of the library at Alexandria, by the aid of mathematics laid the first foundation of a really scientific geography.

About two hundred years later, B. C. 60—A. D. 19, STRABO flourished.

PLINY the naturalist who lived from A. D. 23—79, deals with the geography of India in the 6th book of his Natural History,

The increase of trade with India created the demand of a guide book which was produced in the form of the "PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHRAEAN SEA, by an anonymous writer, about A. D. 60, who evidently sailed round the coast of India. It contains the best account of the commerce carried on from the Red Sea and the coast of Africa to the East Indies during the time that Egypt was a Roman Province. It mentions river-mouths, ports, etc. with distances, exports, imports and such other details as a merchant would most value.

He has devoted in his PERIPLUS, over three paras to Sind, which I shall read to you with some of the notes of Wilfred H. Schof.

The river SINDHU (Indus) has supplied India with her two names—HINDUSTAN and INDIA. Sindhu (or Sindhu-s in the Nominative form) was pronounced with H instead of S by the Persians. Now the Greeks borrowed the word from the Persians and wrote it as Indus, there being no H in their alphabet. Thus Sindhu was changed to Indus and from the latter was derived India. Ptolemy mentions KOA and SQUASTOS as the western tributaries; the former is the Kabul river; and the latter Suvastu, Good dwelling, mentioned in the Rig Veda.

The followers of Alexander and Strabo mention only two mouths of the Indus. Periplus and Ptolemy give seven. There are now eleven. But changes are continually taking place. Sagapa, the western mouth, was explored by Alexander. It separates from the main stream below Thatha. In the chronicles of Sind it is called Sagara, from which perhaps the present name Ghara may be derived; it has long ceased to be navigable.

SINTHON.—This has been identified with the Piti branch of the Indus, one of the mouths of the Baghar river. This is the Kediwari (Haig's map shows it as Kokewari mouth).

KHARIPHON.—Cunningham identifies this with the Kyar river of the present day which leads right upto the point where the southern branch of the Ghara joins the main river near Lari Bandar.

SAPARA.—This is the Wari mouth.

SABALAESSA is now the Sir mouth.

LONIBARE in Sanskrit is Lonavari (Lavana is Sanskrit for salt); it is now the KORI, but it retains its old name Launi.

All the large tributaries of the Indus with the exception of the Kabul River, join it on its eastern side. Strabo and Arrian state their number as 15; Pliny puts 19; Most of them are mentioned in one of the hymns of the Rig Veda.

Ptolemy includes in his INDO-SKYTHIA, the following, PATALENE, ABIRIA and SYRASTHRENE.

The first named after its capital PATALA, was the delta at the mouth of the Indus. Before its conquest by the Scythians it had been subject to the Græco-Bactrian kings.

The country of the ABHIRAS (commonly called AHIRS) lay to the east of Indus above where it bifurcates to form the delta. In Sanskrit works their name is employed to designate the pastoral tribes that live in the lower districts of the N. W. as far as Sindhi.

SYRASTRENE represents the Sanskrit Surashtra (the modern Saurashtra) which is the name in the Mahabharata and the Purans for the peninsula of Gujarat.

PASIPEDA. —St. Martin thinks that this may be the Besmeid of the Arab Geographers; they tell us that it was a town of considerable importance lying east of the Indus on the route from Mansura to Multan. Arab travellers all concur in placing it between Roud (now Roda) and Multan, at a three days' journey from Roud and two days' from Multan. Its situation is therefore at Mithankot, where the great confluence now takes place. Cunningham thinks it strange that Ptolemy has not mentioned a famous place like Sehwan, which he identifies with SINDOMANA and ventures to think that it may be either his PIAKA or PASIPEDA. He says, "If we take Hyderabad as the most probable head of the Delta in ancient times, the Ptolemy's SYDROS which is on the eastern bank of the Indus, may perhaps be identified with the old side of Mattali, 12 miles above Hyderabad, and his PASIPEDA, with Sehwan. The identification of Ptolemy's OSKAMA with Oxykanus or Portikanus of Alexander and with the great mound of Mahorta of the present day is I think almost certain. If so, either PIAKA or PASIPEDA must be Sehwan."

For the omission of Sehwan by Ptolemy, Mr. Carter writes: "But it is more than possible Sehwan is not mentioned, because it was not founded. Concurrent Sindhi legend clearly fixes the Gupta period for the founding of Shrivastan as this place appears

to have been first called. PISKA is, compared with the divagation of the river towards the Arbita Mounts, rather south of the site of Sehwan."

BONIS.—It is placed at the point of bifurcation of the western mouth of the river and an interior arm of it. The Arab geographers mention a town called BANIA in lower Sindh. The distance is of a single journey below Mansura. This double indication points out BANNA, which stands at the point where the Piniari separates from the principal arm about 25 miles above Thatha.

KOLAKA or KOLALA.—This place is probably identical with KROKALA of Arrian's *Indika* which mentioned it as a small sandy island where the fleet of Nearchus remained at anchor for one day. It lay in the bay of Karchi which is situated in a district called Karkalla even now.

PATALA.—We learn from Arrian that it was the greatest city in the parts of the country about the mouth of the Indus. He states that it was situated at the head of the Delta where the two great arms of the Indus dispart. It could have been easily identified had the river continued to flow in its ancient channel.

Rennell, Vincent, Burnes, and Ritter placed it at Thatha. Droysen, Benfey, Saint-Martin and Cunningham, at Hyderabad (the Nirankot of Arab writers), and McMurdo followed by Wilson and Lassen at a place about 90 miles to the N. E. of Hyderabad. The last supposition is untenable; Hyderabad was at one time called Patalapur; the arguments in its favour appear conclusive. PATALA figures conspicuously in the history of Alexander's invasion. In its spacious docks Alexander found suitable accommodation for the fleet which had descended the Indus and there he remained with it for a considerable time. Seeing its advantageous position for commerce and strategy, he built a citadel and made it a military centre for controlling the neighbouring warlike tribes. Before finally leaving India he made two excursions from it to the ocean. Patala in Hindu Mythology was the name of the lowest of the seven regions in the interior of the earth. Patala in Sanskrit means a trumpet-flower, and Cunningham thinks that the Delta may have been so called from some resemblance in the shape to that flower. (*Bignonia Suaveolens*).

BARBAREI.—Ptolemy places it by mistake to the north of Patala, though BARBARIKON, as *Periplus* mentions is a maritime port situated on the middle mouth of the Indus. D'An-

ville placed it at Debal Sindhi, the great emporium of the Indus during the middle ages, or at Karachi, while Elliot and Cunningham placed it at an ancient city of which some ruins are still to be found called Bambhara, and situated almost midway between Karachi and Thatha on the old western branch of the river. Burnes and Ritter placed it at Richel, and St. Martin a little further still to the east at Bandar Vikkar on the Hajamro mouth. In an old map which I have seen, it occupies the present position of Karachi.

BOUDAIA.—This is the fort of Budhya or Bodhpur, mentioned in the Arab chronicles of the conquest of Upper Sind and situated between Alor and Mithankot. Yule identifies it with Budhia a place to the west of the Indus and south from the Bolan Pass. It is mentioned in the *Chach Nama* several times, see pages part I, 11, 65, 95, 98, 99, 156.

KAMIGARA.—The ruins of Aror which are visible at a distance of 4 miles to the S.E. of Kori, are still known under the name of Kaman. To this word we add the common Indian affix Nagar, City, and we have a near approach to the Kamigara of Ptolemy.

BINAGARA.—It is identified with Alor. Yule and Mc Murdo place it much further south near Brahmanabad, which is some distance north from Hyderabad. Periplus puts it in the interior above Barbarikon.

POULINDAI AGRIOPHAGOI.—Pulinda is a name applied in Hindu works to a variety of aboriginal races. Agriophagoi is a Greek epithet and indicates that Pulinda was a tribe that subsisted on raw flesh and roots or wild fruits. In Yule's map they are located to the N.E. of the Rann of Cutch lying between the Khatriai in the north and Larike in the south. KHATRIAI are the people who held the territory between the Ravi and the Bias.

RHAMNAI.—They are one of the oldest people in Indian ethnography. Their early seat was in the land of the Oreitai and Arabitai beyond the Indus, where Rhambikia was their capital. As they were connected with the Brahui whose speech must be considered as belonging to the Deccan group of languages we have here a fresh proof confirming the view that before the arrival of the Aryans, all India, together with Gedrosia (Baluchistan) was inhabited by the tribes of the same widely diffused aboriginal race, and that the Rhamnai, who had at one time been settled

in Gedrosia, had wandered thence as far as the Vindhya mountains. The Brahui are a Dravidian tribe, left behind by their race on its way to Southern India ; in earlier days the connection of both with the Persian Gulf was less broken. Curzon says that Makran is Dravidian ; while Brahui is thought to refer to the hero of the tribe, Braho, a name having the same root as Abraham.

BARAKE.—The Periplus calls the Gulf of Cutch by this name ; Ptolemy calls it Gulf of Kanthi. Even at the present day the south coast of Cutch is called Kanthi.

The people that possessed the maritime region immediately adjoining the Indus were the Arbitai or Arabics. In one of their harbours the fleet of Nearchus at the outset of his voyage was detained for 24 days waiting till the monsoon should subside. The harbour was bound to be both safe and commodious and was called by Nearchus the Port of Alexander. This is now Karachi. The name of the people was applied also to a chain of mountain and to a river, the Arabis, now called the Purali, which falls into the Bay of Sonmiani.

GYNAIKON LIMEN.—is mentioned by Arrian in his *Indika* ; this is women's haven, the port of Morontobara, near Cape Monze, the last point of the Pab range of mountains. The haven was so named because the district around had, like Carthage, a woman for its first sovereign.

While describing the eastern part of Makran, Hieun Tsiang mentions a city, the Chinese name of which has been Sanskritized as Women Paramount. Thus Ptolemy has been supported by this Chinese Traveller.

Megasthenes mentions several races and tribes especially the PANDAE, the only race in India ruled by women. They say that Hercules had only one daughter, who was on that account the more beloved endowed her with a noble kingdom. Her descendents rule over 300 cities and command an army of 150,000 foot and 500 elephants. Among other tribes, the SINGHAE are represented at the present day by the Sanghis of Omarkot, called the SON by MacMurod, Descendants of an ancient Rajput tribe the Sanghars. The SYRIENI are the Suryanis who under that name have occupied the country near the Indus in the neighbourhood of Bakkar. DARANGAE is the Latin transcription of the great race of the Jhadejas, the rulers of Cutch. BUZAE represent the Buddas an ancient branch of the Jhadejas. The UMBRAE are represented by the Umranis,

and the NEREI perhaps by the Nharonis who though belonging to Baluchistan had their ancestral seats in the regions of the East of the Indus.

Let us identify some places according to Civilian Carter.

Eiros is Rerhi ; Krokala is Waghodar ;

In the neighbourhood of Rerhi is a fissure specially sacred to a crocodile, and still known as Waghodar, the crocodile's doorway. Of the antiquity of the cult of the crocodile in the delta of the Indus there can be no doubt, and Krokala really means the crocodile's places. He quotes :

"Then the first harbour after Rerhi the large and commodious Alexander's Haven is Ghizri Creek, the mouth of the River Malir. It was protected by an island which has now become "tied." The subsoil water around the lower course of Malir River is very brackish as sea water percolates through the sandy soil. The bay sheltered by the island of Domai must be Karachi Harbour lying under the lee of Manora, and water would be obtained by sending fatigue parties inland to dig in the bed of the Lyari.

The River from the Arbita Mounts is the River Baran.

BONIS is Tharro at the bifurcation of the Jamwah and Khanwah canals.

KOLAKA is Bhambher hill, near Gharo, the old Killoutis ; not Krokala which is Eiros-Rerhi.

SAGAPA is Sagala ; the word survives in Mirpur Sakro ; in middle Sind the word is nasalized to Sangro.

KHARIPHON is a mis-pronunciation of کارو kharo the mud wastes along the coast away from the main stream ; Compare Sindhi گار Gar, a clod, کھا kha slimy land marked with cattle tracks.

Pushtu Khaerr خاړ muddy or dirty. The present Kharo is around the mediaeval Lahori Bunder.

ARBITA Mounts are Pabb Mts.

SOUSIKANA is either Jungshah or a large mound on the right bank of the Kalri, a few miles east of Tharro, which still awaits excavation.

SARBANA is Sarmana, Sudderan jo dhado, near Tando Md. Khan at the extreme SE corner of Ganja Takar. The stupa here is of the 4th century but the hill on which it stands bears many unexplored antiquities.

AUXOANIS is Gabr jo Daro ; two large unexplored mounds (the mounds of the Gabi) a few miles SE of Tando Md. Khan from خان khan, a persian fire altar.

ASTAKAPRA (ast, bone) The reference must be to the equivalent of tower of silence kept by the Persians.

XADRAKA, is Hyderabad. Possibly from کدڑو a hermaphrodite. There is still a Khadro station a few miles north of Mirpur Khas.

PARDABATHRA is either Mirpur Khas on dhoro purano, where is a 4th century stupa or possibly Bathri (Dilurai Nagar) a few miles west of Brahmanabad on the Lahano or Marakh Wha.

PANASA (the quarries from Sindhi Pahan پھان a stone) is Sukkur-Bukkur-Rohri whence the Tharro neolithic flints are obtained.

The HAVEN in Syrastrene is Alexander's Haven, Ghazri Creek.

SOKSTRA represents the end of a big trade route from Gadrosia to the Indus Valley. This route was probably the line of the Karachi Sehwan road, running W of the Black Mts. The eastern boundary of Gedrosia follows the edge of the Karachi Kohistan and then cuts across from Sehwan to the Gaj Nai. In other words the S. half of the Larkana district belonged to Gedrosia and was the cold weather grazing lands of the cattle-men of Kohistan, they being prevented from coming, as they do now into the delta lands which was of too much importance as trade routes to allow of tribal disturbance.

From Ptolemy's map we learn :—

1. The province of Syrastrene was formed by Lower Sind with Cutch and Kathiawar.
2. Abiria is a small district ; it would be the country between Hyderabad and Patalene.

3. The place names recorded by Ptolemy are of various tongues ; They are Greek (Theophila) ; Persian (Xoana) with several strata of Indian names (Parisicene, Panasa, Nagramma, Luniwari) ; Hybrid, (Aristo-Bathra, Parda-Bathra ; what about Monoglosson ?
4. It clearly shows Sokstra as an advance post of Gedrosia dominating the Indus. The fort of Kamigara is above, and Binagara is below it ; both on the Indus and in Indo-Sythia, and obviously intended to prevent further advance towards India ; the meaning of the names are wooden-fort and mud-fort. In Ptolemy's Sind there are no *nagars* ; the generic name for a city is *graama*. The Sindhis cannot pronounce the word *nagar* ; he says *nangar*.
5. Religion appears as mixed as race. Zoroastrianism has been shown in, Auxoanis, Xoana, Astakapra.
Buddhism appears in Boudaia, and Sarmana.
Incipient Hinduism in the name Pasipeda.
But the cults of Vishnu and Siva, nothing appears.

At the time Ptolemy was writing the Indo-Iranian invasion of India had not yet ceased. This is supported by two points :

1. The high frequency of names beginning with AK in the lands lying west of Sind.
2. The fact that the river Arabis is certainly the Purali, while the Arbitai were living east of it, in the country towards the Indus valley. For exactly parallel case we may refer to the Karmati Baloch, who now occupy Mirpur Sakro taluka in the Indus Delta but derive their name from the River Kalmat, a small stream of the Makran. Their migration began about four centuries ago and finished about a century ago.

Quintus Curtius is clear about that Arbitai :

Nonis castris in regionem Abaritarum, inde totidem diebus in Cedrusiorum perventum est..... Quinto hinc die venit ad flumen Arabon incolae appellant,—the translation of the above is

He reached the country of the Arabites in the course of nine encampments, and thence in the same number

of days to the land of the *Cedrosii*. On the fifth day from this he came to the river which the natives call Arabis.

We find the Arabites living fourteen marches east of the River Arabis.

In A. D. 641, when the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang visited India Sindh was divided into four principalities, which may be described geographically, as Upper Sindh, Middle Sindh, Lower Sindh and Cutch.

The whole formed one kingdom under the Ruler of Upper Sindh, who was a Sudra. Also Taki Vazir Budhiman of Chach is reported in the Chachnamah (p. 25) to have said that Sahasi appointed each of the four chiefs to each of the four divisions in order that they might try their best to collect the revenue for the treasury, and to protect the country. The Upper Sind is now known as Siro, that is Head or Upper division. It is well known that Alor was the capital of Sindh before and after Hwen Thsang's visit, A. D. 641. This Chinese pilgrim places the capital to the west of the Indus, whereas the present ruins of Alor or Aror are to the east of the river. The Indus formerly flowed to the east of Alor, down to the old channel, now called Nara. The change in the course did not take place until the reign of Raja Dahir or about fifty years after the visit of the Pilgrim. The desertion by the Indus of Alor is attributed to the wickedness of Dahir; but the gradual westing of all the rivers that flow from north to south is the real cause. The change of course is said to have taken place in Dahir's reign, that is about A. D. 680; and as Mahomed Kassim was obliged to cross the Indus in order to reach Alor, it is certain that the river was permanently fixed in its present channel before A. D. 711.

In Upper Sindh the places of ancient note are Alor, Rori, Bhakar, and Mahorta near Larkana. Side by side with ancient towns it is necessary to describe the ancient tribes or nations.

On leaving the confluence of the Punjab Rivers, Alexander sailed down the Indus to the realm of the Sogdi, where he built a city. Diodorus describes the same people under different name; "continuing his descent of the river, he received the submission of the Sodrae and the Massanae, nations on opposite banks of the stream, and founded another Alexandria in which he placed ten thousand inhabitants." Curtius in the life of Alexander describes the same people "On the fourth day he came to other

nations, where he built a town named Alexandria." I believe Alexander built about 13 towns and called them all Alexandria. It is evident that Sogdi of Arrian and Sodrae of Diodorus are the same people; the former are identified with Sodha Rajputs by Tod and M'Murdo and the latter with the servile Sudras by Mr. Vaux. The Sodhas who are a branch of the Parmars now occupy the south eastern district of Sindh about Umerkot, but M'Murdo states that they once held large possessions on the bank of the Indus to the northward of Alor. Abul Fazl states that the country from Bhaker to Umarkot was peopled by the Sodhas and Jharejas in the time of Akbar. General Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography* states that Massanae of Diodorus are the Nusarnej of Ptolemy, whose name still exists in the district of Muzarka to the west of the Indus below Mithankot. Genl. Cunningham identifies the Sodi or Sodrae with the people of Seori, which was captured by Husen Shah Arghun on his way from Bhakar to Multan. In his time (A. D. 1525) it is described as the strongest fort in that country. It is about 8 miles NE of Sbzalkot, the village Sirwahi is inserted in old maps, which may probably represent the Seorai of Sindhian history. It is 96 miles in a direct line below Uchh, and 85 miles above Alor, or nearly midway between them. The Arab Geographers place a strong fort named Bhatia between Multan and Alor; this must be very likely the city which Alexander built among the Sogdi. It seems probable that it is the same place as Talhati where Jam Junar crossed the Indus and perhaps also the same as Matila or Mahatila which was one of the six great forts of Sindh in the 7th century. Ferishta describes Bhatia as a very strong place; it was taken by assault in A. D. 1003 by Mahomed of Gazni after an obstinate defence in which Raja Bijai Rai was killed. From the territory of the Sogdi, Alexander continued his voyage down the Indus to the capital of a king named Musikanus. His kingdom was described as the richest and most populous throughout all India, and the country produced everything in abundance. This description can only be applied to Alor. Its ruins are situated to the south of a gap in the low range of limestone-hills which stretches from Bhakar towards the south for about 20 miles until it is lost in the broad belt of sand hills which bound the Nara or old bed of the Indus on the west. To the NE it was covered by a second branch of the river which flowed nearly at right angles to the other at a distance of 3 miles. In A. D. 680 the latter was probably the main stream of the Indus which had been gradually working to the west. According to old historians the final change was hastened by the excavation of a channel through the northern end of the range of hills between Bhakar and Rori. The original name of Alor seems to be Rora, to which

the Arabic prefix *al* was added ; for Biladuri and other Arab authors call it Alror. This derivation is countenanced by the name of the neighbouring town of Rori, as it is common practice in India to duplicate names. So Rora Rori would mean Great and Small Rora ; Rora means noise, clamour roar or fame. It is possible that the full name may be Rora-pura or Rora-nagar. Cunningham thinks that Alor may be BĪNAGARA of Ptolemy, as it is placed on the Indus to the eastward of Oskana (p. 152, Ptolemy, ed. by McCrindle ed. by Majmudar). This city of Musikanus was of some importance for Alexander ordered Kraterus to build a castle in the city ; he left a strong garrison in it for the fort seemed extremely useful in keeping the neighbouring nations in subjection.

From this capital Alexander allowed his fleet of boats to continue their course down the River while Alexander marched against a neighbouring prince named Oxykanus, and took two of his cities at the first assault. The name of the city must be Uchcha-gam, or Portagam lofty town in allusion to its height. It is identified by Cunningham with a great mound of Mahorta on the bank of the Ghar river, ten miles from Larkana. At present Mahorta is within a few miles of the river ; but in the time of Alexander when the Indus flowed down the bed of the Nara, the nearest point of the stream was at Alor, from which Mahorta was distant 45 miles to the SW. Hence Alexander was obliged to leave his fleet and to *march* against Oxykanus. Both commercially and politically the site of Mahorta was a position of great importance as it commanded the highroad from Sindh, *via* Kachh Gandava to Kandahar ; since its downfall, Larkana has occupied its position. Larkana is ten miles west of Mahorta.

Ptolemy's Badana must be the present Gandava, as the letters B and G are constantly interchanged.

The principal places in the middle or vachlo Sindh are Sehwan, Hala, Hyderabad and Umerkot. In the middle ages under the Hindu rule the great cities were Sadusan, Brahamana, or Bahmnawa and Nirunkot.

In order to prove that Nirunkot was the modern Hyderabad and the ancient Patala it should be included in the part of Lower Sindh or Lar. Close to Bahmnawa the early Mahomedans founded Mansura, which as the residence of their governors soon became the largest city in Sindh. In the time of Alexander, the only places mentioned are Sindomana, and a city of Brahmans, named Harmetelia by Diodorus. From the city of Oxykanus

Alexander led his forces against Sambus ; the Raja abandoned his capital Sindomna, which according to Arrian was delivered to Alexander by the followers of Sambus. Cunningham identifies Sindomna with Sehwan, partly from its similarity of name and partly from its vicinity to the Lakki mountains. There is no doubt about its antiquity ; as the great mound, which was once the citadel, the accumulation of ages, on a scraped rock, at the end of the Lakki range of hills. In ancient times, when the river flowed down the eastern channel of the Nara, Sehwan was not less than 65 miles distant from its nearest point of Jakrao, where it leaves the sand hills. At present the water supply is entirely derived from the Indus, which flows under the eastern and northern front by a channel called the Arral from the great Manchar Lake, which must have existed long before the change in the course of the Indus. The lake abounds in fish ; hence its name, Sanskrit Matsya, Hindi Machh, fish. M'Murdo says Sehwan is undoubtedly a place of vast antiquity perhaps more so than either Alor or Bahmana. It seems strange that Ptolemy has not mentioned such a famous place like Sehwan. If we take Hyderabad as the most probable head of the Delta in old times, then Sydros, mentioned by Ptolemy, which is on the eastern bank of the Indus may be identified with old site of Mattali, 12 miles north of Hyderabad, and Ptolemy's PASIPEDA with Sehwan. Cunningham identifies Ptolemy's Oskana with the Oxykanus or Portikanus of Alexander, and with the great mound of Mahorta of the present day. If so, Piska or Pasipeda must be Sehwan.

It was captured by Muhammad Kasim in A. D. 711 (page 92, Chachnamah) and by Mahamud of Gazni in the eleventh century.

Curtius in Alexander's Life states "*Alexander...rursus amnem in quo classem expectare se jusserrat, repetit. Quarto deinceps die, secundo amne, pervenit ad oppidum, qua iter in regnum erat Sabi,*" which I translate "Alexander marched back to the river, where he had ordered his fleet to await him. Thence, going down the river, he came on the fourth day to a town, through which there was a way to the kingdom of Sabus." when Alexander quitted his fleet at Alor the capital of Musikanus, to march against Oxykanus, he did not intend to go to Sindomna, as Sambus the Raja had already submitted. He must have ordered his fleet to wait for him at some point on the river not far from the capital of Oxykanus. Cunningham thinks that point must be somewhere about Marija Dand on the old Nara, below Kator and Tajal, as Mahorta is about equidistant from Alor and Kator. Thence coming down the stream he reached on the fourth day a town,

through which there was a road to the kingdom of Sambus. From Marija Dand, the point where Alexander joined his fleet the distance to the ruined city of Brahmana, or Brahmanabad, is 60 miles by land and 90 by water. As this distance could be accomplished in four days, Brahmana was the actual city of the Brahmans, described by the historians of Alexander. Here at Harmatelia that Ptolemy was wounded; this place is described as the "last town of the Brahmans on the river." Harmatelia is only a softer pronunciation of Brahma-thala or Brahmanasthala, just as Hermes, the phallic god of the Greeks is the same as Brahma, the original phallic god of the Indians. It was Mr. Bellasis who discovered the ruins of this old city. They are situated near the old bed of the Indus, 47 miles NE of Hyderabad 28 miles to east or north east of Hala, and 20 miles to the west of the eastern Nara. The place is known as Bambhra-kathul, or the ruined tower, from the broken brick tower which is the only thing that existed. The great mound is entirely surrounded with a rampart, mounted with numerous turrets and bastions. In the time of Akbar, Abul Fazl in the *Ayin Akbari* states that it had 116 bastions one round distant from each other. (A tanab equals 150 feet); so the circuit of the city was four miles. According to tradition Brahmanabad was destroyed by an earthquake in consequence of the wickedness of its ruler, Dilu Rai, about A. D. 757. The same stereotyped legend is told of all the old cities in the Punjab, and in Sind, Shorkot, Harapa, and Atari are said to be destroyed on account of the sins of their rulers; so also, Alor, Brahmana, and Bambhura. The excavations of Bellasis show conclusively that the Town was overwhelmed by an earthquake. Shortly after the Mahomedan conquest Brahmana was supplanted by Mansura. Biladuri states it was founded by Amru, son of Mahomed Kasim and named after Khalif, Al Mansur, who reigned from A. D. 753 to 774. But Masudi states that it was founded by Jamhur, the Governor of Sindh, under the last Omnicad Khalif, A. D. 744 to 749, who named it after his own father Mansur. The new city was built so close to Brahmanabad that Ibn Haukal, Abu Rihun, and Idrisi all describe it as the same place. Ibn Haukal states "Mansura which in the Sind language is called Bamiwan." The place was so much decayed that in 1025 when the conqueror of Somnath passed through Sindh, the plunder of Mansura was not sufficient to tempt him out of his direct route; so he passed on by Shewan to Gazni leaving the old capital alone.

In the time of Alexander the only well known place in the Delta was Patala. But he is said by Curtius "*interim et urbes plerasque condidit*," to have founded several towns himself

during the long stay in Lower Sind waiting for the Etesian winds to start his fleet. Only one name is known, *viz.* Barce. While Ptolemy gives the names of Barbara, Sousikana, Bonis, and Kolaka ; It is believed that Barbara is Barbarike emporium, mentioned in the Periplus—and perhaps same as Barce. In A.D. 60, the capital of Lower Sind was Minnangara, which the foreign merchants reached by going up the river from Barbarike. The Chinese traveller mentions Patasila or Patala. But the historians of Mahomed Kasim (A. D. 711) mention Debal and Nirankot. The Arab geographers place Manhiatra or Manhabari or Manjabari to the west of the Indus and two day's journey from Debal.

The position of Nirunkot is fixed at Hyderabad by several well known writers. Only Sir Henry Elliot places it at Jerak. Now Hyderabad is 47 miles from the ruined city of Brahmanabad or Mansura, and 85 miles from Lari Bandar, ancient Debal ; while Jarak is 74 miles from Brahmanabad and only 60 from Lari-Bandar. In a note by the translator of Chachnamah on page 71 states "Bazil arrived at the fortified town of Nirun—now HYDERABAD. Nirunkot was situated on a hill, and there was a lake in its neighbourhood of sufficient size to receive the fleet of Mahomed Kassim. For in the Chachnama page 89 part I, we read" Mahomed Kassim ordered the battering rams to be put in boats and taken to the fort of Nerun. Accordingly the boats (with their burden) were put under way in the lake, called the lake of Sangrah, while he himself went by way of Sisam." Mirza Kalichbeg adds a note to the word Sisam—"it is said that at that time the main stream of the Indus flowed eastward of the town of Nerun (now Hyderabad), most probably through the present bed of the Fuleli....." The Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang travelled in A. D. 641 from Koteswar the then capital of Cutch a distance of 117 miles, from whence he proceeded to Brahmanabad, 50 miles. And as Hyderabad or Nirunkot is exactly 120 miles to the north of Kotesar in Cutch and 47 miles to the SW of Brahmanabad, there should be no hesitation in identifying it with Patasila of the Chinese pilgrim.

Ptolemy states that the head of the delta was exactly half-way between Oskana and the eastern mouth of the Indus, called Lonibare ostium. This fixes Patala at Hyderabad which is at an equal distance from the capital of Oxykanus, that is from Mahorta near Larkana and Kori or eastern mouth of the Indus.

The Delta formed an equilateral triangle ; and the coastline from the Ghara mouth on the west to the Kori mouth on the east is about 125 miles. The distance of Patala from the sea may be

about 125 to 135 miles. Now the distance of Hyderabad from Ghara or western mouth is 110 miles, and from the Kori or eastern mouth 135 miles, both of which agree sufficiently near to the base measurement that the Delta formed an equilateral triangle. Consequently Patala which was at or near the head of the Delta may be certainly identified with the present Hyderabad.

Jarak is a small town on an eminence overhanging the western bank of the Indus, about half way between Hyderabad and Thatha. Jarak is the present boundry between Vachlo or middle Sindh and Lar or lower Sindh, which has been extended so as to include Hyderabad, (Patala and Pitasila) within the limits of ancient Delta. It is perhaps the same Khor or Alkhor of the Arabian geographers. Three miles south of Jerak there is a low hill in ruins, called Kafir Kot attributed to Raja Manj-hira. Amongst the ruins were found some fragments of Buddhist statues.

We read in the Chachnama that in A. D. 1296 Alaudin Khilji appointed Nasarat Khan to go with ten thousand men through the districts of Multan, Uch, Bakhar, Sehwan and Tatta to put down adverse tribes.....The word Thatha means shore or bank, so Nagar Thatha would mean city on the river bank. The chief city of Lower Sindh was Saminagar the capital of the Samma tribe, which stood on a rising ground, three miles to the NW of the site of Thatha. The site of Thatha is very modern but those of Saminagar and Kalyan-kot are very ancient. Cunningham thinks that Thatha was the actual position of Manhabari of the Arab geographers and of Minnangara of the author of the Periplus. Manjabari, Manhabari, is the city of the Mand tribe, just as Saminagar was the city of the Samma tribe. The Mand tribe have occupied Lower Sind in great numbers from the beginning of Christian era. The Mands are described as a numerous and brave tribe, who occupied the desert on the borders of Sindh and India, and extended their wanderings as far as Alor on the north, Makran on the west, and Mamhel or Umarmot on the east. It is said that Med and Zat, two descendants of Ham, the son of Noah, were the progenitors of the people of Sindh prior to the Mahabharata.

The Sythian name Min in Sindh is sufficient to suggest the presence of the Scythians; but its connection with them is placed beyond doubt by the mention that the rulers of Mannangara were rival Parthians, who were mutually expelling each other as we learn from the Periplus. These Parthians were Dahae Scythians from the Oxus who gave the name of Indo-Scythia to

the valley of the Indus, and whose mutual rivalry points to their identity with the rival Meds and Jats of the Mahomedan historians. If it is right to identify Min-nagara or the city of the Mins and Mandabari or the place of the Mand, there can be little doubt that the great Indo-Scythian capital was at Thatha. According to the author of the Periplus the vessels anchored at the emporium of Barbarike, where the goods were unloaded and conveyed to the capital by the river. Just as it was done more recently, the ships anchored at Laribandar or Diul Sind, while the merchants carried the goods to Thatha either by land or water. If Minangar was Thatha, it can be identified with Ptolemy's Sousinkana, that is Susi-gama or the town of the Sus tribe, an etymology which is supported by the fact that the Mands or Meds were a branch of the great horde of Sus or Abars who gave one name to Susiana at the mouth of the Euphrates and the other to Abria at the mouth of the Indus.

Barbarike Emporium or Bhambura is now a ruined town, situated at the head of the Ghara creek ; it is the site of the most ancient seaport in Sindh. About the tenth century Bhambhura was the capital of a chief named Bhambo Raja. The most westerly branch of the Indus once flowed past Bhambhua. Cunningham is inclined to identify Bhambura not only with the town of Barke, which Alexander built on his return up the river, but also with the Barbari of Ptolemy and the Barbarike emporium of the author of the Periplus. Ghara river had already begun to fail before A. D. 200. As stated in the Periplus the merchant vessels navigated the Indus upto Barbarike, where the goods were unloaded and conveyed by boats to Mannagar, the capital of the country. After a time this channel also failed and when the Arabs invaded Sindh in about 711 A. D. Debal had become the chief port of the Indus and altogether supplanted Bhambura or the ancient Barbarike.

About Debal Sindhi and Debai I have said sufficient in my paper read before our Society in February 1934 ; so I will not repeat the arguments about its locality. At least Cunningham fixes it at 5 miles north of Laribandar ; 17 miles SW of Bhambura ; and 30 miles from Piti or Pintiani mouths of the River.

The name of the tribe Arabi or Arabies is derived from River Arabis, which divided their territory from that of the Oritae ; this boundary river was the Purali which flows through the present district of Las into the bay of Sonmiani. In the life of Alexander we read that he reached the eastern boundry of the Arabitae in nine days from Patala and in five days more their wes-

tern boundry. The distance from Hyderabad to Karachi is 114 miles, and from Karachi to Sonmiani 50 miles. Karachi must have been on the eastern frontier of the Arabitae. The Kolaka of Ptolemy and the sandy island of Krokola, where Nearchus stayed with his fleet for a day is identified with a small island in the Bay of Karachi. Krokola is further described as lying off the mainland of the Arabii. It was about 17-18 miles from the western mouth of the Indus which agrees exactly with the relative positions of Karachi and the mouth of the Ghara river ; we should take into account the advancement of the coastline about 5 or 6 miles during the 21 centuries that have passed since the advent of Alexander. On leaving Krokola Nearchus left Mount Eiros (Manora) on his right hand, and a low flat island on his left ; this is an accurate description of the Karachi harbour. Then he reached Morontobara, called "Women's Harbour." Cunningham identifies Morontobara with Murai, that is the headland of Ras Muari, or Cape Monz, the last point on the Pabb range of Mountains. Bara or bari means a roadstead or haven ; and maronta seems to be feminine of Mard ; the haven itself may be between Cape Monz and Sonmiani. At the mouth of the Arabius, Nearchus found a large and safe harbour, the present bay of Sonmiani at the mouth of the Purali, which Pottinger in his travels of Baluchistan describes as "a very noble sheet of water capable of affording anchorage to the largest fleet."

On crossing the river Arabius, Alexander penetrated further into the country and came to the small village of Rambakia, (Sonmiani) the capital city of the Pritae ; they had submitted to Alexander as soon as he approached them. He appointed a governor and deputed Leonatus with a large force to await the arrival of Nearchus with the fleet and to see that the new town was properly peopled. After Alexander's departure the Pritae revolted and killed th new governor ; but Leonatus defeated and severely punished them. Cunningham identifies the Oritae with the people on the Aghor river. On the bed of this river there are several jets of liquid mud called from time immemorial Ram-Chandra-ki-kup, Ramchander's wells. There are also two natural caves, one dedicated to Kali and the other to Hinglaj or Hingula Devi that is the Red Goddess. The pilgrims assemble at Rambag, because Rama and Sita are said to have started from this point and proceed to Gorakh tank where Rama halted ; and thence to Tongabhera and on to the point where Rama was obliged to turn back in his attempt to reach Hingula with an army. Rambagh is identified with Rambakia of Arrian. At Rambakia therefore we must look for the site of the city founded by Alexander, and which he left behind Leona-

tus to complete ; this appears to be the sixteenth Alexandria near the bay of Melane. Nearchus places the western boundary of the Oritiae at Malana, which must be the bay of Malan, to the east of Ras Malan, or cape Malan of the present day, about 20 miles west of the Aghor river. Curtius states "*in hac quoque regione urbem condidit*" in this place also he built a town—but does not mention the name.

The occurrence of the name of Rambaugh at so great a distance to the west of the Indus, and at so early a period as the time of Alexander, is very interesting and important as it shows not only the wide extension of Hindu influence in ancient times but also the great antiquity of the story of Rama. Cunningham states that during the flourishing period of Buddhism many of the provinces to the west of the Indus adopted the Indian religion which must have had a powerful influence on the manners and language of the people.

During the latter part of 1876 Major E. Mockler travelled along the Makran coast from Gwadar to Jask and tried to identify the ancient and modern names of the Makran Coast. His Paper "on the identification of places on the Makran Coast mentioned by Arrian, Ptolemy and Marcian" has been published in the Journal R. A. S. Great Britain and Ireland, New Series Vol. XI, pages 129-154. The tests he has employed for the identification of each place are : 1, measurement according to the distance given by the author quoted ; 2, topographical description ; and 3, similarity of name. I need not go into the arguments that he has adduced for identifying certain places, but I will state only the places identified. Teza is Tez mentioned by Ptolemy and Arrian. The order of Marcian's stages is from west to east, contrary to that of Arrian's. After the river Kandriakes is mentioned which is Chandrishshep (Shep in Baloohee means a small torrent). Bagia promontory is Cape Bes or Baganee. Pasa-Bandin is an excellent little harbour south of Gwadar (Bandin is the Baloohee word for harbour) this is Kuidza of Marcian. Karpella is Koh-Mubarak of the present day. Gwadr (a) is identical with Badra of Marcian or Barna of Ptolemy. Talmena or Taluman is Chahbar.

The city of Armail, Armabel, Karabel, or Las Bela is of great historic interest. We know from Chachnamah that the province of Las Bela was part of buddhist kingdom which extended from Armabel to the modern provinces of Gandava in Sind. The great trademark for the Buddhist on the frontier was

a place called Kandabel, which Elliot identifies with Gandava, the capital of the province of Kach Gundava. In the Chachnamah we read on page 39, that Chach came into the desert and no one dared to fight with him till he arrived at Kandail (or Kandhabel) otherwise called Kandhar." Elliot condemns this in accuracy for he recognises but only one Kandhar in Afghanistan. But there is a Kandhar or Kandahar in Kach Gandava, and Sir Thomas Holdich says in his "Gates of India" that there are ruins enough in the neighbourhood to justify the suspicion that this was after all the original Kandabel rather than the modern town of Gandava. Sir Th. Holdich believes that the capital of this ancient Budha or Budhiya kingdom had been Armabel rather than Kandabel ; for we find in the Chachnamah page 38 that when Chach marched in the direction of Armabel—the town was in the hands of a Buddhist Samani descended from the agents of Rai Sahiras, King of Hind, whom the Rai had elevated for their loyalty and devotion. This happened in the second year of the Hijra.

The Manhanari of Istakhri, Manbatara of Ibn Haukal, or Manabari of Idrasi again brings before the usual difficulty of two places with similar names. General Haig has shown us that there was a Manjabari on the old channel of the Indus, nearly opposite Mansura, about 40 miles NE of the modern Hyderabad, which corresponds with the description of the Arabian geographers, who have put Manhabari at two days' journey from Debal on the road to Armail. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting the whole para from Sir Th. Holdich's "The Gates of India" about ancient Manhabari. He states "As we have now decided what direction that road must have taken, after accepting General Haig's position for Debal, and bearing in mind Idrisi's description of the town as "built in a hollow" with fountains, springs, and gardens around it, there seems to me but little doubt that the site of ancient Manhabari is to be found near that resort of all Karachi holiday makers called Mugger Pir. Here the sacred alligators are kept, and hence the recognised name ; but the real name of the place, divested of its vulgar attributes, is Manja or Manja Pir. The affix Pir is common throughout the Bela district, and is a modern introduction. The position of Mugger Pir with its encircling walls of hills, its adjacent hot springs and gardens (so rare as to be almost unique in this part of the country) its convenient position with respect to the coast, and, above all its interesting architectural remains mark it unmistakably as that Manhabari of Idrisi which was two days' march from Dēbal."

The small but populous town of Khur has left some records of its existence near the Malir waterworks of Karachi where there is a very fine group of Arab tombs in a good state of preservation. There is village nearby called Khair, and the actual site of the old town cannot be far from it. It is directly on the road connecting Debal with Manhabari.

I may mention that General Haig identifies Debal with a ruin covered site 20 miles SW of Thatha and about 45 miles ESE of Karachi.

All these ancient cities eastwards of Makran have groups of remarkable tombs, constructed of stone, and carved in beautiful design and they are well preserved. These tombs are locally called "Khalmati." These remains are most likely Khalmati and belong to an Arab race who were once strong in Sind and who came from the Makran coast at Khalmati.

| A. W. Hughes in his "Country of Baluchistan" page 55 writes that in the immediate vicinity of the Hinglaj temple in the Las district the great place of pilgrimage for Hindus are said to be figures of sun and moon hewn out of the rock; and while mentioning Hinglaj another spot sacred to the same race must not be omitted—this is the small island of Satadip, situate a short distance off the Makran coast between Ormara and Pasni with many pilgrims proceed after visiting Hinglaj. This island is the Asthetal of the Arabs and Balochis and anciently known by Ptolemy as Asthae (*Asthaia*) and as Kamina by Nearchus. Masson states in his Narrative of various journeys in Baluchistan, etc. 4 Vols. 1842-43) that many of the names of places on the Las and Makran shores, as given by the Greeks, are retained to this day and he instances the stations of Malana, Araba, Kalama, Derembosa and Kophas as mentioned by Arrian to be readily recognisable in the present Malan, Araba, Kalamat, Darambab, and Kaphan, as named by the natives.

Let us see if we can trace the ancient towns and identify them. *Ballabhipura* was according to Tod destroyed in the 15th century by an irruption of the Parthians &c. The date of the event from Jain records fixes in A. D. 524. *Mankir* or *Manakir* bears a suggestive resemblance to *Minagara*, A city which Ptolemy places on the Nerbadda. The Sanskrit *Mahinagara*; *Mandir* is said to mean great centre; so that maha, great, and nakir a bad transcript in nagar. Juzr or Jurz is Gujarat. Hwen Tsang the Chinese traveller who visited India in 629 and

645, visited the kingdom of Su-la-cha or Saurashtra and Kiu-che-la or Gujjarat. *Kashbin*, Tod identifies with Cutch Bhuj; *Agam the Lohanas*. In Chachnama we find frequent mention of a chief under the name of Agham Lohana, who was Governor of Brahmanabad in the time of Chach : Lohana is the designation of a powerful tribe which at that period is said to have included the Sama and Lakha clans. The Lohanas derive their name and origin from Lohanpur in Multan ; the date of their emigration must have been very early. Agham or Aghamkot lies about 30 miles SE from Hyderabad : it is now forgotten, as Agham is mentioned as early as the time of Mahomed Kasim ; we may presume that it derived its name from the Lohana Chieftan who was a contemporary and opponent of Chach. Alor the ruins of the town lie between Bakkar and Khairpur ; the Band spoken of by Burnes in his travels is really an arched bridge ; the 1st syllable is Arabic AL and the real name Rur, as it survives in the modern town of Rori which stands closely by the ruins of Alor. Amhal Famhal : looking at its position at 2/3rd the distance between Mansura and Kambya it would answer to Anhalwar ; Kamhal is the best reading. ARMABEL. its position corresponds with the modern Bela the capital of the province of Las. It is placed on a considerable eminence—a strong and rocky site on the northern bank of the Purali (the Arabis of the ancients) ; there are old Mahomedan sepulchres and other vestiges of antiquity in its neighbourhood, especially about 5 miles to the W which seem to indicate its greatest importance at some former period. Coins, trinkets and funeral jars are occasionally found there ; and in the nearest point of the contiguous hills, separating the province of Las from the old town of Jhow, numerous caves and rock-temples exist. Bela is mentioned in the native histories not simply as Bela but as Kara-Bela.

Askalanda—Uchh—Alexandria. The ancient kingdom of Sind was divided in four Satrapies of which the third comprised the fort of Askalanda and Maibar which are also called Talwara and Chachpar. It is evident from the description of the other satrapies that this one contained the whole tract N. E. of Alor, S. E. of the Panjna and Gharra, in short the present Daudpota country. Now Maibar and Chachpar still exist under the modernised names of Mirbar and Chachar, close together at the very junction of the Acesines and Indus, on the eastern side of the river opposite to Mitankot and in them we should have to look for Alexandria. Baniya. The name occurs in the list of cities of Sind, the Bhati mentioned by Burani and Batiya of Cha-

chnama are probably variant spellings of the same name. Idrasi says that it is a small but pleasant place about 3 days' journey from Mansura on the road to Mamhal. Bhambur—Barbarike not mentioned in old writers but it is mentioned in modern native historians as having been captured during the khilafat of Harun Rashid ; it is the scene of many legendary stories of Sind, and owes its destruction in a single night to the divine wrath which its ruler's sins drew down upon it. Its ruins skirt the water's edge for $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile and covers a low hill almost surrounded by a plain of sand a little to the right of the road from Karachi to Ghara and about 2 miles from the latter place. It may possibly represent the Barbarick Emporium of the Periplus and the Barbari of Ptolemy. But opposed to this is the statement of Arrian that Barbarike was on the centre stream of the Delta. Brahmanabad—Mansura. Mahfuza. Brahmanabad after being intermediately succeeded by the Arab capital Mansura is now represented by modern Hyderabad. A native historian says Nasrpur was built on the site of Mansura. Baladuri tells us that Hakim had built Mahfuza on the Indian side of the lake or body of water his successor built Mansura on this western side. M. Reinaud says "Mahfuza was built in the neighbourhood of the capital (Brahmanabad) on the other side of the lake fed by the waters of the Indus." Mansura was 2 parsangs from Brahmanabad—Masudi ascribes Mansura to Mansur son of Jampur ; Alburani to Mahomed Kasim ; but Biladuri is the best authority and he ascribes it to Mahomed Kasim's son Amru. Mansura is identical with Hyderabad ; Ibn Haukal lays down : "from Mansura to Debal 6 days' journey on the supposition that Debal is our present Karachi. Mansura to Turan 15 days' journey ; Mansura to Kandabel (Gundava) 8 days' journey &c". Since then Mr. Bellasis has discovered the site of old Brahmanabad ; the exact position is 47 miles north east of Hyderabad, Debal, Karachi, Thatta, Lahori Bandar. There is no question that Debal was on, or close to, the sea coast, with which distant inland position of Thatta is by no means correspondent.

Sir H. M. Elliot entertains little doubt that Karachi itself represents the site of Debal. The very name of Debal or rather Dewal temple was doubtless acquired from the conspicuous position which that object must have occupied from the sea ; where it was calculated to attract the gaze and reverence of passing mariners like its fellow shrines of Dwarka and Somnath ; and as there is no other so eligible and commanding a spot along the whole coast of Sind from Cape Monze to Koteswar it is highly probable that the promontary on which Fort Manora now

stands is the identical site occupied by the celebrated temple which gave the name to the port of Debal. Manora is the name of one of the celebrated Buddhist patriarchs. Lahori Bandar or Lari Bandar succeeded Debal on the sea port of Sind and is first named by Biruni but Debal had maintained its position down to the time of Jalaludin's incursion into Sind in A. D. 1221; in Ibn Batuta's time we have no mention of Debal, 1333 A. D. Laharo has itself been taken as Debal. A historian distinctly mentions "what is now Bandar Lahori was in former times called Bandar Debal." The original name was most likely Lari, being so called after Lar, local name of the South portion of the Province of Sind. A passage from Burani reads "where after saying that the Gulf of Turan (present bay of Sonmiani) lies between Tez and Debal, he adds that beyond the Gulf of Turan are the small and great mouths of the Indus and one near the town of Loharani, the other to the east, on the borders of Kachh. The country between them bears the name of Sind Sagar or the sea of Sind; Loharani is here mentioned as quite distinct from Debal and was then evidently only just rising into importance".

Hala-Kandi. The ruins of old Hala or Hala-Kandi on the Indus, 35 miles above Hyderabad, lie to the South East of the present site. Had its name appeared in Clachnama, we might have ascribed its foundation to Raja Hal: Told in his Travels in West India names a later prince of the Samma family as its founder.

Janrud ; about a mile or half a parsang from Multan was the castle or fortified residence of the Governor which Istakhri calls Janrud. Ibn Haukal makes clear and says "Jandaruz is river and the city of Jandaruz stands on its banks. Jandarud or Jamrud is a port on the Chenab.—Kaikanan—Kaikan—Kakars. The expedition of A. H. 44 to the country between Multan and Kabul certainly shows that Kaikanan must have comprised the Sulemani range to the south of Gamal, and the celebrity of its horses would appear to point to a tract further to the west including Saharawan and Mushki where horses are in great demand. *Kalari, Anari, and Ballari*. They are three neighbouring towns on the road from Alor to Mansura. Annari is 4 days journey from Alor ; Kallari two days' from Annari and Mansura only one day from Kallari. *Kandabel Turar, Budha, Baiza*. Kandabel can scarcely be any other place than the modern Gandava ; K. was founded by the Persian King Fahaman between the confines of the Hindus and the Turks. K. was the capital of Budha and a large place of commercial traffic, deficient in the produce of the date palm, and situated in a desert stages.

from Mansura and ten through the desert from Multan. Gundava which is the capital of the province of Kachh Gandava is surrounded by a wall and is still one of the most important places between Kelat and Shikarpur though greatly declined from its former state. Old tract of Budh or Budhya very closely corresponds with the modern province of Kach Gandava. In the very centre of K. G. there is still a place called Budha on the Nari River. The position of *Kanzabur* corresponds with that of the modern Punjgoor in Makran. Manjabari is on the West of the River. Three days journey South from Sadusan (Shiwan) and two days short of Debal; it is the Minangara of the ancients. Minangara, there are two places of the same name; one on or near the Indus, the other on the Nurbudda. The former was the capital of Indo Scythia and Ningangara or Agnigara of Ptolemy. We know that in the 12th century Minagar was one of the cities dependent on Multan and was in possession of a chief by caste an Agri, descended from Alexander.

Nirun, Sakura—Jurak. Two geographers tell us Nirun lies between Debal and Mansura, but nearer the latter and that any traveller who wishes to go to Mansura must cross the river Indus at Manjabari which is on the western bank and stands opposite to Mansura. Idrasi places it on the western bank; and Abdul Fida says it is 15 parsangs from Mansura and fixes it in Lat. 26°-40.

The stream of Sakara of Sagara corresponds with the prolongation of the Gisri or Ghara Creek which at no very distant time must have communicated with the Indus above Tatta. Nirun is placed at Helai Halaya, a little below Jarak on the high road from Tatta to Hyderabad. It has a direct communication by a road over the hills with Bela and would be the first in the valley of the Indus which the Arabs could reach by land and therefore nearest to the capital of the Khilafat; lakes abound in the neighbourhood and are large enough especially the Kanjar to have admitted Md. Kassim's fleet. Nirun is represented 25 parsangs from Debal (the distance from Halai to Karachi is 75 Eng. miles). It was 15 parsangs from Mansura (35 miles is the distance between Halai and Hyderabad); certainly Nirun is not Hyderabad. Sadusan is modern Sihwan or Siwistan. Samu was the capital of the Jams of the Samma dynasty; it was founded by Jam Panya under the Makali Hills about 3 miles North East of Tatta, subsequently the fort of Tughlikabad was built by Jam Taghur on the site of the older Kalakot about 2 miles South of Tatta. The name Tughlikabad is now comparatively

forgotten and that of Kalakot has restored the claims of Raja Kala. The ruins of Samu city of the Sammas are to be traced near Tatta.

Tur was the ancient capital of the Sumra dynasty called also Mehmeter. It was situated in the paragna of Darak ; the ancient Pragna of Dirak is represented by the modern division of Chachagam and Balban on the borders of the Tharr or sandy desert between Parkar and Wanga Bazar. There is a pragna of Dirak still included in Thatta. Another capital of the Sumras is said to be Vijchkot five miles to the east of Puran River above Allah Band.

The site of Tur is occupied by the modern Tharri near Budina on the Gangru River. The real position is at Shakapur, a populous village about 10 miles South of Mirpur. Near that village the fort and palace of the last of the Sumras is pointed out whence bricks are still extracted of very large dimensions measuring no less than 20 by 8 inches.

The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. Travel and trade in the Indian Ocean by a merchant of the first century. Written A. D. 60-70.

PERIPLUS was the name applied to a numerous class of writings in Roman times which answered for sailing-chart and travellers' handbook. The title might be rendered as "guide-book to the Erythraean sea".

The Erythraean Sea was the term applied by Greek and Roman geographers to the Indian Ocean including its adjuncts, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Erythra means Red, so that the modern name perpetuates the ancient.

37. Beyond the Ommanitic region there is a country also of the Parsidae, of another Kingdom, and the bay of Gedrosia, from the middle of which a cape juts out into the bay. Here there is a river affording an entrance for ships with a little market-town at the mouth, called Oraea ; and back from the place an inland city, distant seven days journey from the sea, in which also is the King's court ; it is called (probably Rhambacia.) This country yields much wheat, wine, rice and dates ; but along the coast there is nothing but bdellium.

38. Beyond the region, the continent making a wide curve from the east across the depths of the bays, there follows the

coast district of Sythia, which lies above toward the north; the whole marshy; from which flows down the river Sinthus, the greatest of all the rivers that flow into the Erythraean Sea, bringing down an enormous volume of water: so that a long way out at sea, before reaching the country, the water of the ocean is fresh from it. Now as sign of approach to this country to those coming from the sea, there are serpents coming forth from the depths to meet you; and a sign of the places just mentioned and in Persia, are those called graae. This river has seven mouths, very shallow and marshy, so that they are not navigable, except the one in the middle, at which by the shore, is the market-town Barbaricum. Before it there lies a small island and inland behind it is the metropolis of Sythia, Minnangara; it is subject to Parthian princes who are constantly driving each other out.

39. The ships lie at anchor at Barbaricum, but all their cargoes are carried up to the metropolis by the river, to the King. There are imported into this market a great deal of thin clothing, and a little spurious: figured linens, topaz, coral, storax, frankincense, vessels of glass, silver and gold plate, and a little wine. On the other hand there are exported costus, bdellium, lycium, nard, turquoise, lapis lazuli Seric skins, cotton cloth, silk yarn and indigo. And sailors set out thither with the Indian Etesian winds, about the month of July, that is Epiphany; it is more dangerous then, but through these winds the voyage is more direct, and sooner completed.

40. Beyond the river Sinthus there is another gulf, not navigable, running in toward the north; it is called Eirion.

NOTES.

Country of the Persidae. . . is Persia proper, including Carmania. Ommiana was subject to the Parthian monarchy, not to Persia proper. Pliny says "Persia is a country opulent even to luxury, but has long since changed its name for that of "Parthia." Strabo observes "at present the Persians are a separate people, governed by kings who are subject to other kings; to the kings of Macedon in former times, but now to those of Parthia."

ORAEA. The bay of modern Sonmiani and the river is the Purali. The Purali at the time of Periplus emptied into a bay running some distance inland and now silted up to the coast lines. These are the places described by Arrian under the name

of Oritae or Oritians, their country being called Ora. The river was called Arabis and on its eastern bank dwelt "an Indian nation called Arabians"; while the Oritae on the western bank were "dressed like the Indians and equipped with similar weapons, but their language and customs were different." Their coast-line ran westward from Arabis 160 to 200 miles. They dwelt on the inland hills, and along the shore, the latter being distinguished as Fish-eaters. Alexander conquered the hill-folk and colonized their capital Rhambacia under his own name: while Nearchus fought the coast-folk reporting them "covered with hair on the body, their nails like wild birds' claws, used like iron for killing and splitting fish, and cutting soft wood, other things they cut with sharp stones having no iron."

Strabo describes their dwellings made of the bones of whales and great shells, the ribs being used for beams and rafters and the jawbones for doorways.

The Oritae are represented by the modern Brahui. Both names have the same meaning "hill-folk", one in Greek and the other in Persian. The country of ORA is rather related to the URU of Chadean place—names, being connected with the sun worship that survived well into the Christian era. The Brahui are a Dravidian tribe left behind by their race on its way to South India; in earlier days the connection of both with the Persian Gulf was less broken. The name "Makran" according to Curzon is Dravidian; while "Brahui" is thought to refer to the hero of the tribe, Braho, name having the same root as Abraham. These people are probably the same as those called by Herodotus "Asiatic Aethiopians" and again "Aethiopians from the sunrise" who were similar to the Aethiopians of Southern Arabia, both peoples being represented in the Persian army, and both having presumably sprung from the same stock. The Cushite name seems to survive in Kej, in the valley of Makran; the Kesmacoran of Marco Polo.

Holdich (Gates of India, 36) seems to have in mind a race resembling African negroes as the original of the "Asiatic Aethiopians" in Makran. But their descent should have been from the Persian Gulf.

RHAMBACIA.—at no great distance from the modern Las Bela.

BDELLIUM.—an aromatic gum. Arrian tells how the army of Alexander returning through the country of the Oritae

came upon many myrrh trees larger than usual from which the Phaenician traders accompanying the army gathered the gum and carried it away.

RIVER SINTHUS.—The Sanscrit is Sindhu, and this form Sinthus is unusual in Greek the river being generally known as Indus. Hindu names reaching the west generally dropped the S and substitute H in Persian mouths. Sayce in his Herbert Lectures argues on that basis for an ancient sea-trade between India and the Euphrates, from the word Sindhu, or muslin, mentioned in an ancient Babylonian list of clothing. This is the cadin of the Old Testament and Sindon of the Greeks.

THE GREATEST RIVER.—The Indus is exceeded by the Yangtse, Mekong, Irawadi, Brahmaputra, Ganges, Shatt-el-Arab.

GRAAE—is the Sanskrit Graha. The presence of great water-snakes is still observed along these coasts, in the bays and at the mouths of rivers.

BARABRICUM.—The name is evidently Hellenized from some Hindu—word one suspects Bandar, port, or possibly some name such as Bahardipur, which survives in the modern delta. With the steady silting of the Delta the remains of this port are probably yards deep in the soft alluvium, and very likely quite away from any of the present branches of the river. Shah-Bandar, Royal port, formerly accessible to men-of-war now lies far inland to the east of the present main channel of the Indus, while a similar fate has overtaken Ghora Bari or Vikkar, Ketī and other places.

MINNANGARA—was a name given temporarily to several cities of India during the period of the occupation by the Scyths (the Saka and Yuch-chi). After the collapse of the Indo-Scythian power these cities resumed their former names with other autonomy. This Minnangara may be identified with the Patala of Alexander's expedition—the capital of the Delta country.

Vincent Smith locates it at Brahmanabad, about 6 miles west of the modern Mansuriyah. He proves that the coast line has advanced anywhere from 20 to 40 miles since Alexander's time. The Rann of Cutch, Eirinon now a salt marsh was a broad open arm of the sea running to 25° N. with the eastern branch of the Indus emptying into it. Silt brought down by

the river and formed into great bars washed southward by the violent tides has now closed the mouth of the Rann almost entirely. The coastline may have averaged 25° N. from Karachi to the Rann of Cutch. The Rann was probably open sea until about the 4th century when a series of violent earthquakes elevated the whole region considerably. Ruins are reported at Nagar Parkar, at the NE corner, indicating a large seaport trade there. These changes may have been one cause of the great migration from the region to Java in the 6th and 7th century A. D.

PARTHIAN PRINCES.—The reference to the rule of Parthian Princes is very interesting. The first horde from Central Asia to overrun the Pamirs was the Saka, fleeing before the Yueh-chi. They settled in the Cabul valley, Seistan (Sakastene) and the lower Indus. By about 120 B. C. their leader Manes had established a kingdom at Cabul, subject to Parthia; his line was known as the Indo-Parthian, but his race was roughly speaking Scythian. Gradually the Yueh-chi pursued the Saka first conquering Greek Bactria (they are referred to in the *Periplus* as the very warlike nation of the Bactrians living in the interior). Their King Kadphises I conquered Cashmere and the upper Indus; his son Kadphises II who acceded about 85 A. D. after a disastrous defeat at Kuche by the pursuer of the Yueh-chi, the Chinese conquering general Pan Chao—about 90 A. D. directed his armies southward and rapidly overran the Punjab and the lower Indus and then reached the upper Ganges and interior points like Indore.

Both races were called by the Sanscrit Min or Scyths; the *Periplus* shows Indo-Parthians ruling in the metropolis of Scythia, then at the apex of the Indus delta, showing their power in the Cabul valley to have been broken already by the Yueh-chi or Kushan dynasty, but their subsequent complete conquest by the Yueh-chi had not yet been consummated.

The political conditions described in the *Periplus* were probably those that followed the death of Gondophares, the last powerful Indo-Parthian ruler in the Punjab. This is supposed to have occurred about 51 A. D. After some years of anarchy and civil war the Saka power was again consolidated under two lines of rulers; The Northern Satraps from the Indus to the Jamna and the Western Satraps in Kathiawar, Gujrat and Malwa. Both these dynasties were at first tributary and later subject to the Kushan power.

More distant southern raiding by the Indo-Parthians led to the Pallava dynasties along the west coast, which after a couple of centuries succeeded in gaining control of much of Southern India. These princes were thought to be ruling in Cullian, near Bombay.

Figured linen. . Babylon was very famous for making embroidery in different colours and hence stuffs of this kind have obtained the name of Babylonia.

TOPAZ.—This stone was certainly our (chrysolithos) topaz, which was produced in large quantity in the Red Sea islands being an important item in the east-bound exports of Egypt under the Ptolemies and Rome.

CORAL.—The red coral of West Mediterranean, which was one of the principal assets of the Roman Empire in its trade with the east. The red coral fisheries are in Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, near Naples, Leghorn and Genoa in Catalonia, the Balearic islands and the coasts of Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco.

COSTUS.—In the Roman Empire it was used as a culinary spice, also as a perfume. In modern Kashmir the collection of Costus is a State monopoly ; it is used by shawl merchants to protect their fabrics from moth.

LYCIUM.—From the roots and stems a yellow dye was prepared while from the stem, fruit and root-bark was made an astringent medicine.

NARD.—from the root of this grass was derived an oil which was used in Roman commerce medicinally and as a perfume and as an astringent in ointments.

TORQUOISE.—is only found in Persia, in two mines, one near Nishapur and the other five days journey from it.

LAPIS LAZULI.—The real lapis lazuli came from Bokhara, particularly at Kalab and Badakshan that it was sent thence to India and from India to Europe.

SERIC SKINS.—Pliny writes "the most valuable products furnished by the coverings of animals are the skins which the Seres dye." Furs must have been sent overland across Asia in the 1st century.

Pliny also mentions "most excellent iron of the Seres". It may be the Indian steel more correctly described by Periplus as coming from the Gulf of Cambay to the Somali Coast—Egypt. It was produced in Deccan Hyderabad and was shipped to the Punjab and Persia to be made into steel ; the famous Damascus blades of the middle ages being derived mainly from this source.

CLOTH.—It must be the muslin—the sindon of the Greeks, long a staple product of the Punjab and Sind.

SILK YARN.—According to Periplus, the Roman traders found silk at the mouths of the Indus and the Ganges, at the Gulf of Cambay, and in Travancore, whither it had been brought by various routes from North West China.

The principal highway for silk, at that time as well as later, was through Turkestan and Parthia. As the demand in the Mediterranean countries grew more insistent, the restriction of the Parthian Government, became more severe, and quarrels over the silk trade were at the root of more than one war between Rome and Parthia, or later between the Byzantine Empire and Sassanian Persia. In the 6th century a couple of Christian monks under Justinian succeeded in bringing back from China the jealously guarded silk-worm's eggs, from which the silk culture was introduced into Greece and imports from the East diminished.

At the time of the Periplus, Rome and Parthia being at war, the sea route was the only one open to the Roman silk traders.

INDIGO.—It was valued in Western Asia, Egypt, and the Mediterranean countries as a dye and a medicine.

THE GULF OF EIRINON—is the present Runn of Cutch. It is a saline plane which was certainly at one time flooded by the sea as shown by the abundance of salt and by the remains of vessels ; old harbour works are observed near Nagar Parkar, on the eastern side of the Runn. The whole area was probably raised by some great earthquake. At the time of the Periplus it seems to have been open water, although shoal with a clear opening into the ocean below the Indus Delta and with a branch of the Indus running into it. Now the Indus delta is very much pushed further south, and the scour of the tides has carried its alluvium along the coast, almost blocking up the Runn ; while the branch that watered it no longer flows in that direction.

One is led to surmise that the great migration from Cutch and Gujerat to Java, in the 6th and 7th centuries, may have been due even more to this cause than to the invasion of hostile Aryan tribes from the upper Indus. This migration led to the establishment of Buddhist kingdoms in Java, and building of one of the finest buildings in the world, the Boroboedor and Brambanan. The conversion of a navigable bay into a salt desert and the diversion of the rivers that watered it, must have spelled ruin and starvation to multitudes of its agricultural and seafaring inhabitants, who would have been forced to migrate on a scale unusual in history.

GULF OF BARACA is the modern Gulf of Cutch.

Since reading the above paper before the Sind Historical Society on the 23rd September 1934, I have come across a valuable publication viz. "History of Ancient Geography" by E. H. Bundury, F. R. G. S. from which I have gathered the following information;

The Malli occupied the country between the Ravee and the Chenab; their territory included the site of the modern city of Multan.

The next people with whom Alexander came in contact were the Oxydracae, a warlike and numerous nation, who joined with the Malli and submitted themselves to Alexander; a trace of their name may be found in that of Ooch, a city just below the junction of the Sutlej and the Chenab. It is probable that the Oxydracae occupied the district of Ooch together with the adjoining province of Bhawalpore.

Captain McMurdo was the first writer to draw attention to the great changes that have taken place in the course of the Indus. (*vide* Journal R. A. S. Vol. 1, 1834). The old channel of the River Indus, which is still distinctly to be traced, is known as the Purana Daria or "old river," leaves the present stream at some distance above Bukkur, passes under the ruins of Alore, and then holds a direct course towards the south, nearly as far as old Brahmanabad; above which it divides into two channels, the one having a direction to the SSW, till it rejoins the present course of the river just above Hyderabad; the other channel has a South East course towards the Runn of Cutch.

One of the richest kingdom at that time was the kingdom of Musicanus; it was on the banks of the Purana Daria or old channel of the Indus. Its chief city occupied the site of Alore,

The kingdom of Oxycanus may be placed to the west of the Indus on the banks of the river Gharra, and its capital city at Mahorta, near Larkana, above 45 miles from Alore.

The kingdom of Sambus may be safely placed in the district west of the Indus, at the foot of the mountain range that borders the broad valley on the west. Its capital city Sindomna may be identified with Sehwan.

The name of the Oxidracæ (Oxydrakai) which is found in this form in Arrian and Q. Curtius is written by Strabo, Sydkkai, and by Pliny, Sydraci. It is clearly identical with the Sanscrit Sudraka or Suraka, who are found in the Mahabharata associated with the Malava (Malli), just as the Oxidracæ and Malli are by the Greek writers.

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HISTORICAL AND RACIAL BACKGROUND OF THE AMILS OF HYDERABAD, SIND.

(BY MISS S. J. NARSIAN, M.A.)

(Read 28th October, 1934).

In the study of a race or a tribe or a group of people, it is now universally acknowledged that environment and heredity play an important part. Environment exercises a steady and constant influence upon man and by the application of his intelligence man uses his environment more and more to his advantage. This application of his intelligence by man makes a part of the heredity of man. Thus heredity and environment go hand in hand on the path of progress. They enter into various aspects of life. Hereditary influences operate greatly in making up the history of a group of people. The past and the present history of the Amils reveal the powerful influences of heredity as expressed under particular geographic, social and political environments. It manifests certain outstanding characteristics that give the Amils a distinct individuality of their own.

The Amils of Sindh style themselves after the occupation they held during the regime of the Mussalmans. The word "Amil" is of Persian origin. "Amil" in Persian means "to administer." The Amils served in the capacity of administrators and revenue officers. Probably this term was always applied by the Mussalman rulers to persons holding such posts. Early in the fifteenth century when Ahmedshah I conquered India, he wished to improve his dominions. At that time "he appointed the Amils that is sub-divisional revenue officers" (1) for the purpose. As in Sindh, so in the Punjab, the Administrative and revenue officers were called after that name. The cultural affinity between these two provinces is too well-known to require any discussion. In both provinces this class of people have retained this name to themselves.

The Amils of Hyderabad are composed of different classes of people. Majority of the Amils are Lohanas by caste. A few belong to the Khatri caste; and an insignificant number to other different castes. But just as their places of origin are unknown, their caste is also not definitized.

Let us first consider the Khatris. The history of the Khatris is obscure. Lack of historical records does not enable us to examine their hereditary qualities in detail. But their high capabilities have been standing out markedly from time to time in the annals of history. This may be indicative of the working of powerful hereditary influences (2.)

Among the Khatris, the different sections assign different origin to themselves. Taking all these accounts of heritage into consideration, the Khatri caste appears to be belonging to the Solar, the Lunar or the Agni cula race (3). The Khatris of Sindh, however, claim Sri Ramchandra, the hero of Ramayana, as their common ancestor (4). They declare that Ayodhya was their original home. From there they migrated to Delhi, and thence to the Punjab where their numerical strength is great even to the present day. The Khatris have come to Sindh from Multan to escape the taxes imposed upon them by the Mussalman rulers (5).

Evidently, the Khatris belong to the Kshatriya class. Their superiority "in physique, in manliness and in energy" prove that they are the "direct representatives of the Kshatriyas of Manu." (6)

There are several legends connected with the origin of the Lohanas. Originally they are said to have been Rathor Rajputs. It is narrated that once the Rathors fell out with Raja Jaichand, the powerful King of Kanauj. The indignant Raja declared war against them. Conscious of their inadequate strength, the Rathors prayed to Lord Varuna to come to their rescue. After some days of constant and fervent prayer, Lord Varuna was pleased. He ordered them to stay in an invincible fort built by his supernatural power. For sixteen days, the people fought, and came out victorious in the war. But the fort vanished on the twentyfirst day as willed by Lord Varuna. And the Lord bade them build an iron fort on the site and call themselves Lohanas (Loh means iron) thenceforward. The Rathor warriors followed this decree to the letter. They built

2. The powerful racial heritage of the Khatris is evident when we find that Guru Nanak, Guru Govindsing, the Great Sikh leaders were Khatris by caste. So were Todar Mull and many of Ranjit Singh's chief functionaries. See p. 109. Campbell: *Ethnology of India*. J. R. A. S. of Bengal, Vol: XXXV, Part II, 1866.

3. Rose: *A glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes*. p. 501-2.

4. *The Ethnographical Survey of Bombay*. Monograph No: 3. p. 3.

5. *The Ethnographical Survey of Bombay*. Monograph No: 3. p. 3.

6. Rose: *A glossary of the Punjab Tribes and Castes* p. 506.

a fort Lohghar (from which it became Lahore) and called themselves Lohanas. (7) Raja Jaichand flourished in the twelfth century. While we come across a number of references to a tribe called Lohana during as well as earlier to his reign.

Certain writers presume that the Lohanas derive their name from some country. Many writers allege that Lohakot or Lohanpur in the Punjab is the place from where they derive their name (8.9.) Campbell assumes that the Lohanas take their name from the District of Lamgham in Eastern Afghanistan (10) and "probably belong to the Lohanis who formerly held the country between the Suleman Hills and the Indus (11)." The Lohanis are the people of Afghanistan. They are "mercantile travellers" who drive caravans to and from between Khorasan and Hindustan (12). In the nineteenth century the Lohanis were famous for their packmanship (13). It is a fact that before the invasion of the Arabs to spread their new religion during the seventh and eighth centuries, Afghanistan and Baluchistan were the dominions of Hindu kings. Professor Wilson has proved the existence of Hindu kingdom in Afghanistan by analysing the coins and antiquities discovered there. (14). The prevalence of Buddhism in Afghanistan is also substantially proved by the discovery of numerous stupas and Buddhistic statues in the land. Cunningham declares that the Kabul valley enjoyed Hindu suzerainty till the tenth century. He states, "During the whole of the tenth century the Kabul Valley was held by a dynasty of Brahmins whose power was not finally extinguished until towards the close of the reign of Muhommad Ghaznav (15). "In those days therefore, it would appear that a great part of the population of eastern Afghanistan, including the whole of the Kabul Valley, must have been of Indian descent, while the religion was pure Buddhism." (16). But the ferocity of Ghaznavi soon drove out the idolators from the land "and with them the Indian element." (17). The close connection maintained by Afghanistan and India in Ancient times may go to advance the statement of Campbell regarding the relationship between

7. Ethnoven : Tribes and castes of Bombay Vol : II. p. 381.

8. Ethnoven : Tribes and castes of Bombay Vol : II. p. 382.

9. Elliot : History of India, Vol : I. p. 362.

10. Campbell : Bombay City Gazetteer p. 226.

11. Campbell : Bombay Gazetteer, Vol : IX. Part I. p. 122.

12. Bellow : Afghanistan and Afghan, p. 219-20.

13. Masson : Narrative of the various Journeys in Baluchistan, Afghanistan and Punjab.

14. Wilson : Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan p. 43.

15. Majumdar : Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India p. 19.

16. Majumdar : Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India p. 19.

17. Majumdar : Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India p. 19.

the Lohanas and the Lohanis. The Lohanis might have embraced Islam in the days of its pristine glory, thus severing all connections with their Hindu brethren. But owing to the lack of any historical proof nothing very definite can be stated on this point.

There are various other tribes with whom the Lohanas are identified by different writers. The Lamanis, Lohas, Lois are haphazardly mentioned and connected with the Lohanas (18). The possibility of any relation with all these tribes appears to have arisen in the mind of the writers because of the similarity of their names and occupation.

The Lohanas claim for themselves descent from Lava (19), (20), (21), the eldest son of Rama, just as Rathors do from Kusha, the younger son of Rama. The tendency to link up the origin with some eminent personage or to infinity is a characteristic of human mind. Men delight to think of a grand ancestry or a distinguished pedigree to which they imagine to belong. The Census Reports and the Gazeteers doubt the claim of the Lohanas to Kshatriya class, on the proposition that the Lohanas everywhere shine in the capacity of traders and businessmen, so they place them under the category of the Vaishyas. But a glimpse at the past history of the Lohana shows that they belong to the warrior class, and as such they are entitled to declare themselves as Kshatriyas.

The solar race is believed to terminate with Raja Sumitra, the thirteenth in descent from Brihadhal. But many Rajput races attempt to form allegiance with it. Lava, the ancestor of the Lohanas, is supposed to have founded Lavakot or Labokot, the present Lahore (22). His descendants are believed to have extended over the whole of the Punjab. Tod observes that its Bhalla Branch is still addressed at the time of blessings by the Bards as Tatta-Multan Ka Rao *i. e.*, the Lords of Tatta and Multan (23). Tatta is a town in Sindh. It was a flourishing and prosperous city in mediæval times. While Multan formed a part of the province of Sindh till after the expiration of Hindu Raj (24). This indicates that the abode of the Bhalla branch

18. Enthoven : Tribes and Castes of Bombay, Vol : II, p. 382.

19. Campbell : Bombay Gazeteer Vol : IX, Part I, p. 121.

20. Tanna : Lohana Gnatino Itihas (in Gujrati) Chapter V.

21. Dosani : Lohana Ratnamala (in Gujrati) p. 4.

22. Majumdar : Cuningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 226-27.

23. Tod : The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Calcutta p. 116.

24. During Hindu regime the boundary of Sindh extended on the east till the limits of Kashmir and Kanuj, on the west to Makran and the sea, on the south to the sea-port of Surat, and on the North to Kandahar, Seistan, the Suleman mountains and the Kikanan hills, Postans : of the Early History of Sindh, Vol : X, J. R. A. S. of Bengal,

was at first on the Indus. But, there is some confusion in this matter. For, "the Bhallas on the continent of Saurashtra, on the contrary assert their origin to be Indusvamsik and state that they are Balicaputras who were the ancient lords of Arore on the Indus (25). "In the face of these conflicting views Tod concludes that "it would be presumption to decide between their claims" (26). But Tod "would venture to surmise that they might be the offspring of Sehl, one of the princes of the Bharat who founded Arore." (27) Sehl is again identified with Sehr or Sehires (28), the early Hindu rulers of Sindh, supposed to belong to the Sodha tribe of the powerful Parmara race, belonging to Agnicula.

There is however an important point that requires careful consideration. Cunningham cites from "Reinaud's "Fragments Arabes" that Sindh was divided into four principalities under Ayand, the son of Kafand (29), a non-Hindu king of Sindh" who reigned some time after Alexander the Great. These four principalities were named Zor, Askalandusa, Samid and Lohana, all of which correspond with the division noted by Hwen Thsang (30). "Hwen Thsang visited Sindh in 641 A. D. At that time Sindh was divided into four divisions which are described by Cunningham by their geographical positions as Upper Sindh, Middle Sindh, Lower Sindh and Kachh. It appears then that Lohana was once a territorial place in Sindh.

The Lohanas, as they appear before us in the seventh century are the inhabitants of Brahmanabad situated in the Middle Sindh. Formerly Brahmanabad was the city of the Brahmins who revolted against Alexander the Great when he conquered Sindh. Consequently they were put to the sword by him (31). Brahmanabad was then known by the name of Hermetelia to the Greeks. History does not disclose the fact when the Lohana tribe came to occupy Brahmanabad.

The Lohanas step upon the stage of History as an influential and powerful class of people in Sindh, ruled by a chief of their own class, Agham Lohana. Naturally the delight of splendour and grandeur, and the love of self-assertion were ingrained in

25. Tod : Rajasthan P. 117.

26. Tod : Rajasthan p. 46.

27. Ditto.

28. Ditto.

29. Elliot in his "History of India" Vol : I, speaks of a king Kafand, a non-Hindu King, contemporary with Alexander ruling wisely and efficiently in Sindh, p. 108.

30. Majumdar : Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 285.

31. Vincent D. D. The voyage of Nearchus, p. 136.

them. Agham Lohana was perhaps not the first ruler of his tribe ; his fore-fathers may have had ruled before him, as is evident from a letter of Rai Chach, the Brahmin usurper to the throne of Sindh to him. It says "you consider yourselves kings of the time from your power and grandeur, origin and lineage. Though I have not inherited this Kingdom and sovereignty, this wealth and affluence, this power and dignity from my father and grand-father and though this country has not been ours before, still my elevation and improved fortunes are due to the Grace of God (32)." It was customary with the Governors of the principalities to submit to the supremacy of the King of Alor. Agham Lohana was unwilling to acknowledge the Brahmin usurper as a sovereign. A fierce battle ensued between them. "There are said to have been some forty thousand fighting men in Brahmanabad who daily issued forth and gave battle (33) to Rai Chach. "Finally, the army of Agham Lohana was put to flight and their chief was killed. His son submitted to the King. So Rai Chach placed him on the throne. But the tribe as a whole met with a severe treatment. Rai Chach passed strict laws against them. The martial tribe was deprived of the right of carrying sword ; riding on horse with saddles was forbidden ; the gorgeous dresses of their palmy days were denied them ; they were forced to put on coarse garments and to go barefooted and bare-headed. Besides they were to supply firewood to the ruler of Brahmanabad, they had social, economic and political status lowered. A high, ruling aristocratic people were levelled down with the lowliest, though some Lohanas were appointed to respectable posts to effect solid security.

It may be noted here that though Rai Chuch was a Brahmin, Buddhism was the dominant religion in Sindh, as it was then in the rest of India. Numerous Buddhists inhabited in the country. Mr. Smith speaks of great many Buddhist monks living in Sindh, but they did not lead a pure and a strictly religious life (35). Brahmanism was also practised in Sindh. There existed no restriction as to the choice of religion. Both were followed with social impunity by the people. Chandar, the brother of Rai Chach, was a Buddhist by religion. He ardently patronized his faith when he ascended the throne. Aghan Lohana professed the dominant faith of the land. May be that the Lohanas belonged to the same faith with their leader.

32. Mirza Kalichbeg : Chachnamah, Part I. p. 32.

33. Cousins : The Antiquities of Sind p.

34. Mirza Kalichbeg : Chachnamah, Part I. p. 37.

35. Smith, V. A. Early History of India, p. 200.

The unfortunate defeat was almost like a catastrophe to the high career of the Lohanas. The unfavourable circumstances checked the spontaneous flow of the high capabilities of the Lohanas in Sindh. Their physical and mental energy was suppressed. Some of the Lohanas learnt to adjust themselves to the circumstances. Their mental habits changed with the changed condition of their life. They lived like common folk. Economic degradation compelled them to take to simple means of subsistence. They became agriculturists, menial servants, vegetable-sellers etc. Even at the present day certain sections of Lohanas are found engaged in such occupations. (36).

Sindh was in a state of political unrest shortly after the downfall of the Lohanas. In 711 A. D. Muhammad Bin Kasim conquered Sindh. Thereafter Sindh was always subject to political fights and disturbances in which the Lohanas took but little part. A state of disquietude of a different type fell upon the Lohanas in the tenth century. A tremendous geographic upheaval destroyed their place of habitation. The complete destruction of Brahmanabad by an earthquake must have caused a great loss of life and property. It is probable that this compelled its inhabitants to scatter themselves and move to different countries, for the Lohanas had little opportunity to revive their social, political and economic life in the land. They occupied the most degraded position being considered as "a villanous set of people" quite like the wild men living in some villages of Fars and Payeh (37). The Lohanas pass out of the pages of history of Sindh at that time, though their prowess and brilliance shine forth in other parts of India.

In the twelfth century, when Prithvi Rja was the King of Delhi, the Lohanas appear as a flourishing military race. The Delhi Court poet, Chand Badrai, has composed an Epic describing vividly in the old Hindi language the various incidents that mark the grand career of Prithviraj. In this he often mentions the Lohanas taking part in many a battle, "One of the members of the race is said to have accompanied Prithviraj on his expedition to Kanauj and is enumerated among the wounded (38)."

The latter history of the Lohanas reveal them as an oppressed class. They were often subjected to the tyranny of the rulers.

36. Campbell : Bombay Gazetteer, Vol : IX, Part I. p. 122.

37. As Muhammad Kasim, the first conqueror of Sindh called them. Mirza Kalichbeg : Chachnamah Part I.

38. The Revatata Episode. Canto XXVII By.

In the thirteenth century, it is recorded that a number of Lohanas immigrated to Sindh. They are said to have been driven out from Multan by the Mussalman rulers (39), into Sindh from where they made their way to Cutch.

The Lohanas never left Sindh totally. We catch a glimpse of them in the fifteenth Century. A certain celebrated Saint Yussaf-Uddin, a pious man, descendant of Abdul Qadir Jilani, is said to have carried intense religious propaganda in Sindh, and succeeded in converting many Lohanas to his religion. The Saint was an inhabitant of Baghdad. One night he dreamt that his presence was required in India. So he started for his journey, and came to Sindh in 1422 A. D. Here he preached his religion so fervently and enthusiastically that it appealed to many a heart. It is said that he converted seven hundred Lohana families after ten years of sincere and assiduous effort. These seven hundred families are believed to have followed the suit of two important persons of their caste (40). It is difficult to state the psychological principle behind such a change of mentality. May be that pure religious sentiment unalloyed by any condition induced them to embrace this religion. Or may be that it was the desire for economic prosperity which allurements is winning over so many people to Christianity and Islam at the present day in India. Or may be that their social position came to play some part in it. The social status of the Lohanas at this period, as is already observed, was degrading, and their economic condition was poor. As a class they were despised by their rulers. Probably they considered it preferable to join the ranks of their rulers, thereby rising in social status. Afterwards these Lohanas migrated to Cutch where their number was increased by converts from the Cutch Lohanas (41).

The history of Sindh shows constant inflow and outflow of people. The struggle for existence has always been the primary cause for emigration. Pitt-Rivers declares that all causes of struggle, strife and supremacy have but one fundamental problem at the bottom, that of struggle for existence (42). The tyranny of the Government also has often led to emigration. In the latter half of the seventeenth century, small streams of people emigrated into Sindh from the Punjab, Rajputana, Cutch and other places. These people were Lohanas, Khattris,

39. Burgess states that the Lohanas emigrated from Kanauj. Burgess. Report of the Antiquities of Kathiawar and Kachh p. 193. Enthoven and others maintain that the Lohanas came from Multan. Tribes and Castes of Bombay p. 382.

40. Arnold : The Preaching of Islam, p. 274.

41. Arnold : The Preaching of Islam, p. 274.

42. Pitt-Rivers : The Clash of Culture and the Contact of Races, p. 1.

Bhatias and others, the first being by far in large majority. The struggle for existence found a solvent in this that Sindh provided them with different occupations. Those who emigrated avoiding the tyranny of the Government escaped the iron rule of Aurangzeb and his immediate successors, almost in the manner of Catholics who escaped the tyranny of the Protestant Government in England in the sixteenth century. At this period Aurangzeb took certain drastic measures against the Hindus and their religion. "In April 1669, he ordered the provincial governors to destroy the temples and schools of the Brahmins.....and to utterly put down the teachings and religious practices of the infidels"..... On the second April 1679, the Jazia or Poll tax on non-Moslems was revived"..... and again "with one stroke of his pen he dismissed all the Hindu clerks from office (43)". These measures created discontentment and provocation among the Hindus. So, many Hindus migrated to different places to live a peaceful and secure existence.

The new settlers into the land of Sindh must have brought their families with them. If they really fled from the tyranny of a bigotted King, it is highly improbable that they should leave their families behind. Others who came to earn a livelihood may also have been accompanied by their wives and children, looking to the unsafe conditions of the times. It may also have happened that they left their families at their native places like many merchants, to return home once in a period of a year or two. But those who contemplated to establish a permanent abode must have taken away their families to their places of settlement, or formed new relations with the natives of the place. A number of Brahmins sufficient to carry on religious ceremonies must have also escorted them. Mr. Advani assigns the date of the first immigrants, some of whom are the ancestors of the present Amils, to be about 1670 A. D. (44).

It would be of some advantage to consider the routes pursued by the immigrants to come to Sindh. In absence of railroads, the main lines of communication, linking cities with cities, and forming the highways of commerce must have been the routes for the coming and going of people. Taking Hyderabad as the centre, we shall pursue the different routes that connect Sindh with the countries through which the immigrants came to Sindh. There exists a road from Hyderabad to Multan which

43. Sarcar : Anecdotes of Aurangzeb and Historical Essays p. 11-12.

44. Advani. Amilan-ji-Abwal. (in Sindhi) p. 13.

is established for the facilitation of carrying merchandise and general traffic. It is a road of high antiquity when the western Punjab constituted a part of the province of Sindh. The road passes through Bahawalpur State, Sukkur, Khairpur and Nawabshah districts, following the bank of the Indus, but not very close to it. The road is so clear and prominent that there is a proverb in Sindhi stating that "the blind men can find Multan." This road must have permitted frequent migration. A number of our immigrants came by this road.

While this road connects Sindh with the Punjab, there is another road that enables Sindh to maintain communication with Rajputana. This road goes through Tando Allahyar, Mirpurkhas, Shadipali, Umarkot, and then passes the great Indian desert to reach Jodhpur. This is a difficult road to travel. The desert forms the worst part of the journey. During the day the heat of the sun is intense, and the desert burns like a furnace. At the present day the Jodhpur Railway Company discreetly avoids the heat of the desert; trains cross it at night time when the desert is cool. This path must have been rather uninviting when the journey was done at slow speed in bullock-cart or on camel-back. Some of the immigrants came to Sindh by traversing this path.

The route taken from Cutch to come to Sindh is a river and land-route. By crossing the kori creek by a boat, the emigrants come to a salt-waste. Passing through it, they enter Sujawal and Saidpur. They cross the Indus and go to Tatta Taluka. Then they catch a road that takes a northerly direction, and reach Hyderabad after crossing the river at Kotri to Gidu Bunder.

Migration leads to excessive selective process (45). Men who are lazy and unadventurous stay behind. Others who are less adaptable to new environment, and the hardships of the journey are eliminated. So the weak and the unfit go to the wall. Only the bold and the strong, endowed with energetic spirit and mind survive. *Desire for migration, for undertaking the troubles and risks of a journey during days when no provision for easy conveyance existed, manifests a mentality above the average type. To migrate means to go to a new-unknown and unfamiliar place.*

The immigrants possessed the pushing quality to seize any opportunity that came to them, and to make the best use of it. They moved in different directions in search of employment. Some of them entered the capital and found employments in the Courts of the Mussalman rulers. Others sought the best business quarters. It is probable that two members of the same family took to two different occupations. One joined in business enterprise which was more or less confined to trade only, and the other served in the Court. The descendants of the Court officials designate themselves Amils, and those of trading class, Bhaibunds (Banias). Therefore originally there existed no class distinction between the Amils and the Bhaibunds. The distinction was attached to the difference in occupation only.

The Amils who are the object of our study, on their coming to Sindh, served at the then capital of Sindh, Khudabad. It appears that some Lohanas and a few Khatris were employed in the service of the rulers of Khudabad. They displayed considerable proficiency in the management of state affairs. State craft was soon acquired by them.

In the eighteenth century the capital of Sindh was transferred from Khudabad to Hyderabad. So the Officials and traders began to shift to the new capital. But some of the officials and traders were unwilling to move out of Khudabad. They stayed behind. As a result the Amils, like the Bhaibunds, came to be divided into two classes. One class remained at Khudabad, the other came to Hyderabad. Gradually time and geographical division brought about definite distinction between the two. The gulf of separation of the two classes became wider till at last they became two separate social groups maintaining no connection with each other. The Khudabadi Amils became a consolidated party, but the Hyderabad Amils suffered the new officials at the rulers' court to join their community. So while the Khudabadi Amils increased by the slow process of multiplication only, the Hyderabad Amils increased not only by multiplication but by addition also. The present Amil community is not of the pure Khudabadi genus, but is made up of several classes of people. (46)

The Amils were increasingly employed in greater numbers to posts of every description in the revenue and administrative departments. They carried on State-correspondence, and travelled as State envoys and as ambassadors. Frequently they

were sent to pay tribute to the King of Khorasan whose suzerainty was acknowledged by the rulers of Sindh. Besides serving as the Secretaries of Foreign Department the Amils served in the Home Department as well. At times the Amils were found even in the Military Department, though the rulers had scarcely any standing army worthy of mention. In this manner, by their ability and intelligence, the Amils became indispensable to the Mussalman Kings of Sindh. The following statement of Burton stated with regard to the Amils bears great truth in it. "Even the Ameers with all their hatred and contempt for Kafirs could not collect or dispose of their revenues without the aid of Hindu Amils." (47)

The Bhaibunds, in their return, carried on trade and commerce of the country. As a matter of fact, almost all Hindus who were not of the official class, and were not Brahmins, took to trade. It was extensively carried on by them. All necessary as well as luxurious articles were provided to the people by them. Therefore the Hindus, as a class, constituted a very important section of people in Sindh during the Muhammadan rule.

Though the reins of Government passed from one dynasty to another, the Amils and the Bhaibunds continued their services and business in Sindh. The Talpurs succeeded the Kalhoras. The Amils who were serving under the Kalhoras now took their posts in the Court of the Talpurs. The reports and accounts of the travellers in Sindh at that time throw a flood of light upon the life and character of the people both Hindus and Muhammadans. The Hindus had Panchayats for the internal administration of their community. The Panchayat effected social solidarity, exercised judicial authority and settled all disputes and disagreements between the individuals of the community. It was a stronghold for the Hindus.

The character of the people, so far as the reports go, was, to say the least, not praiseworthy. The Sindians were regarded as treacherous and liars ; the Baluchis were indolent and debauched, but they were sometimes praised for bravery ; The Hindus were considered avaricious and over-reaching. The Shikarpuris were characterised by great laxity in respect of their peculiar tenets, flagrant licentiousness and general disregard of principles of morality and decency, (48) though they were considered honest in their mercantile transactions (49). The

47. Bombay Selections No : XVII Part II. p. 662-63.

48. Thornton : Gazetteer of the Province Adjacent to India, Vol : II. p. 193-194.

49. Postans : Personal Observations on Sindh, p. 67.

Amils played tricks and deception in Court. They learnt to read and write letters in any manner they pleased. They copied documents, forged seals and took good amount of bribe. They robbed the Government for the slightest gain. "The Amils" as said by Burton, "looked rigidly to their own advantage; and in pursuit of it they were held by no oath, feared no risk, and showed no pity (50)."

With the annexation of Sindh to the British territory, the Amils took up service in the Government department, already in the Court service, they constituted an important section of people who were indispensable for the administration of the country. The Amils had a fair knowledge of the province and its people. They could therefore render effective assistance to the new rulers. The capacity of the Amils to work efficiently won the admiration of the English. They were described as "able and energetic, honest and upright, and they displayed an earnest application and devotion to duty (51)."

Ethnological consideration of the Amil community leads us to a great disadvantage. Sindh sadly neglected by the ethnologists who attempt to investigate the racial types in India. Now Sindh gives a new turn to the established theories of racial types in India. The excavations at Mohanjo Daro shows that the inhabitants of the land at that time were, as judged by their physical features, of Sumerian type. They are Pre-Aryan and non-Dravidian. Considering the later history, it is found that Sindh has suffered from a great admixture of blood. In early times, the mingling of races was the order of the day in Northern India, though India maintained caste rules. North Indians people came in contact with various foreign races and tribes who constantly penetrated through the mountain barriers of India and occupied the land. Bactrians, Scythians, Parthians, Huns and others pushed towards India and adopted Hindu religion and name. The regular affluence of foreign races caused immense admixture of blood. In the Baudhayana Dharamasutra it was expressed that "the inhabitants of Anarta, of Anga, of Magadha, of Saurashtra, of Upavritta of Sindh and Sauvira are of mixed origin (52). The races of the North were therefore regarded as impure and it was established that a person going for travel and some times even for pilgrimage in the north had

50. Burton : The races that Inhabit the Valley of Indus p. 340.

51. Balfour : Cyclopaedia of India Vol : II. p. 230.

52. Ram Prasad Chanda : Archeological Survey No : 31 p. 7.

to change his sacred thread after performing prayasehitta (53). This kind of order was passed against these countries because the rest of India observed comparative racial purity by observing rigid caste system. Such relative ethnic purity can be preserved in countries which are geographically isolated or economically uninviting. But India, land of gold, developed this unique method for preserving pure blood as much as possible.

Risley in his "The People of India" divides India into its several provinces and attributes particular racial composition to each. He speaks of seven racial types prevailing in India and assigns Scytho-Dravidian element, as preponderating among the people of the Bombay Presidency (54). Aitken states that "to this day a large proportion of population is certainly Scythian, not Aryan" in Sindh (55). It is true that Scythians had come and settled in Sindh in large numbers, and that, at that time, Sindh was known as an Indo-Scythian land (56). But at present the term "Scythian" making up a distinct racial type, is being called into question.

Again, if rightly observed, Sindh will be found racially and culturally quite distinct from the rest of the Presidency. To a certain extent, this may be applicable to Gujrat as well, and especially to Kathiawar, which has always maintained a close connection with Sindh. On the other hand, great cultural and racial unity exists between Sindh and the Punjab. Extensive amalgamation of blood has taken place between these provinces. And we know that the people of the Punjab, Kashmir and Rajputana are Indo-Aryans (57). To what extent the Indo-Aryan traits are to be found among the Hindus of Sindh is a question that we are not in a position to settle. The Khatri are, however, unanimously ascribed an Indo-Aryan origin. Havell furnishes with a brief account of the characteristics of an Indo-Aryan as afforded by Ethnographic investigations and states that these are markedly to be observed among the Khatri (58).

The Amils are a strong and healthy class. They are robust and well-built. The physique of the Amils has always been

53. *Sindhu Sanvira Susrashtra tatha pratyauharasinih Anga Vanga kahugacitha gatva samskara marhati* (Sanskrit).

In some cases, the performance of Sanskara in case of pilgrimage is not asked for. *Tirtha yatra Vina gachhet Samskaramarhati* (Sanskrit).

54. Risley : *The People of India*, p. 37.

55. Aitken. *The Gazetteer of the Province of Sindh* p. 87.

56. Aitken. *The Gazetteer of the Province of Sindh*, p. 87.

57. Risley : *The people of India* p. 35-37.

58. Havell. *The Aryan rule in India* p. 32.

highly attractive. Foreigners describe them as "light complexioned, regular featured and fine looking race." They may be considered to be of an Indo-Aryan descent.

Having considered the racial composition of the Amils, we shall in the end refer to a defective section of people existing in the community. Persons belonging to this class are known as Boodhas. They possess certain physical deformities. They are an edentate breed having eight teeth "round faces, flat noses, thick lips and soft silky hair which does not grow more than six inches. Their skins have no pores and so they do not perspire." In consequence they feel unbearable heat in the body during the hot season. These physical features are inherited not from father to child but from grand-father to grand child on the mother's side. All children do not suffer from the same defect. Some are born quite normal. This freak of nature appears to have existed in the community even during the Talpur regime. (59) There is a supposition that this "strange product of humanity" will soon get extinct (60).

59. Manghirmalani. *Hindus under the Talpurs of Sindh* p. 267.

60. Manghirmalani. *Hindus Modern Review* March 1932.

THE BOODHAS—EDENTULOUS PEOPLE OF HYDERABAD SIND.

NOTE BY MR. N. M. BILLIMORIA.

The following extracts on the subject will be interesting.

In Hyderabad we meet with a strange product of humanity not to be found in any other part of the world, an edentate breed (Boodhas) Its members—Amils they are—have only eight teeth, they have round faces, flat noses, thick lips, and soft silky hair which does not grow more than six inches. Their skins have no pores and so they do not perspire. They inherit these characteristics not from father to son but from grandfather to grandchildren on the mother's side. But not all the children suffer from this deformity and it is the opinion of an English Civil Surgeon that in about 100 years' time the tribe will become extinct. *Modern Review. March 1932.*

The Indian Dental Review. June 1927.

The Boodhas of Hyderabad are supposed to be all descended from one ancestor and the youngest member of the class is the great-great-grandchild of the first son of his eldest daughter. How it distributes itself to the other children has not been clearly investigated, but I am told that Mendel's law holds good in this as in other cases of heredity of defects.

The peculiar defect of the Boodhas is that they do not grow their teeth, either deciduous or permanent. In some cases they grow only a few of the grinders. The hair on their heads are usually light in colour and grow short and sparingly and they are very sensitive to heat. The defect was for some time supposed to be inherited by male children alone, but I know of two cases of female children in whose case the defect did appear, partially in one and fully in the other. While the teeth are absent the jaws of these children are fairly strong and they are generally able to masticate and digest their food all right. I understand that one of these Boodhas had a set of artificial teeth made for himself and these fit him very nicely. I believe in Sind will find this subject worth their careful investigation.

MIRZA KHUSRO BEG

By

A. B. ADVANI, M.A., LL.B.

(Read on 25th November, 1934).

The life story of Mirza Khusro Beg (1) is one of the romances of Sind History. It reads more like fiction than the cold facts of History. But verily truth is sometimes stranger than fiction. The word *Mirza* in Persian language means a secretary or a person whose occupation is to write and whose habits of life are civil. It also signifies, a prince of royal blood, because the word *Mirza* is a compound of *Mir* or *Amir* meaning *Lord* and *Za*, an abbreviation of *Zada* which means *Son*.

In the case of Mirza Khusro Beg, both the meanings could appropriately be applied to him, for he was a prince of royal blood (*vide* the geneological table at the end) and in Sind he was a civilian of higher grade.

Before starting with the biography of this remarkable gentleman from Georgia, I shall mention one moot point, which I have not been able to decide. It is this. Was Mirza Khusro Beg an adopted son of Mir Karam Ali Khan or was he a Georgian slave, who was treated by the Mir as his son? Dr. Burnes has clearly mentioned that Mirza Khusro Beg was a *Georgian slave*, but has added that he was treated as an adopted child (2). It is also true that the other Mirs treated Mirza Khusro Beg as their equal, but never as one of them. For instance he didn't marry from the family of Mirs, and as far as it is known, he never sat on the raised *gadi* or throne as the other Mirs used to sit.

1. The biography of Mirza Khusro Beg is mainly based on a MS. in English entitled as *Memoirs of Mirza Khusro Beg*. This MS. was written in 1920, by late Mirza Kalich Beg and professes to be a translation of a Persian MS. which was written by one Wadalshah son of Mian Yakubshah Alawi Kadri in 1897 A. D. The *Memoirs of Mirza Khusro Beg* reads like a story, but I have referred to books like Malcolm's *History of Persia*, Burnes' *Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sind*, Parliamentary Blue Books containing *Correspondence relative to Sind*, and I find that the information given in the *Memoirs* is partly true. As a rule a Mahomeddan chronicler is very particular to give dates when writing history, but in this instance, this exactitude is wanting. Hardly any dates are given and the account of the Mirza's life at several places is contradictory to historical information which we know to be reliable. The author of the *Memoirs* in Persian has confessed that the incidents mentioned by him are based on hearsay. There being no documentary evidence we have to be satisfied with second hand information. There are several statements in this *Memoirs*, which for want of time, I have not been able to verify. •

2. Burnes, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sind*, p. 110.

He was, as it appears, a high dignitary who was much respected and trusted. On the other hand in the *Memoirs of Mirza Khusró Beg* it is clearly stated that Mir Karam Ali Khan at the time of the Mirza's coming from Persia to Sind, embraced the Mirza and publicly announced that he had adopted him as a son. (*Frere Namah* does not mention anything about this adoption.) Mir Karam Ali Khan in his will, also wrote that Mirza Khusró Beg was his son (3).

What was he really speaking ? A Georgian slave or an adopted son of Mir Karam Ali Khan ? I leave this matter to all those who are interested, to work it out for themselves.

In 1783, the Talpur Mirs of Sind defeated the Abbasi Kalhoras, and ascended the *gadi* of Sind. The province of Sind, by common consent, was divided into three parts, the important part of which, with Hyderabad as its capital was enjoyed by Mir Fateh Ali Khan and his three brothers—Mir Ghulam Ali Khan, Karam Ali Khan and Murad Ali Khan. These four brothers on account of the great attachment for one another came to be known as *Char Yar* or the Four Friends (4).

Mir Karam Ali Khan had two wives (5). His three brothers were also married and in due course of time became happy fathers, but this pleasure, of being a father, was denied to Mir Karam Ali Khan, in whose heart there remained a void, on account of his childless state.

The Talpur Mirs of Sind had very friendly connections with the Shah of Persia, to whom they frequently used to send presents through their envoys. There were trade connections also between Sind and Persia. Through one merchant, Mir Karam Ali Khan sent a message to Haji Ibrahim Khan, the Vizier of the Shah of Persia in the last decade of the 18th century, requesting him to be on the lookout for a boy of good family, whom he would like to adopt as a son. This message was duly delivered to the Vizier, who promised to do as the Mir desired. Some years passed away and Fateh Ali Khan, became the King of Persia. On his sitting to the throne, (6) Mir Karam Ali Khan sent to him some presents through a trusted courtier by name Akhund Ismail. Akhund Ismail was also intructed to remind Haji

3. Mir Karam Ali Khan's will is to be found in the MS. of *Memoirs of Mirza Khusró Beg*.

4. Burnes, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

5. This information was given to me by Mir Ali Bux Khan Talpur in June, 1932.

6. Malcolm, *History of Persia*, II. pp. 213-214. (1829 Ed.)

Ibrahim the Vizier, about his promise of sending some boy of noble birth, to Sind, for being adopted by Mir Karam Ali Khan as his son. While conversing with the Vizier, Akhund Ismail's eye fell on a handsome young boy studying hard under a Persian tutor. The Akhund became curious and inquired from Haji Ibrahim about the parentage of the boy. He was told a strange tale which was something to this effect (7). For hundreds of years, the rulers of Georgia, a small territory with Mount Caucasus to its north, and Armenia to its south-west, were at war with the rulers of Persia. Gurgin Khan III, was the ruler when Georgia's capital Tiflis was attacked by the Persians (8). Gurgin Khan had to fly for his life and he left his two young sons, Humayun Khan and Khusro Khan in a garden in the vicinity of Tiflis under the protection of a small band of faithful soldiers. Tiflis was ruthlessly ravaged and these two boys, nine and seven years old, were captured by the general of the Persian army. Much booty had been obtained in this attack on Tiflis and as is common, there arose a quarrel between the Persian soldiers over the distribution of the booty. The matters were reported to Haji Ibrahim Khan, the Persian Vizier, who ordered all the booty and the prisoners to be brought before him. Among these prisoners was a handsome boy, crying piteously. This boy told the Vizier that his name was Khusro Khan and that he was Gurgin Khan's son. He said that his elder brother Humayun Khan, who had been ailing for some time past, had breathed his last on the previous night. Haji Ibrahim was filled with great pity and took Khusro Khan under his protection. From that day he began to treat him as his son and the boy came to be known as Mirza Khusro Beg. Love and kindness were showered upon the boy and special tutors were sent for to train him up in the three R's. It was this very same Mirza Khusro Beg who had caught the eye and fancy of Akhund Ismail, the envoy from Sind. The Akhund ventured to suggest that if this boy were sent to Sind Mir Karam Ali Khan would be delighted to adopt him as his son. Haji Ibrahim Khan was, at first reluctant to part with the boy saying that he had practically adopted him as his own son, and that his wife would never agree to part with him. The Akhund mentioned the matter to his Majesty the Shah of Persia who persuaded his minister to give permission to the boy to go to Sind. Soon the preparations for departure were made and the time came for Mirza Khusro Beg to bid farewell to his protector the Vizier. The parting scene, we read, was very touching. "Cries were heard outside (from

7. *Memoirs of Mirza Khusro Beg.* (MS).

8. Malcolm, op. cit., II. p. 201.

the Vizier's *Harem*) and the old Vizier himself was shedding hot tears and the state of the young Mirza was not less pitiable. (9)"

By easy marches, Mirza Khusro Beg and Akhund Ismail reached Sind and were welcomed in a right royal manner in the *Durbar* of Mir Karam Ali Khan, who called the young Mirza to himself, embraced him and publicly announced the fact of having adopted the Mirza as his son. At this time Mirza Khusro Beg was only nine years old, but he had such charming manners and such a sharp intellect that he won the hearts of all who came in contact with him. Mir Karam Ali Khan gave the young Mirza a separate house to live in and a number of attendants to look after his physical comforts. Akhund Ismail was appointed as his tutor in Persian and Arabic languages.

Though the young Mirza, as the adopted child of Mir Karam Ali Khan, had everything which wealth would buy and heart desire, yet he began to languish for want of suitable companions. To remedy this, Mir Karam Ali Khan sent his envoys and merchants to Persia, who in due course of time returned with some Georgian and other boys. Among these were Mirza Fredun Beg (father of the late Mirza Kalich Beg, the grand old man of Sindhi Letters) and Mirza Kurbān Ali Beg. In the company of such companions, and the atmosphere of love and affection which surrounded him, Mirza Khusro Beg began to wax strong, both physically and morally.

In 1811, Mir Ghulam Ali Khan, while hunting, received a light wound from a wounded buck. The wound swelled and inspite of the efforts of the local physicians proved fatal (10). Mir Karam Ali Khan, being the elder brother, now became the *Rais* or the Chief of Sind. Under his rule, Mirza Khusro Beg, having by now grown out of his teens (11), enjoyed great favours. We learn from the *Memoirs* that he became "a powerful and influential minister in every department of the State. No one ventured to do anything in connection with the internal or foreign policy of the country, without first consulting the Mirza."

The next event, worthy of note, in Mirza Khusro Beg's life, was his visit to Bombay in 1823 as the Sind envoy. This visit has been merely referred to by Dr. Burnes in his book (12).

9. *Memoirs of Mirza Khusro Beg*. (MS).

10. Kalich Beg, *A History of Sind*, II. p. 212.

11. Mirza Khusro Beg was born in Tiflis in 1790 A. D. and was brought to Sind at the close of the 18th century. At the time of Mir Karam Ali Khan's becoming the *Rais*, he had reached the dignified age of twenty one years.

12. Burnes, op. cit., p. 110.

The details of this visit, though assuredly exaggerated, are to be found in the *Memoirs of Mirza Khusró Beg*. A dispute had risen between the British Government and the Mirs of Sind, over some refugees who had taken shelter at Hyderabad in Sind. These refugees were from Jesulmir. The Mirs were required to pay Rs. 70,000 as compensation for the loss suffered by the Cutch State on account of these men. Later on when these refugees went back to their native country, of their own accord, the Mirs demanded the refund of this amount of Rs. 70,000. For this purpose, Mirza Khusró Beg was deputed to go to Bombay and settle this matter with Mountstuart Elphinstone who was the Governor of Bombay then. The Mirza had been ailing for some time also and he seized this opportunity with eagerness. The Mirza started from Hyderabad with a retinue of one hundred followers and sailed down the Indus to one of the mouths of the river. Thence he had to set sail for Bombay in large boats especially got ready for the purpose. After nine days' voyaging, Mirza Khusró Beg's boat anchored at Bombay. On his alighting from the ship, a salute of twenty-four guns was fired and some 2,000 troops presented arms. The Governor himself, accompanied by some officers had come to receive the Mirza. After the usual exchange of civilities the Mirza rode in a four-horse carriage, seated on the right-hand side of the Governor. A big bungalow had been rented and Mirza Khusró Beg was lodged there. There were frequent exchanges of visits and presents and occasionally both the Governor and the Mirza went out for "a drive." The account of the Mirza's visit to Bombay would be incomplete without narrating an incident which is very amusing, as it shows Mirza Khusró Beg's complete ignorance of the manners and customs of the *Feringhees* (Europeans). To quote from the *Memoirs*, "One night the Mirza was invited to a dance of Europeans and it was with great hesitation that he accepted the invitation. At the appointed hour the Governor came and took up the Mirza in his carriage and Muhammad Abid and Akhund Baka (13) sat in front of them. The latter had been ordered by the Mirza to carry two thousand rupees with them. As soon as the party arrived in the ball-room, the dance commenced and ladies and gentlemen began to dance by turns. When the lady of the Governor began to dance, the Mirza gave a hint to Muhammad Abid, who took up a purse of one thousand rupees and after waving it over the head of the lady placed it in the middle. The Governor told the Mirza that that was not the custom among the Englishmen.

13. These two gentlemen belonged to Thatta and had been asked by the Mirs to accompany Mirza Khusró Beg to Bombay. Vide *Memoirs of Mirza Khusró Beg*. (MS).

But the Mirza told him that that was the custom among the Mirs of Sind and among the princes of India. A few minutes later Muhammed Abid did the same thing over again, and the Governor remained quiet. When the dance was over the Governor took the Mirza and his two attendants back to their place....."

The embarrassment of the Governor and his wife may well be imagined, but they were all polite enough to put up with what the Mirza termed "the custom among the Mirs of Sind."

Mirza Khusro Beg remained in Bombay for three months, during which he spent no less than one lac and forty thousand rupees. The matter regarding the refund of Rs. 70,000 was amicably settled, the Mirza's health made wonderful progress, and the Mirza prepared to go back to Sind. On the day of departure once again the salute of guns was given, the troops presented arms, and the Governor wished him "Bon Voyage." In due course of time, the Mirza arrived at Hyderabad.

Mirza Khusro Beg's influence began to grow stronger and stronger day by day. In all political matters he was the first to be consulted and his sage advice was implicitly followed. People who had earned the displeasure of the Mirs would solicit the Mirza's help to restore them once again to their former position and Mirza Khusro Beg was ever obliging. This popularity and the influence of Mirza Khusro Beg is evidenced by a statement made by Dr. James Burnes, who visited the Court of Hyderabad Mirs in November 1827 (14). Dr. Burnes writes as follows :—

"The first of this class (that is to say courtiers who exert a personal influence from being constantly in private attendance on the Mirs) worthy of notice is Mirza Khoosroo.....whom his master (Mir Karam Ali Khan) now treats as an adopted child." (15).

Soon after the departure of Dr. Burnes from Sind in January 1828, Mir Karam Ali Khan fell ill. Realizing that his end was near, he called Mirza Khusro Beg by his bed-side, saying, "O my son, I am dying. As soon as death occurs, you must break into pieces, my sword, that I always carry on my waist and kill the horse and the camel that I always use for my riding... After doing this, you must proclaim my death." After the death

14. Burnes, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

of Mir Karam Ali Khan, the Mirza carried out the wishes of the Mir. He killed the horse, whose name was Azad, and the camel and then broke the sword on the stone fixed at the gate of the Mir's Harem-Sarai (16). Mirza Khusro Beg felt the death of his master very keenly and was, for days, inconsolable. Mir Murad Ali Khan, the last of the *Char Yari*, who now ascended the throne of Sind, assured Mirza Khusro Beg of his favour and wanted to entrust the affairs of the State to him, as his brother, the late Mir Karam Ali Khan had done. But the Mirza declined the honour, on the plea that after his master's death he was not in his proper mood and therefore could not attend to State affairs (17). Mankind has to be grateful to benign Nature which causes mental pain and sorrow to disappear after some time. Life otherwise would not be endurable. Time is a great healer and Mirza Khusro Beg once again began to take an active interest in affairs political. We next hear of Mirza Khusro Beg during that period of Sind history when the misunderstanding between the British Government and the Mirs of Sind had extended so far as to cause a war between the two parties unavoidable. It is evident from the volume of Correspondence relative to Sind—1838-1843, that Mirza Khusro Beg suspected the British Government of entertaining designs of Sind conquest. In a public *darbar*, in May 1839, Mirza Khusro Beg inquired from the British Deputation how long Colonel Pottinger (the then British Resident in Sind) was to be the Mirs' ruin (18).

It is needless to go into the causes which finally brought about the Sind Conquest. We shall merely state that in January 1843, when Sir Charles Napier, after seating Mir Ali Murad Khan on the *gadi* of Khairpur, and blowing up the fort of Imamghar, considered by the Talpur Mirs of Upper Sind as their Gibraltar, started marching on Hyderabad where Mir Rustam Khan and other refugees had gone, the Mirs of Hyderabad sent Mirza Khusro Beg and another gentleman, investing them both with full powers to treat with Sir Charles Napier and avert the war. These two deputies met Sir Charles Napier at Bhiria (19). There was a long talk between these two envoys and Napier. During the course of interview, Mirza Khusro Beg got very excited and told Napier to beware of the fighting of the Baloches, which was not an easy affair. "You should be sure that Sind is

16. *Memoirs of Mirza Khusro Beg*. (MS).

17. *Ibid*.

18. *Correspondence relative to Sind*, 1839-'43.

19. *Sinde Supplementary Correspondence*, No. 40, p. 23.

not a cold pudding (20) that you would eat so easily," said the Mirza. These words exasperated Sir Charles Napier and he dismissed the envoys, saying, "I am also for war; let us see how the swords of the Baloches resist the volleys of muskets and guns." (21) The envoys were convinced that nothing but war would satisfy Sir Charles Napier, and Mirza Khusro Beg at once wrote to the Mirs at Hyderabad, "The General is bent on war; so get ready." (22)

The matters were put to the test in the Battle of Mecani fought on the 17th February, 1843, and the Mirs of Hyderabad lost heavily and surrendered themselves as prisoners of war. Four days later, a general order was issued by Sir Charles Napier, regarding taking possession of the fort of Hyderabad and of all the treasure hoarded therein (23). In accordance with this general order, some soldiers and prize-agents entered the fort and started to take possession of the vast treasures of the Mirs. Before the arrival of the soldiers, the ladies of the various, Mirs, residing in the fort collected their jewellery, ornaments and other valuable articles and buried them underground. Then they hid themselves in some other houses. Much of this hidden treasure was unearthed through the help of some faithless servants, who informed the British Prize-Agents that the ladies of the Mirs had hidden their treasure in the fort. They also informed them that Mirza Khusro Beg would be able to tell them where the treasure of Mir Karam Ali Khan was buried. Mirza Khusro Beg, who had been kept as a prisoner, along with the other Mirs, in the gardens on the bank of the river Indus, was accordingly sent for. On his arrival, he was questioned by Major McPherson, the Prize-Agent about the buried treasure. Major McPherson however made a mistake and asked the Mirza to point out to them the treasure of Mir Zangi Khan instead of Mir Karam Ali Khan. The Mirza having never heard of Mir Zangi Khan, replied that he did not know. The British officers got excited at this reply and spoke harshly with the Mirza. They called him a liar and threatened to beat him. The Mirza's face flamed in anger at this insult and leaping forward, he caught Major McPherson by the throat. With his left hand he took out the Major's sword and would have killed him but the other officers

20. The word used by the Mirza was *Halwa* a kind of confectionery. This word has been translated in English as *pudding*. This incident was remembered by Napier and he took an opportunity of humiliating the Mirza by sending him some *Halwa*, after the Sind Conquest, to remind the Mirza of his boast.

21. Kalich Beg, *History of Sind*, II, p. 229.

22. Outram, *Conquest of Scinde: Commentary*, p. 335.

23. Green, *General Orders of Sir Charles Napier*, p. 76.

rushed to the Major's rescue and tied the Mirza with a piece of rope. He was tied for two hours in the fort and was afterwards released and brought back to the gardens on the bank of Indus (24). Some few days later, while the Mirs and the Mirza were still prisoners, Sir Charles Napier entered the fort of Hyderabad and inquired from an attendant about the Mirza's residence. He went over to the Mirza's residence and asked one Akhund Baka, how many sons the Mirza had and what their names and ages were. Suddenly Napier asked Akhund Baka that he was feeling hungry and as there were children in the house, there must be some sweets in the larder. Could he get him some *Halwa* or some eatables? The Akhund told him that there were no sweets available in the house. It is inferred that Sir Charles Napier asked the Akhund to give him some *Halwa*, because he remembered the words of the Mirza Khusró Beg at Bhiria: "You should be sure that Sind is not a cold pudding (*Halwa*) that you would eat so easily." Now that Sind was conquered, the General wanted to eat some *Halwa*, to remind the Mirza of his boast. Next day Sir Charles Napier, purchased some *Halwa* from the *bazaar* and sent it in a covered plate, to the Mirza, with the message that not only had he after all eaten the cold *Halwa* of Sind, but he was sending him something out of it to eat. The Mirza sent back a dignified reply, saying that the *Halwa* he had referred to at Bhiria was a moral and spiritual *Halwa* which the General was not destined to taste. The dirty *Halwa* sent to him by the General was fit for being given to dogs. And he threw it before a dog in the presence of the messenger (25).

In April, 1843, the Mirs were removed from Sind as State prisoners. As their *Harems* were not allowed to accompany them, the Mirs decided between themselves to request Sir Charles Napier to allow Mirza Khusró Beg to remain behind in Sind and look after their *derahs* or Harems. Sir Charles Napier hesitated in the beginning as he considered the Mirza a likely person to cause rebellion in Sind, but at last consented to let the Mirza remain in Sind. After the departure of the Mirs, the Mirza took the *derahs* to Tando Saindad in the vicinity of Hyderabad. All the time that the Mirs were prisoners at Bombay or Calcutta, he was in frequent correspondence with them sending them comforting messages or delicacies like snuff or *Pishori* rice. These letters between the Mirza and the Mirs clearly indicate

24. *Memoirs of Mirza Khusró Beg* (MS.), and *Sinde Supplementary Correspondence*, No. 102, Pg. 58.

25. *Memoirs of Mirza Khusró Beg*. (MS). The above incident reads like a story. I have been unable to verify it in the *Diaries* and *Life* of Sir Charles Napier. It may, therefore, be taken for what it is worth.

the esteem in which the Mirza was held by this younger generation of the Mirs. He is invariably addressed as "Dear Brother," or "Of High position and kind, in the position of our uncle," or "My kind and respectable friend." (26)

Eleven years later in 1854, the Mirs were allowed to return from Calcutta to Hyderabad. Some of the Mirs had died in their captivity, but the remaining Mirs were given pieces of land, along the bank of the Indus, near Gidu Bunder, to fix their residence there. The *derahs* of the late Mir Karam Ali Khan, however, chose to live with the Mirza and they all came to live at Tando Thoro, a village on the bank of Phuleli canal in Hyderabad Sind (27).

The Mirza had by now, become a respectable old man of 64 years, the patriarch of his family. After the conquest of Sind, the Mirza had led a life of retirement. Several times he was advised to approach Sir Charles Napier for some pension or *Jagir*, but this was considered by the Mirza as undignified. While settling the political affairs of the country and confirming *jagirs* and allowances on nobles and other deserving persons in Sind, Sir Charles Napier sent for Mirza Khusro Beg and evinced a desire to grant him some *jagir*. But the Mirza refused to have anything for himself. After some years when Sir Bartle Frere came to Sind, he came to Hyderabad, and called on the Mirza as the latter was suffering from boils and gangrene. Sir Bartle Frere was full of concern at the Mirza's ailment and at once sent him a European doctor. He assured the Mirza that he would get his sons some government jobs. He also recommended to the Government of Bombay that the gardens and other landed property enjoyed by the Mirza, before the Sind Conquest, should be returned to him. Of this landed property, only one garden on the bank of Phuleli was returned to the Mirza. Regarding the other property which included that area of land, on which the present Hyderabad Central Jail is situated, the Mirza was given monetary compensation.

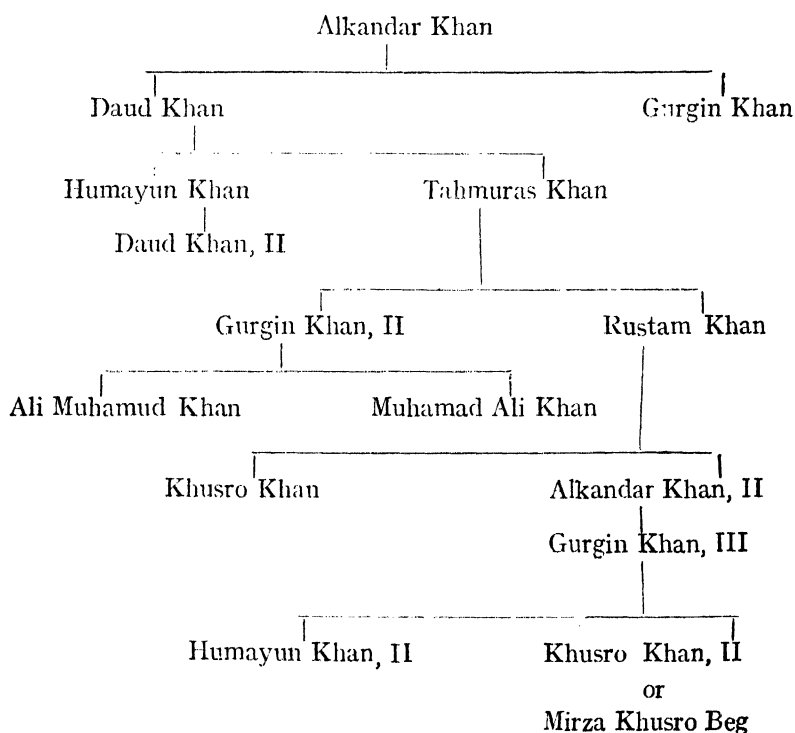
The Mirza had reached the end of his life. The Mirs back from Calcutta, his sons settled in life, and having sufficient money to live in comfort and with dignity, he passed his days at Tando Thoro, in contented retirement. For the last seven years of his life, the Mirza was confined to bed and he passed most of his time in reading Persian and Arabic literature. He

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

died on 2nd Jamadissani, 1277 A. H. equivalent to 1860 A. D. at Tando Thoro and was buried in a small tomb, outside the tombs of the Mirs, at Hyderabad in Sind.

THE GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE ANCESTORS OF MIRZA KHUSRO BEG



REVIEWS.

HISTORY OF AMARKOT—SINDH ; by Tejsingh Pradhansingh Solanki, 1934. Price Rs. 1-0-0. Pp. vi+171.

Historical research is yet in its infancy in the Province of Sindh and hence every attempt to throw light on the history of the *Young Egypt*, is to be welcomed. *History of Amarkot* is a valuable contribution to this neglected branch of knowledge and bears ample evidence of many years' labour of patient research and study. In the very first chapter the author undertakes to correct the common error of calling *Amorkot* as *Umarkot* and then proceeds to trace the history of Amarkot from 6th century A. D. to the present day. The Sodhas, the Sumras and the various Moslem dynasties, all have had something to do with Amarkot and as we read the book the personalities of past appear clearly before us and march on in the cavalcade.

The style is lucid and the narrative, at times intensely dramatic. The district of Thar is more replete with oral tradition than any other part of Sind. These traditions have been investigated by the learned author and are found interspersed with the purely historical matter.

The chapters towards the end of the book dealing with modern Amarkot contain much useful information of statistical nature.

We would have very much desired a bibliography of the books and authorities, consulted and quoted by the author, in the beginning of the book. This would have added considerably to the usefulness of the book.

The book is bound to interest and stimulate all those who care to read it.

It is neatly printed and nicely got up.

A. B. ADVANI.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Honorary Secretaries acknowledge with thanks the following four books, presented to the Society by Dr. H. M. Gurbuxani, M.A. Ph-D.

1. *Tarikh-i-Mausumi* by Munshi Nandiram.
2. *Tarikh-i-Masumi*, translated by Major G. G. Malet.
3. *Tufut-ul-kiram*, by Ali Sheikh Kani.
4. *Ibnu Batuta in Sindh*, by Major Gnl. M. R. Haig.

IN MEMORIAM.

MR. E. L. PRICE.

(12th January 1935).

He lives, he wakes—'tis Death is dead, not he.—Shelly.

While we go to the Press, shocking news have come to us of the sad death of Mr. E. L. Price, B.A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, C.I.E., O.B.E., Chevalier Legion d'honneur, which took place on 12th January 1935. The Sind Historical Society loses by the death of Mr. Price, one of its most loved and active members. His interest in Sind History was well known and his valuable suggestions were much appreciated. We recall, with a personal sorrow, his cheerful and genial personality and feel that a person of his intellectual vigour, personal charm, and endearing personality will be difficult to replace.

We offer our sincere condolence to Mrs. Price and other members of the family in their sad bereavement.

A. B. A.

*The flower in ripen'd bloom unmatched
Must fall the earliest prey.* BYRON.

We are sorry to have to record, besides the death of Mr. E. L. Price, the sad death of Acharaya A. T. Gidvani, M.A. (Bom). M. A. (Oxon) which took place on 13th January, 1935, at Karachi. Late Acharaya A. T. Gidvani was one of those great educationists of whom Sind, nay India, may justly feel proud. He was a member of The Sind Historical Society from its inception and would, we are sure, have proved a most valuable member, had his life been spared. He had, latterly been keeping in indifferent health, and could not therefore participate in the activities of The Sind Historical Society.

We offer sincere condolences to Mrs. Gidvani and the other members of the family in their sorrow.

A. B. A.

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NOTICE TO MEMBERS

Members are earnestly requested to remit their subscription to the Honorary Secretary & Treasurer, Mr. N. M. Billimoria, Marston Road, Karachi

THE ENGLISH FACTORY IN SIND 1758-1775

BY

B. D. MIRCHANDANI, I.C.S.

(Read on 27th January, 1935)

The first English Factory in Sind was set up by the East India Company at Tatta in the year 1635. That Factory lasted until 1662 and during its career of well-nigh 30 years did a great deal to check the declining prosperity of Sind. The story of this early commercial venture of the English may be read in Foster's monumental *English Factories* series.

After the closure of their first Factory, for nearly a hundred years, the English had no trade relations with Sind. It was again in 1758 that they set up a Factory there. The Factory then opened continued in existence till 1775 when it was withdrawn. The published books and accounts give us very little information about this second English venture in Sind. It is, therefore, my object in this paper to give some additional information on the subject which I have obtained from the records of the India Office and the Bombay Government.

It was in 1757 that the English decided to have a Factory in Sind. Early in that year they had obtained a "Phirmaund" from the Prince of Scindy Ghulam Shah Kalhora for "carrying on an exclusive trade in that country." Mr. George Bouchier, the Mint Master at Bombay, was appointed President of the Company's affairs in Sind with Mr. Samuel Beaven as his Assistant. The Governor and his Council at Bombay "being at a loss to limit the table expenses of the President for want of knowing the prices of provisions and necessities at Scindy, agreed to permit of Mr. Bouchier doing it at the Hon'ble Company's charge, in the most frugal manner till enabled by his accounts to ascertain what may be necessary." A ship was kept in readiness to carry Mr. Bouchier to Sind with as many cauldrons as could be spared at Bombay for refining salt petre in Sind. It was impressed upon him "that the Hon'ble Company's principal motive for establishing a Factory at Scindy was to secure to themselves the whole produce of salt petre in

that country,.....which was made over to them alone.....in the Phirmaund obtained from the Prince, that he must therefore carefully attend to the engrossing of that important article at the most reasonable rate.....”

A copy of the Firman obtained by the English in 1757 is not before me; but the concessions and privileges then granted to the English may be gathered from the Firman of 1799, granted to Nathan Crow by Meer Fatch Ali Khan, renewing the rights of the Company as enjoyed by it in the reign of Ghulam Shah Kalhora.*

The object of the English in opening a Factory in Sind was purely commercial. There was no political motive behind it as in the case of the latter settlement of 1799. What the English wanted was supplies of salt petre available in Sind. A hundred years before the East India Company's Factory at Tatta used to carry on an extensive export trade in that article. The monopoly for its purchase and export which the English had now obtained was expected to yield a large profit to them. Besides, Sind offered a good market for the sale of British woollens. Wool has been described as the “flower and strength and revenue and blood of England” in the 18th century, and till the development of the cotton trade towards the end of that century was, beyond comparison, the most important source of wealth in England. The industry, it was estimated, employed over a million persons in 1774. The Company was therefore, on the look out to find new markets for it in the East.

Soon after the Factory opened in Sind the President and Council at Bombay wrote to the Factors as follows: “Our Hon'ble Masters have repeatedly recommended the paying more regard to increasing the vend than to the profit arising from woollens, we would always have you act upon this plan, not doubting but you will at the same time exert yourselves in selling them to the best advantage.”

The woollens were sold largely to Pathan and Persian merchants who came especially to Sind for the purpose. The Pathans were no easy customers. Their tastes in colours were difficult to satisfy, and as they refused to deal without the intervention of brokers, the English found themselves under the necessity of paying heavy brokerage. In their diary, at the end of August 1762, the Sind Factors write: “In this month we

*Vide. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuads*, Vol. VII, pp. 25-26.

have sold and delivered woollens to the amount of 6,500 Rupees, partly received in Nadirshah and partly in Tecca or mixed Rupees, mostly to Pathan merchants, whose principal demand is for the Medleys invoiced at 9 to 11 Shillings per Yard, the coarse Persia cloth, and both the fine and super-fine Black, but they seem so ready to dispute about trifles and are so difficult to please in regard to the colours, that sometimes after opening 5 or 6 bales, they won't accept above half, which makes it exceeding troublesome and tedious to trade with them. They are also so much under the direction of their brokers that, notwithstanding the Prince's Duschut on the Arzee we find ourselves under a necessity of allowing them sometimes 1 anna per rupee, and sometimes 4 per cent. brokerage, otherwise we should hardly meet with any vend at all, which as it greatly increase the price of the woollens to the purchaser must prove a hindrance to the increase of the vend; and we are at a loss to prevent this, seeing if we were to persevere in refusing this extravagant brokerage, we might perhaps be a twelve months without disposing of a single yard, and this has induced us to comply with it at present, on purpose to open a vend, tho' we are of opinion that when numbers of merchants come down purposely for this article, by resolutely persisting to refuse such brokerage, and not selling for some months on that account this pernicious custom may be broken through."

If the sales were to increase the Pathan tastes had to be satisfied. Early in 1763, therefore, we find the Sind Factors advising their principals at Bombay as follows: "From the sales we have made.....we have reason to think that the following sortments are the best for this market, exclusive of the coarse scarlet cloth which had better be packed always by itself. Coarse cloth such as is sent to Persia of the following colours: Clove colour, two pieces in every bale, one of the pieces, if possible, to be of a very deep clove colour, the other a little lighter. This sortment has been invoiced at £6-15-0 per half cloth of 25 yards or upwards. Cinnamon colour, but very deep, one piece in each bale, price as before, and the other three pieces to be Saxon green, French green and Deep Olive, tho' sometimes a piece of purple might be substituted in lieu of the French or Saxon green. The Pea green they dont like, and as the Nutmeg and Wine colour are so much dearer than the before mentioned and not proportionately esteemed, they had better be omitted, unless one piece of a dark wine was to be substituted in every three or four bales, in lieu of the Cinnamon or one of the Greens, but the Clove colour they are particularly desirous of. Of the above sortment there is reason to hope

that from 25 to 40 bales annually may meet with advantageous vend. The next sort that appears in esteem among them is black, of which 12 or 15 bales of the ordinary and 5 of the superfine will be sufficient. The last sortment, and which is chiefly in demand among the Pathan and Persian merchants who came down here, is the fine Medleys, invoiced from 9 Shillings to 10 Shillings 6 pence per yard, as the superfine is too dear for them. We now send two papers of musters of the superfine, which are only intended to point out the colours, not the fabric for the fine Medleys wanted. No. 1 is Clove colour, of which there should be two pieces in every bale, the same as in the coarse cloth. No. 2 Cinnamon, of which one piece in every bale is sufficient, but the colour, if possible, a little darker than the muster. No. 3 is also a good colour and well approved of and one piece of it will do very well in every bale; the other two pieces may be of any sort of dark mixed grey, Dove or Fawn colour, with a piece of deep Olive and one of Saxon Blue in every 4 or 5 bales. The colours of the musters 4 or 5 are pretty well liked, though No. 5 is rather too light a colour, and hardly any of the merchants, who have hitherto purchased, choose to accept any cloth so white as No. 6 or dark Blue as No. 7, therefore both these had be better omitted entirely. About 30 bales of the above sortment we hope may meet with a vend. As to Draps, tho' in some of our former letters we from the best information could then procure represented them as much in demand, yet we now from experience find the contrary, and the reason given for it is that great quantities are brought over the Caspian Sea from Russia, which are sold cheaper at Mesched and Kandhar than the prices we ask here. Superfine cloth and Medleys are also too dear for them to purchase, and therefore had better not be sent out in future for this market, unless particularly indented for."

In spite of their best endeavours, however, the sale of woollens in Sind remained small. One of the reasons why the sales were not encouraging was that the Pathan merchants were not permitted to come to Shah Bunder where the Factory was situated. The English had located the Factory there, in preference to Tatta, in order to escape the harassment and petty exactions of the customs officers at Tatta. They approached the Prince with a request for permitting the merchants to come to the Factory. They offered to collect for the Treasury duty at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on whatever was sold to the merchants, on condition that they met with no impediment and no further demand was made upon them on their carrying goods bought upcountry. **The request was not unreasonable as it was with the Prince's**

previous consent that the Factory had been located at Shah Bunder.

The Prince allowed the request and ordered his Diwans to prepare a Parwana accordingly. "But on applying to the Diwans they started numberless objections, observing that the Prince had inadvertently consented to what he could not now comply with, seeing it was unreasonable to imagine he could suffer the Pathans and others to go freely to and from Shah Bunder to purchase the Company's goods, as they would thereby become acquainted with the situation of the river and his forts which was his principal sanctuary in distress. That it was also unprecedented and would be very hard to deprive the brokers and others at Tatta of their usual perquisites..... and upon the whole what was desired was unreasonable as the Prince would thereby be a very considerable loser annually." The Prince also changed his mind, evidently on the advice of his Diwans, and refused to grant the Parwana he had at first promised.

The real reasons for the Prince's refusal, however, appear to have been quite different. The Prince had sometime earlier sent an agent to the Council at Bombay asking for the assistance of an armed vessel in the hostilities which he contemplated against Cutch. The English who did not wish to be dragged into the Prince's quarrel with his neighbour with whom they were on terms of friendliness, refused to grant the request on various pretexts. The Prince and the Officers of his court felt naturally annoyed at this refusal, and were consequently not in a mood to consider any further concessions for the English. There was also another reason for the Prince's displeasure. The Raja of Cutch had applied to the English for the services of a surgeon, and the President and Council at Bombay had sent Mr. Weir to Sind, "thinking it proper on account of the friendship subsisting between the Prince and the Hon'ble Company previously to advise him of it, and therefore desired his permission that Mr. Weir might either proceed overland to the Raja, or by sea, whichever of these methods should be most convenient." The Prince resented that the English should in any way assist his enemy the Raja of Cutch. He, therefore, sent for Mr. Weir to his Court at Shah Pore, detained him there for nearly 2 months on the pretext that his services were required "for himself and several of his people who were indisposed," and finally declined to grant permission for his proceeding to Cutch, As it was thought

inexpedient to send him there against the wishes of the Prince he was sent back to Bombay. The salt petre contractor of the English, Preetumdas Rupchand, who had accompanied Mr. Weir to the Court informed the Factors on his return "that although the Prince behaved complaisantly enough in public, both to Mr. Weir and himself, and seemed willing to avoid giving any open disgust or cause of complaint, yet from what he observed and heard at Shah Pore of his private conversations, he fancied, he was a good deal dissatisfied and in an ill-humour chiefly owing to his being disappointed in not having a vessel lent to him to assist in his designs against Cutch, which he was in great hope of, and from some ill-designing people about him, representing how much the English profited by the privileges he had granted them, while he had hurt his own revenues much, specially by the salt petre grant, on which other merchants had paid high duties, and now they had gained their point, he might see that he was not to expect any benefit from them of any kind, but that they would look upon themselves as independent, and pay no regard to him at all. That as these insinuations seemed to touch the Prince, he did not doubt, but some private directions might have been given to Gulabroy and others to find some means of impeding the Hon'ble Company's business and harassing us in such a manner, as to occasion their Factory to be withdrawn, and that the request for the Pathans coming to Shah Bunder, and Surgeon's being sent to Cutch had contributed to increase his ill humour, though he did not choose publicly to avow it."

Ghulam Shah declared war on Cutch in October 1762. He sent a large army to invade the country and himself followed in person with a considerable force. The Sind army without much opposition entered the Raja's territory, took possession of his frontier forts and returned to Sind in the following January. This was the first of the two invasions of Cutch by Ghulam Shah Kalhora. "On each of these occasions the country was desolated and plundered, although the invaders did not succeed in forming a permanent settlement. The Prince wished to compel the Rao to give him his sister in marriage; but after a treaty had been entered into in which this stipulation stood as an article it was evaded, and Ghulam Shah was glad, on his second invasion, to content himself with the daughter of the Chief of Kanker, whose family stood next in pretensions to the throne.....On quitting Cutch Ghulam Shah left a garrison of 5000 men at Luckput Bunder, which was

then a petty town. He also proceeded to build an embankment to prevent the waters of the Indus from falling into the sea through the eastern branch of that river which passes close to Luckput; and by this unjustifiable act he converted a fertile plain, which yielded from rice cultivation alone a revenue of eight lacs of Cories annually to the Bhooj Darbar, into a dreary salt marsh."

After the Prince's return from Cutch there was no doubt as to his attitude towards the English. He was no longer willing to advance their interests in his country. Officers of the state, at no time very friendly towards the influential and powerful Company, receiving encouragement from the Prince's attitude, started harassing the English in numerous ways. Very probably they had received private instructions from the Prince himself. One of them, by name Gulabroy, the Kardar, and the Custom Master of Tatta, by his conduct, made trading almost impossible for the English. He refused to allow the Company's boats laden with goods to proceed to Shah Bunder; would not settle the Custom accounts, and started impressing for Government service workmen employed by the Company on extracting salt petre. Under the Parwanas the Company had a monopoly of purchase and export of salt petre from Sind. But the Custom Masters at Tatta and Shah Pore (the latter place supplied the largest quantity of salt petre) refused to recognise this monopoly. They also insisted on receiving, in violation of the Parwanas, custom duties on salt petre and other articles at rates usual in the reign of Prince Mamud, the predecessor of Ghulam Shah on the throne. The Pathan merchants were "intimidated from doing any business" with the result that the sales of woollens were poor. A boat containing building materials required for the house which the English were erecting at Auranga Bunder was arbitrarily detained at Tatta under instructions from Gulabroy. All these acts of obstruction brought the English trade almost to a standstill.

The English sent Mr. Beaven to Tatta to settle the matter, if possible, amicably with Gulabroy. Bambamul the Vakeel of the English, also accompanied Mr. Beaven. Gulabroy after many evasive replies refused to come to terms. He alleged that he had orders from one of the Head Diwans of the Prince to permit private trade in salt petre and to collect Custom duties at rates prevalent in the previous reign. After many protracted negotiations, however, he agreed to permit the salt petre boats to proceed to Shah Bunder, but refused to give

up his demand for higher duties, or to settle the accounts excepting on that basis.

Not getting any satisfaction from Gulabroy, the English approached Diwan Ghansham, one of the Head Diwans of the Prince, to use his good offices with the Prince in settling this quarrel. They wrote to him, "specifying the grounds of..... complaints and how little foundation there was for the jealousy and displeasure.....the Prince had lately entertained, advising him, both as a friend to his Master and the Honourable Company, to acquaint the Prince candidly with every particular, lest in case of future bad consequences, he might be blamed." Diwan Ghansham did his best to bring round Gulabroy but without success. He, however, promised to represent matters to the Prince.

In April 1763 Mr. Erskine (the President of the Sind Factory) "received a letter from Diwan Ghansham, enclosing one from the Prince, acquainting him that according to his promise, he had represented matters to the Prince, who now wrote, that Bumba Vakeel might be sent up to him, with the several Parwanas, when he would give proper orders that they should be complied with, at the same time advising him to comply with the Prince's desire by sending him up as soon as possible." The Sind Factors had learnt from experience not to place any reliance on such promises. They, therefore, entertained little hope of a satisfactory outcome of the Vakil's visit to the Court. This is evident from the resolution on the subject recorded in the Factory Diary, which is as follows: "Having maturely considered the Prince's request of sending up Bumbamul Vakil to him with the several Parwanas in order that he might give proper directions that no such impediment might happen to our business in future, although we cannot approve or admit any fresh discussion or new interpretation of the several Parwanas, and it is probable the Prince may have desired this visit out of an interested and ostentatious view having a present made him, without any intention that the orders he may now give shall be more punctually obeyed than the other Parwanas, yet have no other course to follow except complying with his desire."

Accordingly Bambamull was dispatched to Shah Pore with "instructions not to enter into any disputes about the tenor of Parwanas hitherto granted, nor on any account to admit of any new interpretation of them, but solely to insist on positive

orders that they may be punctually complied with." His visit proved more successful than had been anticipated as will be seen from the following account. "Bamba Vakil returned from the Shah Pore, with a Parwana from the Prince to Mr. Erskine acquainting him he had complied with every thing Bamba Vakeel had desired and given orders accordingly, tho' Bumba informs us, that on his representing the impediments we met with and hinting the bad consequences that might follow from his officers disregarding the privileges granted to the Honourable Company, and obstructing their business, the prince lost his temper, and reproved him for presuming to talk so freely, at the same time intimating that most of those privileges were granted, when his affairs were in a different posture, and he found it necessary to oblige every body to support himself, but that if he met with no return for favours granted, he certainly had a right also to recall the privileges he had given, that he, however, after recovering himself a little had talked more calmly, and at length given two orders, one directed to all Customs Masters and other officers strictly to comply with the tenor of the parwanas granted the English Company without making any other demands under any pretence, and other to Gulabroy, in particular directing him to avoid giving us any cause of complaint by impeding or obstructing our business in any shape." Mr. Erskine wrote a letter to the Prince thanking him for the orders issued to his officers and begging his acceptance of 100 China plates "of the best sort procurable" which he sent being informed by Bambamul that they were required by the Prince.

The Sind Factors, however, did not feel very hopeful that the new orders would be obeyed for long. They wrote to their masters: "We cannot confide in these orders being long obeyed, seeing Ghulam Shah's temper is so fickle and capricious and easily swayed by every plausible story. Although he seems unwilling to act in such a manner as to give a handle for breaking with him openly yet we have reason to think he is desirous to oblige the Honourable Company, if possible by little vexations and impediments to remove their Factory; and we see no means of reconciling him to their interest, but by sometimes sending one of their servants or the Vakeel to him with a complaint (whether anything is wanted or not), and some presents, which he seems to aim at and which flatters both his self-interest and ostentation."

The Prince's conduct towards the English is difficult to understand. He had without much thought granted to the

English privileges and exemption which had affected his revenues much without bringing him any advantage in return. Afraid to repudiate publicly the concessions granted by himself, he had resorted to the cowardly way of instigating his officers not to give effect to his own Parwanas. He expected that the English would thus be obliged to withdraw their Factory from Sind. But the English who had obtained many substantial concessions were in no hurry to leave Sind. They realised, however, that if they were to continue in Sind they must consider the Prince's interest also and not to insist too much on the strict observance of the grants. Most of the Pathan merchants who came to Sind had Parwanas from the King of Afghanistan, to whom Sind was subject, exempting them from paying duties in Sind. The Sind Court to avoid loss of revenue recovered a duty of three per cent from Pathan brokers who received a commission of one anna per rupee on the sales. The English having refused to deal through them, they could not pay the duty to the State. The loss of revenue annoyed the Prince. On the other hand the English argued that under the Parwanas they were exempt from paying duties, and it was in effect much the same whether they paid duty immediately on the importation of goods or on the sales of them. However, under the circumstances, they deemed it expedient to allow the brokerage. They wrote to Bombay: "We are desirous of breaking that pernicious custom of allowing such extravagant brokerage to the Pathan brokers, yet foreseeing many difficulties in persisting, and as our relaxing on this head may perhaps incline the Prince and his officers to give us no more trouble regarding our salt petre privileges, which article we think bids fair to increase annually if it meets with no obstructions, we have come to a resolution of allowing the Pathan brokers five per cent. but shall take care at the same time that the Honourable Company receive a net profit of 20 or 25 per cent on what we sell."

This, however, did not put an end to English troubles. Gulabroy still persisted in his obstructive ways. In fact he found out new ways of harassing the English. He stopped cotton belonging to Mr. Erskine at the Custom House, Tatta, and demanded 'MUNG-ANA', or duty on each bale, from which the English were exempt. He delayed giving dispatch to salt petre boats and assessed duty on quantities larger than the boats actually contained. The English made many protests but in vain. His reply was "that he was far from making any unreasonable demands or wishing to impede business..... that what he insisted upon regarding the cotton was usual."

The Sind Factors, therefore, came to the conclusion that they must adopt stronger measures than mere protests, if they were to get any redress from the Prince. They wrote to their Masters: "On the whole as so little regard is paid to the Prince's Parwanas, we conclude he must be at the bottom of these impediments, tho' he seems desirous to avoid going too far, or openly avow the measures pursued by his officers here, and we have reason to believe that this settlement will constantly be subject to such impediments from April to October, till some means are taken to convince them that the Honourable Company can also obstruct their business, and for this purpose we presume no measure could be more effectual, or less subject to disagreeable consequences, than our having authority to prevent the landing of Bengal freight which comes here only on English vessels, at any time the Hon'ble Company's affairs required such a step, and sending it to Bombay provided the ship is bound thither, from whence it might be returned without any material loss or risk to the Multannees, as soon as the Government was convinced of their error in obstructing our business ; and we are entirely of opinion, that once acting in this manner would effectually intimidate any Custom Master here from pursuing such measures in future.....On this subject we request your honours' answer, as also whether we may, at any time, presume to detain any of the Honourable Company's Cruizers that may come here, for twenty days or a month, should we meet with impediment in the fair season, and find her detention likely to prove serviceable in getting them removed."

The Authorities at Bombay, however, did not approve of the course suggested by the Sind Factors. They wrote "We entirely approve of your conduct in your transactions with the Prince and his Officers and would have you continue to pursue such measures as you may judge most likely to promote our Honourable Masters' interest, by keeping him in good humour without relinquishing any part of the privileges he has already granted them. We are sensible should the impediments which you represent continue to our business, some method must be fallen upon to bring the Prince to reason, but we cannot approve of that proposed by you for sending the Bengal freight ship hither, without landing her freight, as this measure would very materially prejudice many individuals, who are no ways concerned with the Scindy Government. We shall however readily concur with you, in any measure you may point out, for impeding the currency of the Prince's business, or of interrupting the trade of Scindy in particular, should you

be of opinion the same would be a means of bringing him to reason, and in such case we permit of your detaining any of the Honourable Company's cruizers in the manner you mention though only in cases of absolute necessity."

The Sind Factors reluctantly submitted to the decision of their Masters to whom they wrote :

"At present we have no reason to complain of any impediment to our business from this Government as indeed it is probable that rarely any ever will happen during the fair season. The Bengal freight being the most material article of trade in this country, the stopping of which would occasion the greatest clamour among the principal merchants, and prejudice to the customs without any apparent violence, and bring the officers we have to deal with soonest to reason, was our motive for proposing it. However, we shall now drop all thoughts of it, and in case of disputes in future leave to your Honour, etc., determination of the most eligible means of obviating them."

However, it was very soon that the English had to complain again of fresh violations of the Parwanas granted to them. The Custom Master at Shah Bunder had made new claims against the Company. Mr. Beaven, who was in charge of the Company's affairs in Sind owing to Mr. Erskine's absence to Bombay on account of ill health, informed his Masters of those new claims and the steps he had taken. He wrote: "The Custom Master at Shah Bunder, a few days ago sent me notice, he had received the Prince's Parwana to demand from the English the same customs as other merchants pay on goods to and from the ports of Callicut and Mascot, etc. As I have reason to conclude that this exaction is a certain introduction to further violation of our rights, I therefore sent the following message by Vakeel Bambumul: That all Parwanas from the Prince, immediately directed to me, should be duly considered and respectfully answered ; but that I could pay no regard to any sent to his servants who undoubtedly did their duty in advising me of their Master's Orders, as it was mine also to obey only those I received from my Hon'ble Superiors at Bombay, being determined to assent to no kind of alteration in our privileges without their express permission and positive direction. The Vakeel returned in the evening, with his written reply that he (Ajaardar*) would report to the Prince his Master the substance of my answer and

* Ajaardar—Contractor.

wait his pleasure ; at the same time candidly observed to Bumbamul, that this new claim was solely by Gulabroy's misrepresentations at the Court to our prejudice."

In March 1764 Mr. Beaven received a letter from the Prince inviting him to Shah Pore and assuring him of a warm welcome. As a visit to the Court involved heavy expense on customary presents to be made to the Prince, Mr. Beaven put it off till he had obtained the sanction of his Masters to incur the expense. He also received letters from the new Governor of Tatta Lolla Afhumn (?), Gulabroy, and Bumbamul pressing him to come to Tatta. He therefore went to Tatta. On his arrival there he learnt that the King of Afghanistan had sent a commission to the Sind Government for the purchase of a large quantity of woollens. He also received another message from the Prince desiring his visit to the Court. He, therefore, decided to proceed there. To inform his Masters of his decision, he wrote : "The repeated messages sent from the Government and the impatience shown by them, persuade me they really intend buying , and as this visit has now a different aspect, promising large sales, I think it my duty to comply, lest further evasion give disgust, and be of prejudice to the Hon'ble Company's interest. Ceremony and business may possibly coincide, and the profit on our sale in some degree compensate the unavoidable expense of necessary presents—these are the hopes that at length determine my going to Shah Pore, which should they ever prove deceptive, cannot justly subject me to censure."

Mr. Beaven arrived in Shah Pore on 27th March 1764 accompanied by Bumbamul. He waited immediately on the Prince in Darbar who presented him with a "Sirpah consisting of a Kimcob vest, shawl and turban, a knife and a sword mounted with gold whose scabbard and sheath were ornamented with the same metal, a Ziga or cluster of emeralds, rubbies set in gold, and a Persian horse with silver plated bridle, etc., and furniture." In return he gave to the Prince the "customary gold Rupee and other presents of broad cloth, velvet, silk, looking glasses, etc.," on behalf of the Hon'ble Company. After the inspection of the samples the Prince placed the following order with him for the supply of woollens: Crimson Draps 1200 yards at Rs. 10½; Thick Worcesters 1500 yards at Rs. 4; Persia Fine Wine 450 yards at Rs. 4½; and black superfine, 780 yards at Rs. 6; in all amounting to 3930 yards at Rs. 25417½. He promised to instruct his Custom Master at Tatta to deliver the money and receive the goods as soon as the revenues produced the sum required for the purpose. He

also gave Mr. Beaven hopes of further purchases of British woollens.

Finding the Prince in a good humour Mr. Beaven decided to press for the redress of their grievances. I can do no better than give his own account of the conversations he had with the Prince in this connection. He writes :

"I thought it convenient to lay before him the frequent interruptions, the Hon'ble Company's concerns, particularly those of salt petre, had for many months past received from our inveterate enemy Gulabroy, the Ajaardar of Tatta. For this purpose I requested from the Prince a private interview, who immediately appointed my coming tomorrow evening..... Next day, being introduced to his private Durbar, where he received me with great openness and much seeming civility, saying that if I had anything particular to say to speak freely, with confidence and proper satisfaction to my reasonable requests. I then gave him an ample relation of the very petulant, troublesome behaviour of Gulabroy, and pointed out the particular impediments thrown in our way respecting salt petre, desiring his order of redress in that article and also general directions for procuring due and prompt obedience from his servants in future to the Parwanas he had granted and repeatedly confirmed in favour of the Hon'ble Company. He heard the whole, without the least interruption, when making a small pause, directed me to express the purport of what I had said in writing, and send my Arzee by the Vakil tomorrow, which after he had duly considered should be returned me with a suitable answer. Agreeable to the Prince's desire, I sent an Arzee purporting the substance of what I yesterday spoke. In the evening received a Parwana on Gulabroy, directing him to desist from his late proceedings and act respectfully to the English in future."

"On considering the little regard Gulabroy has always shown other and former orders (nearly of the same tenor with this), I therefore directed the Vakil to wait on the Prince early tomorrow, and point out the little efficacy of his present intention and the absolute necessity of procuring positive and explicit orders to Gulabroy, whose insolent disposition requires at all times the strictest curb from superior authority. Bum-bamul accordingly waited on the Prince, who hearing my request and its reason, assured me of a more effectual order. He arrived with the expected Parwana from the Prince directed to Gulabroy, being to the following purpose:

Shah Pore, 5th April, 1764.

TO GULABROY, ETC.

"Mr. Samuel Beaven, the reputable and well-esteemed Merchant, Resident and Gumastah for the Hon'ble English East Indian Company, having represented to me the frequent interruption you give in transporting crude salt petre to the Factory at Shah Bunder, and other vexatious proceedings, whereby he is justly displeased ; and as I consider him a valuable merchant whose concerns produce advantage to my Government, I expect and direct that you stop no more this article of crude salt petre ; and as to other trading matters, importing or exporting goods, buying or selling, you are only to observe the same customs and recover nothing more than is usual, agreeable to my former Parwanas, that the Hon'ble Company may with more freedom and security increase their trade; in this respect punctual obedience.

"I have directed the Comerdeen, Cannogahs to give me an account of the value of former customs for two years on the export of salt petre, previous to the exclusive grant I made the English and also the amount paid me by the Hon'ble Company for two years since such Parwana was given them, by which I may judge and give you proper orders hereafter."

Mr. Beaven wrote to his Masters : "It might be right to observe that the conclusion of this Parwana is either meant in terrorem, or else plainly indicates a desire in the Government to infringe our right respecting the salt petre grant, if it appear, by the Cannogah's review, prejudicial to the public revenue; and the latter design I'm well convinced are their real wishes, but at the same time have room to expect from the best information that no considerable difference will appear on this parallel, and as the contractor proposes by this year's agreement to furnish treble the quantity the present season to what he did the last, I promise myself nothing further may follow from the enquiry."

However for the time being the Parwana appeared to have the desired effect on Gulabroy. When delivered to him he "received it with due respect and promised exact obedience thereto." Mr. Beaven reported on 8th April that "three boats loaded chiefly with crude salt petre were this morning immediately dispatched to Shah Bunder, on my first application to Gulabroy, who for nearly three weeks past has constantly used the most idle pretences to delay them. This Custom Master affects at present a very unusual complaisance to our requests."

The English were, however, deceived. For Gulabroy was soon at his old tricks again. He informed the English that the Prince had cancelled the order for the British woollens. Mr. Beaven at once wrote to the Prince who assured him "that the message from Gulabroy was a falsehood of his own invention, and that to prevent further evasion or delay in the Custom Master, he had repeated his former orders, in a peremptory manner, for immediately paying the money and receiving their goods agreeable to the contract." He also sent a trusted servant to see that Gulabroy carried out his orders. The woollens were accordingly received and duly paid for by Gulabroy without any more trouble.

About this time the Sikhs were over-running the Punjab. The Pathan merchants, therefore, could not come to Sind. Mr. Beaven informed his Masters of this new impediment to their trade. He wrote, in April 1764, that he had "received the disagreeable news that Multan and the Northern country, adjacent to Scindy, were in the utmost confusion by the inundation of the Siccs, a numerous military caste of Indians who inhabit the neighbouring mountains of Lahore. The conquests, or rather depredations, these invaders have made must occasion for sometime an interruption of our woollen trade till the Pathans have recovered these provinces and opened the intercourse again to Kandhar and Cabul." However, very soon the news came that the Sikhs had retired from Multan to their retreats round about Lahore. The Pathans recovered their provinces from the Sikhs who were too much divided among themselves.

The East India Company's building at Tatta was in the middle of a busy part of the town. It lacked an upper storey and was not very suitable for residential purposes. In 1764 the Sind Factors decided to add another floor to it at a modest cost of Rs. 130. Mr. Beaven wrote to Bombay Council on the subject. "I have taken the liberty of running up a small Bungalow on the upper terrace of this Factory to command a free circulation of air, which before was secluded from my lofty houses in the neighbourhood, which thereby exposing us to the most sultry stifling heat, rendered our situation extremely unwholesome."

At this stage I might give an account of the organization of the salt petre trade in Sind. As we know already, there was no private trade in salt petre in Sind. The English had the sole monopoly for the purchase and export of it. They did not, however, themselves engage in the actual extraction of

salt petre, but employed a contractor who supplied the crude article at a fixed price. The salt petre was then sent in boats from Tatta and Shah Pore to Shah Bunder where the Factory was situated. There it was refined in the Company's boilers before being exported to Bombay. The duty was paid on the crude article at the ports before it arrived at the Factory. The English paid a duty of only $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The private merchants used to pay a much higher duty before the monopoly was granted to the English. The agreement between the contractor and the Factory was usually for one year only. By it the contractor undertook to supply a particular quantity for which he was paid at the end of the year at a fixed rate agreed upon before hand. The usual rate was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 5 per maund of refined salt petre. The contractor, from time to time, however, received advances of money to enable him to carry on the operations.

In June 1764, the Bombay authorities wrote to the Sind Factors to secure as much salt petre in Sind as they could, as they feared that owing to the disturbed state of affairs in Bengal the Company would not be able to secure their usual supplies from that quarter. At this juncture, however, a serious danger threatened the English salt petre monopoly in Sind. The Imam of Muscat's Vakeel at the Sind Court had asked for permission to export salt petre from Sind. Mr. Beaven wrote several letters to the Prince's Diwans for their assistance in preventing the grant of the permission. He, however, entertained little hope of success, for the Prince was under a debt of obligation to the Imam of Muscat for having in the previous year surrendered to him the greater part of his deposed brother, the deceased Mahomed Murad's treasure, and entertained hopes of soon recovering the remainder also. To avert the danger Mr. Beaven suggested to the Bombay Council "to make a private overture to the Imam to supply him with any small quantity he wants from Bombay on reasonable terms." Diwan Chellaram and other friends of the English at the Sind Court wrote to Mr. Beaven assuring him that they would do their best to support the Company's rights regarding salt petre and to keep the Prince well disposed towards the English. Soon after Mr. Beaven learnt that the Prince had refused to grant the Imam's request for the export of salt petre on the ground that "he had already given the Hon'ble Company an exclusive right thereto which he did not choose to violate." However, as he did not wish to displease the Imam he gave the Vakeel a Parwana on the English to supply him with 500 maunds on payment of the pro-

per price. As this did not suit the Vakeel he left Shah Pore in disgust.

I have described the relations between the English Factors and the Prince purposely at great length, as they afford a fair indication of the relations subsisting between the East India Company's agents and the Sind rulers throughout the latter half of the 18th century. During this period, on no less than two occasions concessions were hastily given which were regretted at leisure ; and the Sind rulers afraid to take back what they had themselves given had recourse to every kind of subterfuge, obstruction and harassment. Our rulers must have been sadly wanting in political wisdom, for otherwise it is difficult to explain such huge concessions which brought them no advantage in return. Indeed they were like little children, for it appears that their sole object in inviting the English to Sind was the few presents of western knick-knacks they occasionally received from them.

I conclude my paper here. Later on, however, I propose to complete the story in another paper.

SHEEDEE HOSH MUHAMMAD

By

A. B. ADVANI, M. A., LL.B.

(Read on 24th February, 1935.)

*"To honour, while you strike him down,
The foe that comes with fearless eyes."*

H. NEWBOLT.

Whatever might be said about Sir Charles Napier's policy regarding the Conquest of Sind, this much is certain that he keenly appreciated bravery, whether of a friend or foe. The proof of this trait of Sir Charles Napier is manifest in the magazine enclosure in the fort of Hyderabad (Sind), where the Sind Conqueror has had a tomb erected in memory of one of the Talpur Mirs' brave soldiers who was killed in the battle of Dabba, fought on the 24th March, 1843 between the Baloch force under the leadership of Mir Sher Muhammad Khan of Mirpur and the British army under a veteran soldier like Sir Charles Napier. The inscription on this monument in the Hyderabad Fort reads thus :

THIS MONUMENT MARKS THE LAST RESTING-
PLACE OF ONE OF THE AMEERS' SOLDIERS WHO WAS
KILLED IN THE BATTLE OF HYDERABAD WHILST BRA-
VELY FIGHTING. THE GUN PLACED OVER HIS TOMB.

Sheedee Hosh Muhammad whose name Napier has thus perpetuated was a slave^[1] originally purchased by Mir

[1] Slavery was common, in a mild form, in Sind, in the days of Talpur Mirs. Captain Hart of the Bombay Army has published a very illuminating note on "*Slavery in Scinde*" in the United Service Magazine for January, 1844. To quote the author:

"For his own credit and reputation, the master takes care that his slave shall be well dressed and fed. The trifling duties required are soon learnt, and the boy, associated with others of his own race, speaking only their master's language, and looking up to him as the source of the comforts they enjoy, soon falls into the same train of feelings, forgets his sorrows, and, ere long, has no other thought than that of devotion to his master's family, which he now looks on as his own. . . . As he increases in years, he is taught the use of arms and to ride, that he may be able to accompany his master on his journeys; and although he never rises beyond the rank of a domestic, he is satisfied with his situation in life, and he is always certain of having his wants provided for. That he should be faithful and, attached to his master, and have no greater dread than of offending him by his misconduct is the necessary consequence of the manner in which he is brought up. To him freedom will be no boon. . . . It is not unusual for masters on their death beds to set at liberty several of their bondsmen. But slaves of good character, even when given their freedom, are unwilling to quit the family in which they have been domesticated. . . . In the households of the chiefs, these men form the greater proportion of their personal military retainers, are fed and clothed, and act as a body-guard, knowing no law but their commands, nor acknowledging any other superior," etc.

Slavery continued in Sind up to 1843. The official records of the Bombay Presidency show that slaves were imported in Arab vessels into Sind. In March 1842, some 66 slaves were imported into Karachi from Muscat. Two months previous to that, some 48 slaves were sent to Karachi. Most of these slaves were Abyssinians but some of them were negroes. (Cf. Banaji, D.R., "*Slavery in British India*" published by D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1933). These imported slaves seem to have settled down in Sind and got married to Sindhi women. Their children are called *Gadas* in Sindhi. Slavery was declared illegal after the passing of Act V of 1843, and thus came to an end in India. Cf. also *Miscellaneous Information connected with the Province of Sind*, II, pp. 646-647.

Karam Ali Khan of Hyderabad. Sir William Napier, the flamboyant historian of his brother Sir Charles Napier's achievements lavishes the most unstinted praise on this dark hero. "The dark hero," he writes "displayed a military skill worthy of a European General. He also stood with his brother Seedees, the foremost in the fight, and when he could not conquer, died sword in hand without a backward step"[¹]. Again: "At Dubba also, as at Meeani, a leader, the same at both and worthy of all praise, animated the fight, Hoche Mohammed Seedee, an Abyssinian slave! Heroic in strength of body and mind! This brave manat Dubba, fighting with unbounded fury fell to the last man under the bayonets of the 22nd Regiment"[²].

Who was Sheedee Hosh Muhammad? What did he do to earn the admiration of Sir Charles Napier? These are some of the questions that naturally arise in our mind and in this paper I will give a brief biography of this brave slave-soldier.

Sir William Napier is puzzled about the name of this warrior, which he wrongly spells as Hoche and advances a highly fanciful theory about him. He takes him to be an African slave, "who, if his first name (Hoche) be correct was not unlikely the son of some Abyssinian attached to French Army in Egypt"[³]. Hosh Muhammad was neither an African slave, nor the son of some Abyssinian attached to Napoleon's French Army in Egypt. The name *Hosh*, which owing to mis-spelling was written in the letters and official despatches of Sir Charles Napier as *Hoche*, causing Sir William Napier to indulge in his usual flights of imagination, means in Sindhi language "*Sense*." And the parents of this "sensible" soldier belonged to Sind, as is evidenced, not only by the oral testimony of the descendants of Sheedee Hosh Muhammad living in the village of Tando Thoro, in the vicinity of Hyderabad, but also by the use of the word *قبرائتي* in the following verses of the Sindhi minstrel:—

هلي هوش محمد آيو، ڪري قبرائتي ڪاهه،
 ايندي به ارن ۾ گهوت وڃاڻا گهاٽو
 قلوبان ڪڙو ڪيو شيديءَ پنهنجو ساهه،
 سو لشڪر سان شيديءَ مار ڏيو ميار مٿس ٺاهه.[⁴]

[1] Napier, *The Conquest of Scinde*, p. 379.

[2] Napier, *The Life and Opinions of General Sir Charles Napier*, III, p. 357.

[3] Napier, *The Conquest of Scinde*, p. 379.

[4] Parmanand, *Meeani-a-ji Jung*, p. 24.

R. F. Burton, the famous oriental scholar explains the word **قبراطي** thus :—

When a Sindee Moslem marries a Siddyanee, the half caste offspring is called a *Guddo* or *Guddes*. The offspring of such half caste, and a Sindee father is called a *Kambrani*[¹].

Who were his ancestors, whether he really came from Abyssinia or Africa, cannot be ascertained and I think are not very material points. He was originally purchased by Mir Karam Ali Khan, and served under Mir Fateh Ali Khan, the first Talpur ruler of Sind. After the death of Mir Fateh Ali Khan in 1802 he transferred his allegiance to Mir Sobdar Khan who was the son of Mir Fateh Ali Khan. Under him he rose to be his chief adviser[²]. We lose sight of him for good many years during which it is presumed he continued to serve his master faithfully. After Sir Charles Napier had defeated the Talpur Mirs' army on the battle-field of Meeani on the 17th February, 1843, he encamped at Hyderabad. Sheedee Hosh Muhammad had fought most bravely in this battle but all in vain. The Lion of Mirpur, Mir Sher Muhammad Khan was however getting ready to give fight to Sir Charles Napier. He wrote to his sister, the widow of Mir Karam Ali Khan, requesting monetary assistance to enable him to measure his strength against Sir Charles Napier. Three mules were loaded with gold *mohurs* and Sheedee Hosh Muhammad was entrusted with the task of taking this money to the "Lion". The money reached Mir Sher Muhammad safely, who thus fortified, advanced cautiously and at last gave battle to Sir Charles Napier at Dubba. But the Mirs' star had set and the "Lion" lost this battle. It is said that while the battle was fiercely raging, a large quantity of gun-powder exploded in the Baloch Army's camp. The Baloches were disconcerted at this and were giving way. Hosh Muhammad realized that the tide of their good fortune was ebbing. He therefore rushed to the "Lion" and advised him to leave the battle-field in secret saying that at a more opportune moment the Mir might wage another war on the British army. "I will however go on fighting as long as I live," said Hosh Muhammad to Mir Sher Muhammad Khan. Mir Sher Muhammad was unwilling to flee from the battle but was at last persuaded by Hosh Muhammad to save his life. He left the battle sorrowfully abandoning his faithful followers to their fate. Hosh Muhammad now took upon himself the charge of the artillery. He was like a man possessed. He ordered,

[1] *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, II, p. 647.

[2] Kalich Beg, *A History of Sind*, II, p. 218.

he fired, he encouraged. He was here, there and everywhere, but the struggle was futile and the bravery of the "Abyssinian slave" was to no effect^[1]. When attacked by the fierce Irishmen of the 22nd Regiment, he died with the sword in hand, "without a backward step"^[2]. The battle was lost on account of the cowardice of the Baloches but the selflessness and bravery of this soldier, of such humble origin, forms a purple patch which well deserves the admiration of Napier.

In the fort of Hyderabad there is a wretched looking building which is the last relic of the architecture favoured by the Mirs. This building is known as *Mir Shahdad-ji- Mari*. The interior of this unpretentious building has the most beautifully painted walls with delicate floral designs. The colours have not faded and still attract the eye. The four niches in the four walls contain beautiful fresco paintings, in one of which I was shown the figure of Mir Nasir Khan with Sheedee Hosh Muhammad standing behind him. This fresco and the monument in the magazine enclosure of the Hyderabad Fort are the only reminders, we have in Sind, of the bravery and faithfulness of this "dark hero"^[3].

[1] Cf. *Narajan-ji Larace*, an article by Parmanand Mewaram in *Jot* (a Sindhi bi-monthly paper printed at Hyderabad Sind) of 20th April, 1899.

[2] Napier, *The Conquest of Scinde*, p. 379.

[3] I obtained the above biographical information about Sheedee Hosh Muhammad from his descendants, through Mirza Ghulam Mahdi of Tando Thoro. An account based on such oral tradition should be viewed with scepticism. But that it does contain some authentic historical information cannot be denied. It also corresponds substantially with an account of the Battle of Hyderabad which appeared in the Sindhi bi-monthly paper *Jot* of 20th April, 1899. I am therefore inclined to believe that the account, obtained by me from Hosh Muhammad's descendants, is not totally fictitious.

A GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS
(INCLUDING PHYSIOGRAPHY)
OF
THE KHAIRPUR STATE
—A POST BARRAGE INVESTIGATION

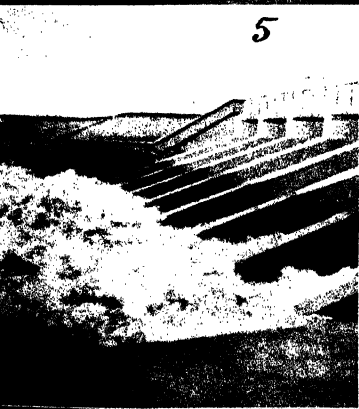
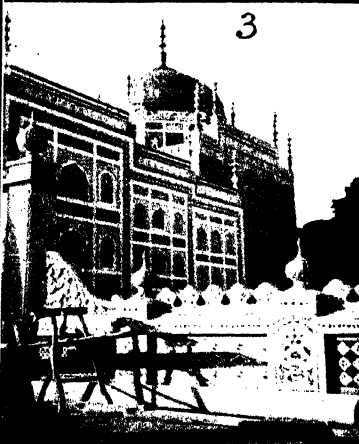
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(Read on 19th May 1935)

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1. SEEPAGE (Khairpur Mirs) Surface pools.
2. SUKKUR BARRAGE (10 ft. diff. in Level in Winter.)
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I. INTRODUCTION.

Close to the very gates of the Sukkur Barrage with two special feeders to its credit and between the Indus, the ancient Mehran, and the Rajputana desert, lies the only Native State in Sind, *viz.* Khairpur. In itself it is a land of contrasts,—the richest of soils in the valley on one side and the sandiest of deserts on the other : the hottest days in summer and the coldest, frostiest nights in winter : very precarious rainfall and a more or less perfect irrigation system ; water-logged areas in proximity to places where wells are hundreds of feet deep : sand-belts and clay-belts forming a labyrinth of soils : abundant palm trees and Babul forests along the banks of the Indus but not a blade of grass in parts of the Nara Taluka : a relic of the old Talpur Mirs' kingdom but now with a British minister ruling the destinies of the people, who claim relationship with the Sumras and Sammas of old. Even the shape of the bullock carts and the type of bricks used at present in the State are as old as the sand-hills of the Thar. It is a most interesting region from the point of view of historical geography ; but unfortunately the records preserved are few and the landmarks are fewer still.*

An attempt has been herein made, however, to present a geographical analysis of the State, based on personal observations and contact with the officials, who were good enough to supply some data. In a State covering more than 6,000 square miles, there is not a good metalled trunk road worth mentioning, though the partially navigable Indus, the largest of the Barrage canals *viz.* the Rohri, and the N. W. Railway run side by side through one side of the State territories, and gradually the fertile fields on the west pass into the undulating sand-hills eastwards towards Rajputana. Travelling is made exceedingly difficult thereby and the whole State is now in a critical condition from which it must emerge gloriously some time. This attempt is mainly to inquire into the geographical conditions, which have made the State what it is today and which are likely to affect its future.

II. SITUATION AND EXTENT OF TERRITORY.

The present Khairpur State is only a fragment of the large and fruitful estate of the old Talpur Mirs—almost the whole of

*NOTE.—Dr. G. S. Ghurye of the Department of Sociology, University of Bombay, has just found a number of relics of archaeological interest from the sands of Kot Diji in the Khairpur Taluka. I have examined some of them and consider that they are likely to throw some light on the life of the people who once inhabited an old valley of the Indus. His pupil, Mr. Thakkur, is also reported to have found some Neolithic remains at Naru-jo-Daro. The whole State needs an archaeological survey.

Sind being under their jurisdiction before the advent of the British. It lies between the latitudes of $26^{\circ} 10''$ and $27^{\circ} 46''$ North and the longitudes of $68^{\circ} 20''$ and $70^{\circ} 14''$ East, thus stretching from east to west to about 120 miles and from north to south to about 70 miles. The total area covered is 6,050 square miles.

The actual boundaries, however, swing with the course of time and the river Indus. They have changed considerably during the XIX century, as can be seen from the history which follows. (See Sketch Map).

III. A HISTORICAL SETTING.

The State in its original condition was quite a different one. Its history extends far into the history of Aror, the Capital of the ancient Hindu Kingdom of Sind, now in ruins, only about 12 miles to the north of it. After the downfall of this Kingdom at the hands of the Arabs, its glories passed on to the Mahomedan conquerors of Sind and later on to the native converts to Islam. Later still, the Afghans, Persians, Turks, Moghuls and lastly Baloochis, all had their share of plunder and sovereignty, till at last the State settled down under the Talpur dynasty of Sind.

How the State of Khairpur was carved out.

How the State was actually carved out is an interesting story. "Shadad, grandson to a certain Kaka or Begum, whom all the Talpur Chiefs claim as their common ancestor, quitted his native mountains for the banks of the Indus, and colonised at a distance of 12 miles from the ancient ruins of Brahmanabad, the town which still bears his name.

"One of Shadad's sons, named Behram, was murdered either by, or at the order of the Kulhoras ; but a second, Chakur, became a considerable Zamindar in the districts into which his father had immigrated, and it was this latter son who was father to Sohrab, the founder of the Khyrpoor State.

"At length in 1783 A. D. and after many misundertakings between the rulers and their mercenaries, Fateh Ali, grandson to Behram, in revenge, as it is said, for the murder of his grandfather, and of another Talpur, excited his clansmen to revolt, and upon the rebellion proving successful, established himself in Hyderabad as chief ruler in Sind. Sohrab and another Chieftain, named Thaira, were, it appears, subordinately associated with him in power, but they shortly left the capital--

Sohrab en route to Khyrpoor and Thaira towards Shahbunder, in Lower Sind.....

“Sohrab repairing to the town of Khyrpoor there declared himself Ameer of the adjacent districts and a tributary of the King of Kabul”.....[¹].

By conquest and other means, Sohrab extended the limits upto Sabzalkot and Kashmor in the north, the Jaisalmir desert in the east and the borders of Kacch Gandava in the west.[²].

Sohrab founded the city of Khairpur where stood the village of Boira and the Zamindari of the Phulpotras.

Treaties with the British.

In 1809 a treaty, guaranteeing an eternal friendship between the Talpurs and the British was signed owing to the danger of Napoleon's foreign policy in the East.[³].

In 1811 Mir Sohrab abdicated in favour of his eldest son, Mir Rustom. It may be stated in this connection that the names Sohrab, Rustom and their ancestors, Behram and Mubarak, suggest a Persian origin of the Talpur tribe, who held sway over the whole of Sind and upto 1813 paid a tribute to the Afghan king. Rustom was weak and unfriendly towards his brother Ali Murad. The former died on the island of Manora in 1832 and so Ali Murad got the Chieftainship at last. Before this event the Khairpur State was acknowledged by the British as an independent State. The geographical advantages of such an alliance were duly shown by Lt. Burnes, e.g. the following extract from the treaty of 1832 with Mir Rustom Khan :—

“ARTICLE 1:

There shall be eternal friendship between the two States.

ARTICLE 2 :

The two contracting powers mutually bind themselves from generation to generation never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other.

[1] Selections from the Records of Bombay Government, No. XVII, New Series Lieut. Lewis Pelly 1854. Pp. 105-106.

[2] W. W. Hunter—Imperial Gazetteer of India, p. 134, Vol. 8.

[3] A. W. Hughes—Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, p. 431.

ARTICLE :

The British government, having requested the *use of the river Indus and the roads of Sindh* for the merchants of Hindustan, etc., the government of Khairpore agrees to grant the same within its own boundaries on whatever terms may be settled with the government of Hyderabad, namely Mir Murad Ali Khan Talpore.

Sd/- W. C. BENTINCK."[1].

At the time of the First Afghan War, the British took a step further and desired the occupation of Shikarpur and also assistance from the State for the passage of troops through Sindh. Khairpur always acquiesced, while other Mirs refused.

A similar treaty was made in 1838 with Mir Rustom Khan.

"ARTICLE 6 :

In order to improve by every means possible the growing *intercourse by the river Indus* Meer Rustom Khan promised all co-operation with the other powers in any measure which might be hereafter thought necessary for extending and facilitating the commerce and navigation of the Indus.

ARTICLE 183 :

The Ameer shall not object to the occupation of the *fortress of Bukker* as depot for treasure and munitions."[2]

It is said that as Bukker lay in the midst of the river and not on either bank of the Indus, the British readily secured it, although the river itself was previously fixed as the natural boundary between the two States.

Since Mir Ali Murad cordially supported the British policy of trade and administration in Sind, Khairpur was allowed to retain its political existence and as he rendered loyal and valuable services to the British against the wishes of the other Mirs, with arms and diplomacy at the battles of Miani and Daba, the Khairpur Mir flourished and he alone was afterwards allowed to rule independently within the British Suzerainty.

[1] Treaties, Engagements and Sanads (India), Vol. VII, Bombay Presidency
4th Ed. Compiled by Aitchison. Pp. 337-379.

[2] *Ibid.*

And yet step by step the Khairpur Mir was also losing ground. By the treaty of 1842, fresh boundaries were settled :

"ARTICLE 1:

The pargannah of Bhoong Bhara, the third part of the District of Sab-zalkote and the villages of Gotkee, Maladee, Chaonga, Dadoola and Uzezpore and all the territories of the Ameer of Khairpore, or any of them intervening between the present dominions of His Highness the Nawab of Bhawalpore and the town and district of Roree, are ceded in perpetuity to His Holiness the Nawab.

ARTICLE 2:

The town of Sukkur and the islands of Bukkur and the adjoining islets and the town of Roree are ceded in perpetuity to the British government."^[1]

Later still in 1850 after the famous Commission, the Mir lost Kandiaro, Ubarao and Mathelo, three very fertile places, as will be seen from the following extract from the Proclamation:

"The Ameer's guilt has been proved. The Government of India will not permit His Highness Meer Ali Moorad Khan to escape with impunity, and a great public crime to remain unpunished.

Wherefore the Government of India has resolved and hereby declares that Meer Ali Moorad Khan of Khairpore is degraded from the rank of Rais; and that all his lands and territories, excepting those hereditary possessions only, which were allotted to him by his father Meer Sohrab Khan, shall hereafter be a portion of the British Empire in India.

The inhabitants of those territories are hereby called upon to submit themselves peaceably to the dominion under which they have passed, in full reliance that they will be defended against the enemies, and protected from harm, and that unmolested in their persons, in their property and their homes, they will be governed with just and mild authority.

Sd/- H. B. E. FRERE, Commissioner."^[2]

Even at the time of the Indian Mutiny of 1857 the Mir of Khairpur was loyal to the British as he sent his eldest son Nawaz Khan to march to Shikarpur against the rebels.

In 1866 a special sanad was granted to the Mir for succession to the Khairpur gadi.

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*

In 1882 the British government recognised the individuality of the State.

In 1894 Mir Ali Murad died and Mir Faiz Md. Khan succeeded. There was no event of outstanding merit, however, till Mir Faiz Md. died and his son Mir Imam Bakhsh came to the throne. Troubles then arose for the Mir on account of the unstable condition and fluctuations of the course of the Indus which even to-day swings for miles on either side at certain points of its course through Sind.

The treaty of 1901 was signed by the Mir regarding the Jamrao canal issuing from the Eastern Nara as to the alluvial accretions on the western boundary of the Khairpur State caused by changes in the course of the river Indus.

"ARTICLE 1 :

His Highness the Mir agrees to transfer in full sovereignty to the British Government the triangular portion of territory shown on the plan (Marked A) of about 154 square miles.

ARTICLE 3:

The British Government agrees to recognise the centre of the deep stream of the river Indus as it flowed in the month of March 1900 (Marked B) as the permanent boundary between the Khairpur State and the British State of Shikarpur and to abandon its claim on such of the alluvial deposits, forests and other territory at present on the left bank of the said deep stream of the Indus and on the frontage of or adjacent to His Highness's territory as are at present in the occupation of the British Government.

Similarly His Highness the Mir abandons all claim to the alluvial deposits and other territory in his occupation and possession on the right bank of the deep stream as aforesaid." [1]

Mir Imam Baksh died in 1921 and the present Mir Ali Nawaz Khan succeeded. No changes in the limits of the State have taken place in recent years.

Present Limits.

Thus at present the State territories are bounded on the north by the British territory of Sukkur-Rohri Taluka, on the west by the mid-stream of the Indus (a natural boundary), on the south and south-east by the British districts of Nawabshah and Thar

[1] *Ibid.*

Parkar and Hyderabad, and on the east by the Native States of Jodhpur and Jessalmere.

It is divided into five Talukas of Khairpur, Gambat, Mirwah, Faizgunj and Nara. The first four are cultivable areas, while the Nara Taluka largely consists of desert land. (See Sketch Map).

Curiously enough there are three small island-like areas, within these State limits, in the possession of the British, *viz.* Ulra and Phulwahan Jagirs and Manghanwari—Kingri Tapa, which includes the town of Pirjo Goth and in which is situated, the famous independent spiritual *gadi* (throne) of a long line of Peers descending from the Prophet.

IV. PHYSIOGRAPHY.*

Physiographically, the Khairpur State forms part of (1) the Eastern Valley Section and (2) the Desert Section, both belonging to the Province of the Lower Indus Basin.

Eastern Valley Section.

This is limited by the Indus on the north and the west and by the desert on the east. In the south it is bounded by the Nawabshah and the Thar Parkar districts. The elongated narrow strip of valley land on both sides of the Eastern Nara, falling within the State and below the 250 feet contour, is also included in this Section. It is overgrown with vegetation generally during the rainy season and largely cultivable.

Alluvium.

The whole Section is spread over with Quarternary alluvium for many miles. There is a gentle slope from north to south from the 190 feet contour near the Barrage to the 130 feet line at the southern extremity of the State.

The soil consists of belts of sand and fine clay deposited by the river Indus, which has furrowed and re-furrowed the land in many places. It is therefore very rich in minerals specially mica flakes, shining even in their smallest particles. There are also plenty of salts in the soil, especially sodium chloride.

*This section forms part of the author's forthcoming work on "The Physiography of the Lower Indus Valley."

Rock System.

The solid rocks within the area form a range of hills known as the Ghar, striking north and south with a very low dip towards the east and showing a well-marked escarpment on the western margin. (See Geological Map). It extends for about 18 miles in the Sukkur-Rohri district and for about 30 miles more southwards in our State, with an average height of about 200 feet and breadth of about 18 miles. These hills are remarkable for the rich Tertiary fossils, especially nummulites, as in other parts of Sind. It is a typical Kirthar series of rocks of the Eocene age, mostly consisting of nummulitic limestone intermixed with clays and gypsum as under [1]:

- (i) White and yellowish limestone containing numerous nummulites, e.g. *Spira*, *Granulosa*, etc. weathering very soon and forming flat-topped craggy hummocks with small nodules of ironstone.
- (ii) Hard limestone, yellow and of fine texture, fractured in places and not quite fossiliferous, but containing nodules of flint, at times very large in size.
- (iii) Pockets of clay, especially Fuller's earth, green clays with gypsum, marl or argillaceous limestone, soft and easily decomposed.
- (iv) White limestone series with abundant nummulites.
- (v) A bed of pale, green clay with gypsum in beds and veins and deep red clay resting on a band of brown limestone, abounding in fossils.

The eastern boundary of the hills is traceable for a good distance but towards the south it is covered with sandhills to a great extent, so that only here and there a few outcrops of rocks are seen. "Between the Eastern Nara and the Mirwah, the large canal running to the west of the Rohri hills, the country 50 miles south of Rohri is a wilderness of sandhills without water. The few outcrops of rock which occur do not rise into ridges, as they do further north and the dips are very low, the beds being almost horizontal." [1].

On the western side, however, the hills are escarped, the beds dipping only 1 or 2 degrees to the eastward. The section exposed shows the soft nummulitic limestone overlying coloured clays.

[1] W. T. Blanford : "Geology of Western Sind"—M. G. S. I. Vol. XVII, Pt. 1 Pp. 101-102.

[2] *Ibid* p. 107.

"About Kot Diji there are numerous detached hills. Those at the town itself are escarped and are apparently connected with the main range of rock, no alluvium intervening, for limestone crops out every here and there amongst the sand-hills east of the town. Some isolated rises west of the Mirwah or Khairpur canal appear completely surrounded by alluvium.

Further south again, the rocks show no escarpments and dipping slightly to the S. W., get themselves covered up with sand hills. Only a few isolated patches of limestone can be found nearby." [1].

This line of hills is also named differently at different points in its course through the State, e.g., Shadi Shahid, Peer Koka, Goondero, Kot Diji, etc. On top of these hills are found oysters, cockles and other shells of distinctly marine origin.

Drainage.

The drainage of the area consists of the flood waters of the Indus on one side and the Eastern Nara on the other.

The Indus and its regimen. [2]

The river in proximity to the State is in the aggrading stage and brings in much fine silt, as it is derived from soft rocks of sedimentary origin and carried in suspension. Its bed is here higher than the surrounding country and its channel shifts from time to time especially a few miles below the Bukkur Gorge and the Barrage.

Its regimen is of the greatest importance to cultivators, while its floods are a source of danger to their fields. The minimum guage reading at Bukkur is in January or February, at times as low as—0·5 ft. with a discharge of 24,092 cusecs only, while the maximum goes up to 16 or 17 ft. with a discharge of 600,000 cusecs in July-August, that is in the rainy season. In the months of April and May, there is another rise in the river due to the melting of the snows on the Himalayas.

The Indus often overflows its own channel in the rainy season, and as it is such a great danger to the neighbouring fields, elaborate bunds or dams have been built along the sides of the stream several miles in length, leaving the enclosed area as 'kutchra' land or Ketis. This is overgrown with forests in some parts. The tendency of the river is always to break through

[1] *Ibid* p. 108.

[2] Indus River Commission Records, 1902—1903.

these bunds and inundate the surrounding land due to the general rise of the level of the river above it. Even after the completion of the Sukkur Barrage its eastering propensity above the gorge has been noticed, which means a great anxiety to the P.W.D.* for the safety of the Barrage itself. It must be remembered that some of the river-waters at one time did flow past Aror through the old gorge 4 miles southward and almost through the same Eastern Nara cut newly made, but of course in the opposite direction, [1]. The navigability of the Indus in its course beside the Khairpur State is not great, both the force of the current and the depth of water being unreliable in the different seasons.

It must be herein noted that the Indus has all throughout its career, in prehistoric as well as historic times, been a changing stream shifting its channels from side to side. To compensate for this disadvantage, the river has left behind vast fields of fertile land, which can be easily irrigated along beds and channels, which were once its own active water-ways.

The Eastern Nara.

This is the ancient channel of the Hakra or Wahinda, the lost river of the desert. [2]. Unlike the Indus, the Nara is not an aggrading stream. It has a deep and meandering channel and is navigable in general. Before the construction of the Barrage, the Eastern Nara was "a series of sluggish pools in the dry season". [3]. The old Nara cut, which lay beside the Rohri town, has been abandoned and the new cut is now used as stated above. Near the Barrage itself its channel is 350 feet wide (bottom) and 12-13 feet deep. Its length within the State is about 200 miles. How this Nara river has come to be a mere relic of the old powerful stream of the Hakra or Wahinda, how it fertilised a very large part of the present desert land and how a number of important towns were ruined on account of hydrographical changes in this region are subjects to be dealt with elsewhere.

Besides these two rivers, there are a few hill torrents down the Ghar hills during the monsoon season whenever there is a strong current, but these are not a reliable source of water supply.

Public Works Department.

[1] W. T. Blanford "Geology of Western Sind," p. 106.

[2] C. F. Oldham—"Notes on the Lost River of the Indian Desert" Cal. Rev., Vol. LIX, 1874 Pp. 1-27.

R. D. Oldham—"On the Probable Changes in the Geography of the Punjab" J.A.S.B. Vol. LV Pt. 2, 1886 Pp. 322-343.

[3] W. W. Hunter—Imperial Gazetteer of India, p. 133. Vol. 8.

The Desert Section.

The rest of the land, which is nearly three-fourths of the whole area, is covered over with sand dunes, striking somewhat N.E. — S. W. towards the extreme end of the State, but almost N.—S. in other parts, as the S. W. monsoon wind current is felt less and less. The general rise of ground, covered thus with the sand, is about 300 feet.

This region is a part of the great Indian Desert, known to geologists as "the most singular tract in India". [1] It is arid, sterile and desolate except in those parts where showers of rain are received at times.

Nature of Sandhills.

There are parallel ridges called 'bhits', and towards the extreme end of the State striking N.E.—S.W., a direction almost parallel to the course of the monsoon. As we move towards the Nara the direction changes, as the force of the wind current is reduced, until they strike almost N.—S. Towards the north the longitudinal 'bhits' are connected by transverse ridges. But where the 'bhits,' though longer, are haphazard, there is developed a region, called 'talis' or valleys between the sand hills. Where the quantity of sand is very great, 'dra-ins' or plateaux are formed. These change their shape with the direction of the wind and contain soft and deep sand. There are hollows, called 'kochurs' in neighbourhood of such accumulations. It is in these that we come across a large number of the salt lakes known as 'dhunds' [2].

Sir Bartle Frere suggested a novel theory that the sandhills were formed and thrown into waves by earthquake shocks, as the ridges of rock hills are formed by earth movements and lateral compression. He also considered the Allah Bund in the Rann of Cutch as an example of "a typical Thar sand bilow" [3]. But R. D. Oldham has given a satisfactory explanation of the two types of hills met with in the Desert Section *viz.* the longitudinal and the transverse.[*]. Both are the result of wind action, the longer axis of the one being perpendicular to that of the other. The transverse ridges represent the

[1] W. T. Blanford—J.A.S.B., Vol. XLV, Pt. 2, p. 89

[2] G. Cotter—"Alkaline Lakes and Soda Industries of Sind," M.G.S.I., Vol. XLVII Pt. 2.

[3] W. T. Blanford—J.A.S.B. Vol. XLV Pt. 2 Pp. 97-100.

Sir B. Frere—J.R.G.S. Vol. XV, 1870.

[4] R.D. Oldham—"Geology of India," 1893 Pp. 455-56.

waves or ridges at right angles to the wind direction. Later on, there are valleys produced between them as the result of denudation by the same agency of wind, when the contents are swept away and the intervening ridges are left behind as longitudinal hills, striking N. E.—S.W. Says Oldham: "If one of the transverse type of sand hills be examined, it will be seen that the windward slope is by no means a uniform plane but it is composed of long narrow ridges, parallel to the direction of the wind, with intervening depressions probably kept open by a concentration of the wind in them and a consequent increase of transporting power, if not an actual development of power of erosion. It seems probable that the longitudinal type of sand hill is due to the exaggeration of this effect, by which the depressions, instead of being comparatively shallow and causing mere saddles in the general ridge, are carried almost, if not quite, to the base of the accumulation" [1].

Whence all this sand.

The sources of the present accumulated sand are probably many. (1) It might have been derived from the limestone rocks sub-aerially denuded. (2) A large amount of it must have been carried by aeolean agency from the Rann of Cutch and the coastal strip of Sind. But (3) the chief source of the sand is supposed by geologists to be the floor of the sea which once occupied portions of the Indus basin in past geological ages, (2) "Both the distribution of salt and the prevalence of sand-hills point to the same conclusions and it is reasonable to infer that the sea, which, at no remote period, covered the Rann of Katchh, extended for a considerable distance both to the north up the Indus valley and to the N. E. up the basin of the Luni.....The sands of the Indian desert appear to have been blown from an old coast line in the Indus valley along the northern edge of the Rann of Katchh and probably in the valley by the strong south-west wind and they remain spread over the country for want of streams to carry them back to the sea" [3].

The sand is pale gray in colour and consists of rounded grains of quartz, felspar, hornblende, mica, etc., evidently derived from the rocks in the higher mountainous region.

Ibid P. 457.

Ibid P. 430.

W.T. Blanford, J.A.S.B. Vol. XLV, Pt. 2, P. 103,

Dhunds.

These are of two types, (1) Fresh water dhunds and (2) Salt water or natron-producing dhunds. Those, which are in the vicinity of the Eastern Nara through which water is discharged into them, do not possess much salt and are almost fresh, with weeds growing and crocodiles living in them. But on still lower grounds and further from the Nara, they are like "huge flat-bottomed evaporating pans." They are only about 10 feet deep and a mile long. As water is evaporated, salt is accumulated in the form of crust. Their shape is elliptical with their long axis parallel to the main 'blit', that is, the wind direction. But round about the shores of these salt lakes even the water is sweet and drinkable.

These salt 'dhunds' are another proof for the tract being in communication with the parent sea in the past. Evidences of a raised sea bottom are abundant in the rocky outcrop already referred to. And these 'dhunds' are remnants of the sea itself. They are lower in level than the fresh water lakes, and the springs in them are 15-20 feet above the water, while those in the fresh-water lakes are much lower. "It is a natural conclusion that the original surface of the ground at this spot was not higher than the bottoms of the 'dhunds' are now, that it was much lower than the present alluvium of the Indus and the Indus plain has been raised to its present height by the accumulated silt deposited from the river since the 'dhunds' have been cut off and isolated by the sandhills" [1].

Cotter [2] has given a detailed description of some 129 Dhunds in the Khairpur State itself, 68 of which are by the Nara, on the west 23, on the east of it 45 and the rest in the Kot Jubo region. The Kalar, around and in the bed of a Dhund, is dissolved by rain water percolating through the soil and redeposited in pure form as the water of the lake is evaporated. Thus these Dhunds are "Maintained by the *Sim* or percolating water escaping from beneath the sand plateaux or dra—ins," and form "belts of country lying between the drains and covered by *bhit* (longitudinal ridge), and *tali* (valley)".

Economic Resources.

(1) *Kharo Chaniho*. The natron-producing lakes or dhunds, mentioned above are a source of income to the State, as they yield a kind of impure sesqui-carbonate of soda mixed with common salt. The annual income at present is about Rs. 50,000 a year. It

[1] W. T. Blanford—J.A.S.B. Vol. XLV Pt. 2 P. 94.

[2] G. De P. Cotter—"The Khairpur State." Chs. II & III, M.G.S.I. Vol. XLVII Pt. 2, Pp. 217-248.

was formerly exported to Northern and Central India but now a Karachi merchant exports it to Bombay. It needs development.

In 1909 a sample of it was forwarded to Professor Gajjar of Bombay for report which, however, is not found in any State records [1].

The following analysis of Kharo Chaniho from the Dhand Bagarwaro in the Khairpur State is available in a Memoir of the Geological Society of India [2]:—

CO ₂	Cl.	SO ₄	Na ₂ CO ₃	NaHCO ₃	NaCl.	Na ₂ SO ₄	Na ₂ CO ₃
18.48	5.3	19.3	33.4	17.6	8.8	28.6	1.8

(2) *Sodium salts* can also be produced from halophytes or natron-producing plants by burning them and lixiviating the ashes.

(3) *Fuller's earth*. Another workable economic product in the State is Fuller's earth, of which there are numerous pockets in the Kirthar series, already noticed. The annual income on this account is Rs. 15,000. It is used in bleaching works.

(4) *Coloured clays*. Within the limestone beds are also found clays of various colours.

(5) *Flints*. Flints, at times as large as those measuring a foot in diameter, are found embedded in the upper layers of the hills. [3].

(6) *Petroleum*.—An experimental well was dug by the Burmah Shell Co., in 1922-23. They are said to have given to the State a royalty for prospecting to the amount of 2 lacs of rupees. They made a boring up to the depth of 900 ft. or so beside the Mir Wah on its left bank and about 3 miles distant from Khairpur. The Kirthar range of hills is about 20 miles distant from the spot. The Company is reported to have suddenly stopped the work within a year of its commencement, and not a trace is left of the boring or the core. I examined the locality and found that the rocks in the Ghar hills are favourable of oil conditions and that the dome of them could be located

[1] Administration Report of the Khairpur State, 1909.

[2] G. Cotter—M.G.S.I., Vol. XLVII, Pt. 2, 1923 P. 276.

[3] W.T. Blanford—Geology of Western Sind, P. 103.

near by. But as the deposits of Fuller's earth in pockets indicate and the lenses of coal deposits near Lynyan (Kotri) [1] have shown, the oil shales may be scanty and the resources limited. No report of the oil prospecting by the Burmah Shell Ltd. is forthcoming and the people of the locality ascribe their sudden stoppage of prospecting to some political reason!

(7) *Forests and Agricultural products.*—The soil between the Indus and the Mir Wah is most fertile and the richest asset of the State. Indigo is also a commercial product.

The valleys near the Ghar range and the flooded banks of the Indus yield forests of good growth, while the Eastern Nara passes through another belt of good soil, capable of excellent crops. Pioneering would be greatly profitable.

V. CLIMATE.

The Khairpur State shares the climate of Upper Sind to a great extent both as regards temperature and rainfall. The thermal equator passes by and aridity is the characteristic of the Nara Taluka. There are great diurnal and seasonal ranges of temperature and the sky is clear for the greater part of the year. The cyclonic condition developing in the first months of summer in Khairpur and other parts of the Sind desert is, in a way, serviceable to the Indian monsoon for the generation of the current, but both the seasons bring little rain for the area, though there is not a month of the year in which there are no drizzles and even a few cents are recorded at times. The afternoons, generally after 4 o'clock, are very hot in summer, while frost is common in winter nights towards the end of the cold season. The winds generally blow from the south and south-east from March to September and from north and north-east from October to February, as at Sukkur, 15 miles to the north of Khairpur. The region also participates in the storms of the hot as well as the cold season, the eastern and western disturbances just passing across it. The worst part of summer *viz.* Chaliho (40 days) is from 17th May to 25th June, and another Chaliho in winter lasts from 17th January to 25th February. Dust-storms followed by coolness of the air are also frequent in the dry interiors due to the vigorous convection currents towards the close of the day in summer and sometimes in winter. The pleasantest months are November, December and March. Humidity is low and the climate is on the whole dry and healthy.

[1] W. T. Blanford—"Geology of Western Sind" P. 192.

The following Table shows some of the temperatures recorded at the State dispensaries in the various Talukas :

Temperature. [1]

Year.		Khairpur		Gambat		Mirwah		Faiz Ganj	
		Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.
1924-25	..	120	38	.....		112	52	106	49
1925-26	..	119	43	.....		116	52	114	41
1926-27	..	117	37	.....		115	59	117	42
1927-28	..	117	38	.....		116	44	116	44
1928-29	..	119	45	.....		113	49	115	36
1929-30	..	118	46	118	48	114	49	114	44
1930-31	..	110	47	116	46	118	53	114	44
1931-32	..	119	51	120	50	110	46	118	59
1932-33	..	117	50	116	46	110	57	110	61
1933-34	..	115	45	110	40	102	58	110	60

The figures do not seem to be reliable. The temperatures were not regularly recorded at the various dispensaries. The maximum temperature is not any of the means, but the actual highest recorded in one particular year, so also the minimum. But even these figures show that the country is uniformly very hot in summer and cold in winter. The seasonal range of temperature is also considerable.

Rainfall.

Rainfall in the State is very scanty and unreliable. The greater portion of it is received during the months of July and August, while there are a few winter showers received in December, January and February. The earliest summer showers are received in May in some years, which is very rare in Sind. The average annual rainfall at Khairpur Mirs for the past 13 years is 3.63 inches.

[1] Administration Reports of the Khairpur State 1924—1934.

Rainfall at Khairpur Mils Month by Month.

Year.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total.
1921	...	...	...	...	...	...	1-12	...	...	...	...	1-34	2-46
1922	0-03	0-25	...	...	...	...	...	1-30	...	...	...	0-14	1-72
1923	0-13	0-93	...	...	0-04	0-08	...	0-58	...	...	...	...	1-76
1924	0-02	0-19	...	0-10	...	...	0-04	...	0-99	...	...	0-03	1-37
1925	...	...	...	...	...	0-45	1-60	0-23	...	...	0-25	...	2-53
1926	0-15	...	0-76	...	1-00	...	1-66	1-97	0-22	...	...	...	5-76
1927	...	0-30	...	0-03	0-12	...	0-12	...	...	...	...	...	0-57
1928	...	...	...	0-27	...	...	0-47	...	...	...	0-50	...	1-24
1929*	0-15	...	...	...	0-10	...	11-18	6-59	...	...	...	0-37	18-39
1930	0-04	...	...	...	...	0-30	2-13	...	...	...	...	...	2-47
1931	...	0-13	...	...	...	0-83	...	...	...	0-07	...	...	1-03
1932	...	...	...	...	...	...	2-61	0-84	...	...	...	...	3-45
1933	0-10	0-04	...	0-13	...	...	0-40	3-97	...	...	...	...	4-64
Average	0-04	0-14	0-05	0-04	0-09	0-12	1-64	1-19	0-09	0-05	0-05	0-14	3-63
Average for Karachi	0-13	0-30	0-02	0-02	0-02	0-28	4-17	2-14	1-64	0-04	0-20	0-18	9-14

[1] Administration Reports of the Khairpur State 1921—1934.

* Flood Year.

† India Weather Reviews (India Meteorological Department) 1901—1930.

The following comparative table shows the total annual fall (average) for the whole State and the total rainfall (average) at Karachi and at Sukkur. (See Graph).

Year.	Khairpur State. [1] (Average)		Karachi [2].	Sukkur [3]
1921	..	1-12	16-90	
1922	..	1-62	1-99	
1923	..	2-62	5-57	
1924	..	0-93	3-69	
1925	..	3-07	4-38	
1926	..	4-05	20-04	
1927	..	2-76	8-09	
1928	..	0-74	2-39	
1929	..	10-27	4-13	
1930	..	8-15	16-07	1-76
1931	..	0-92	0-73	0-26
1932	..	4-12	12-78	5-41
1933	..	5-20	20-11	5-84
Mean Annual		3-50	9-14	3-31

The above figures reveal the facts that the rainfall in **Khairpur** is not only far less in amount than that at Karachi but also that a flood year at the former place does not coincide with the flood year at the latter. There is, again, no doubt that it has considerably increased in recent years, though it is decidedly uneven in both the places. The year 1929 is well known for its great floods in Khairpur and the damage it did to the State, while only a year before there was very scanty rainfall, as also in 1931.

Distribution of Rainfall.

Within the State itself the distribution is also uneven as can be seen from the rainfall in Talukas : [3].

Year.	Khairpur	Gambat	Mirwah	Faiz Ganj	Nara
1930	.. 2-47	4-31	....	7-88	....
1931	.. 1-03	0-41	5-19	2-09	....
1932	.. 3-45	2-45	5-74	4-89	5-30
1933	.. 4-64	3-96	3-46	8-58	6-33
1934	.. 4-17	2-09	0-45	4-21	0-15
Average	3-15	2-64	3-53	5-53	3-92

Thus, though the State has two seasons of rains, the rainfall is meagre and irregular. Consequently, it forms part of the climatic region of Arid Lowland in India, and is also under the in-

[1] Administration Reports of the Khairpur State 1921—1934.

[2] India Weather Reviews, 1901—1933 (India Meteorological Department)

[3] Administration Reports of the Khairpur State 1930—1934.

fluence of a dry wind system for a good part of the year. Aridity is greatest in the hot weather season. In winter when the skies are clear, the nights are calm and the air very dry there is a likelihood of frost.

VI. NATURAL REGIONS AND VEGETATION.

Such a soil and climate, as are described above, give birth to a corresponding flora—a scanty, chiefly herbaceous vegetation and to some extent a mixture of Sindian, African and European types. Here also the dates can ripen and the pomegranate blossom well.

There are three natural regions into which the area can be divided (1) Forests, (2) Grasslands and (3) Desert land. The forests along the banks of the Indus soon pass into the grass land, then gradually into semi-desert scrub land and desert land (See Sketch Map).

(1) *Forests.* These are no great tropical forests but are more like Scrub (thorn) forests, extending from half a mile to a mile along the Indus bank, and also about a mile and a half deep along the narrow Nara valley. They receive the required moisture from the flood waters during the monsoon season and consist mainly of Babul, Kundi and Tamarisk. They bear thorns and spines as protective weapons against animals. The area covered is nearly 333 square miles, of which two-thirds are reserved as Shikargahs or hunting grounds (Moharis).

Other vegetable products are Tali, Neem, Siranb, Lesoori, Berry, Giduri, Kirir, Khuber, Kadero and Ukk. On the rocky parts of the land there is scanty product of Babul, Khabar and other rank growth.

The bulk of the forests are situated at Mohari Chhor in the Gambat, at Tori Sanhro in the Khairpur and Maroro in the Mirwah Talukas. The annual income is about Rs. 13,000 derived from the sale of wood and 'Yaksali' cultivation.

The State has begun to encourage afforestation and nearly 35 acres in the Khairpur Taluka and 38 acres in the Gambat Talukas have been planted with Babul trees.

Types of Trees.

The following is a number of typical trees growing in the State :—

<i>Kind of Tree.</i>	<i>Peculiarity and use.</i>
Neem	..Has medicinal property. Gives good shelter in summer.
Babool	..Gives gum and bark for tanning leather. Is grown on banks of canals to strengthen them.
Tamarisk	..Grows well in jungles. Its wood is used for water wheels and as fuel.
Lassoori	..A fine tree. Fibre is used for robes. Its fruits are eaten by natives as medicine.
Kandi (Prosopis Spicigera)	..A stunted Babul grows in valleys especially. Used as fire wood.
Tali (Dalbergia Sissoo)	..The finest tree in Sind. Thickets and hedges are also grown with them.

(2) *Grasslands*. These now form the cultivable area of the State yielding grains and cotton of the best variety. As the rainfall is scanty, the land becomes dry and barren very soon, if there is no sufficient moisture received from the numerous canals which run through this section.

The typical grasses growing in the area are (1) *Sur* or long reed grass (Elephant grass) growing along canals and river banks, and (2) *Bun* grass growing nowadays in water-logged areas.

Halophytes containing Na-salts also grow in some localities.

(3) *Desert and Semi-desert lands*. This section is largely covered with sand-hills, interspersed with flat areas called Pats. Little vegetation supporting scanty life can grow in the latter after some showers of rain are received. Otherwise the common desert plant is Kundi of the Mimosa family. Others are those having thick fleshy stems and leaves and very long roots to enable them to store water for a long time. Bushes and thorns are rarer in this section. There are about 80,000 acres of *cultivable* land in this region.

Some parts of the flood plains called 'kutchha' land, flooded by the Indus, are also barren, except the mounds on which vegetation is not entirely destroyed.

VII. WATER SUPPLY AND IRRIGATION.

In the absence of any reliable rains, the value of water is very great in the whole State. Wherever possible, the little

rain water received is allowed to accumulate in pools called Khuds, from which water is drawn for domestic purposes.

Wherever the flood waters of the Indus percolate through sand belts and gather on lower grounds, they form lakes of fresh water. These, again, pass through salt beds and brackish soil and gather still lower down into salt-water lakes or 'Dhunds,' noticed above.

Old System of Irrigation in Kharif and Rabi seasons.

The State possesses an ancient system of water channels, cut during the regime of the early Mirs, *viz.* Mir Wah (60 miles the largest), Main Wah (16), Faiz Nahar (50), Ali Nawaz Wah (24), Nasarat Wah, Faiz Wah (24), Abdul Wah (28), Sanhro Wah (20), Satio Wah, Ali Bahar Wah (54), Viho Wah (28), Pandhro Wah (24), and their branches and distributaries to the extent of about 1,000 miles in length. They are generally found to have been cut in a zigzag manner, without any regard to the velocity of water or to the silting up of their beds. There being no Zamindari system in the State, it appears that the cultivators carried the canals in any way they wanted for their own fields. The gradient being low, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to 1 inch in a mile, the canals could be cut in any direction and to any length. They were therefore difficult to control. Wherever the beds of the canals were lower than the fields, the system of lifting water by means of the Persian wheel was adopted. The canals again, were fed only by the seasonal inundations of the Indus and so the irrigation was as irregular and unstable as the river itself. Another defect of the old canal system was that there were no observation or inspection paths provided along the channels, so that repairs of breaches etc., to the banks were difficult to make. In the Rabi season, the river itself being at its lowest, the only irrigation possible was by means of wells, whose depth varied from time to time and from place to place. Very little water came through the canals themselves.

Participation in the Sukkur Barrage.

As Khairpur was the only Native State, which lay beside the Barrage, the question of its participation in the new scheme was a keen one. It is said that the Khairpur State did not at first want to join, as it could manage its Rabi cultivation by means of the old irrigation system. But as the biggest of the Barrage canals, *viz.* the Rohri had to be cut through the State territory, crossing some of the State canals themselves and as

the Scheme provided no Rabi supply to the State, it had eventually to fall into line with the system from June 1932. (See Sketch Map).

As its territories lie adjoining the left flank of the Barrage, no less than four large canals pass through them, (1) Eastern Nara (2) East Khairpur Feeder (3) Rohri (belonging to the British) and (4) West Khairpur Feeder (See Sketch Map).

(1) Eastern Nara Canal Cut: Total length of the whole canal 525 miles, width of bed at head 346 ft.

The old Nara, which passed by Rohri and Aror, has been abandoned and a new direct cut through the old Indus gorge at the latter place has been made under the Barrage scheme. This canal is the widest of all the seven canals and flows into the Nara river lower down. The waters flowing now through the Nara are plentiful and are likely to fertilise the narrow valley situated in the Khairpur State. The maximum discharge at the head is 13,649 cusecs.

(2) East Khairpur Feeder: Total length 13 miles, width of bed at head 82 ft.

This is also a new cut from the Barrage itself specially for irrigating the Khairpur State territories on the east of the Rohri canal, which runs almost parallel to it. It is connected with the Mir Wah, which is the main State canal and to which a regular and plentiful supply is now assured. The maximum discharge at the head is 2,094 cusecs.

(3) Rohri Canal: Length of canal 208 miles. Width of bed at head 247 ft., Max. discharge at the head 10,883 cusecs.

This is the longest of the Barrage canals, 208 miles in length running practically from north to south and far into the Hyderabad district, commanding an area of 2,831,024 acres. It is 240 feet wide in the bottom, wider than the Suez canal and 12 feet deep. Due to the height of the land near the head of the canal, the Rohri had to be left on higher ground and given a number of falls in its course to the south. One such important fall of 8 feet lies within the Khairpur State at a place 19 miles down from the head of the canal, called Tando Musti Khan, after which it is now known. (See Diagram).

"Every irrigation engineer knows that when the slope of the country is too steep to be absorbed by the gradient in the

canal, which is limited by the velocity of the water which the soil can stand without erosion, 'Falls' or 'Rapids' are introduced to suit natural contours of the country" [1]. The most suitable fall for the Rohri canal, designed by the Barrage engineers, Hawes and Colabawala, is the Standing Wave Flume Meter Fall, a sketch of which is given herein. (See Sketch.)

By it "a standing wave is generated at the foot of the Fall with a view to localise the dissipation of the extra energy and to produce a stilling effect at the foot of the fall" [2]. The effect of this Fall on the running of the canal is that although the water falls, at Tando Musti Khan, through a height of 8 feet, the velocity of water in the canal before and after the fall remains the same, *viz.* $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet per second.

(4) West Khairpur Feeder : Total length 45 miles, width of bed at the head is 79 ft.

This is another new cut, connecting the old Wahs of the Khairpur State on the west and securing its discharge from the Barrage for feeding the western canals and distributaries, *viz.* the Faiz Wah, Abdul Wah and others. The maximum discharge at the head is 1936 cusecs.

It is to be noted that as the Rohri canal, belonging to the British, had to be cut through the State territories in its very early stage, some of the old water courses belonging to Khairpur were disconnected and disused. Hence the construction of the two feeders specially for the State. Side by side with this, the work of remodelling the old State canals, e.g. the Ali Bahar Wah, has been undertaken by the State so that the irrigation system may be brought to perfection. Except for a brief period of a week in December and three weeks in March for cleaning and repairs, the canals do not cease to function during the year.

There is no doubt that the new regime of perennial irrigation in place of the old inundation canals has given to the State a new life. There is now security of tenure and regularity, and control of water supply for all seasons during the year.

River Bunds.

Before the construction and opening of the Barrage even, the inundations of the Indus had produced great damage to the State lands and estates during all abnormal years, the river being extremely awkward at times. So there are what are called pro-

[1] J. R. Colabawala : Bombay Engineering Congress Paper 123. 1927 P. 1.

[2] *Ibid* P. 2.

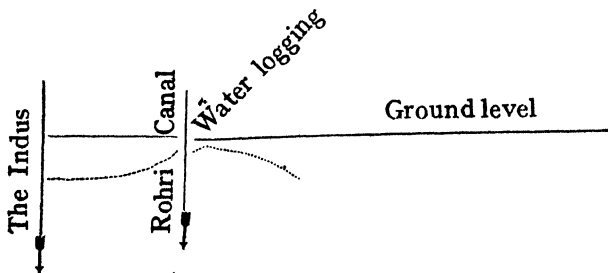
protective bunds along the river banks at a distance of about eight miles from the channel. They are called Khairpur Protection Bund, Lundi Bund, and Sagvan Bund and the Loop River Bund. The land between the river and these Bunds is 'kutchra' and is largely left uncultivated, especially in the Kharif season.

Every season there is a danger of there being breaches in the Bunds and much vigilance has to be exercised by the P.W.D. The following years are remarkable for heavy floods and damage in the State : 1876, 1903, 1929 and 1932. In the year 1876, due to abnormal rains, there was an excessive flood which endangered the Khairpur Taluka and the Khairpur Protection Bund had to be built. Similarly in 1929 there were breaches in the State Bunds and there was considerable damage done to crops. Such floods are bound to occur owing to the river bed being on high ground. The total length of these Bunds is about 61 miles in addition to the Loop Bund of 11 miles.

Sub-Soil Water Level.

The Barrage, now controlling the flow of water in the wet as well as the dry season, has come to be a boon to the State. Many fields which were lying barren for want of sufficient water are now being regularly cultivated and both the Kharif and Rabi crops are getting more and more abundant.

But one baneful effect of the increased water supply, and the passage of the new and fully supplied canals especially the Rohri and particularly the Tando Musti Khan fall in its course through the land, has been a considerable amount of seepage and an unexpected rise in the subsoil water-level. The water level in the reach immediately above this Fall is well above ground-level and it is also a coincidence that this reach in a length of about 6 miles had to go through a sandy belt. This is in Khairpur only 3 miles from the Rohri canal. Here the water level has considerably risen affecting the safety and health of the people.



Great damage has been already caused to Khairpur lands and the villages adjoining them.

A study of the hydro-isobaths within the Barrage Zone in the dry and wet seasons shows that the sub-soil water-level fluctuates and in some localities it distinctly rises to about 4 ft. in October. Several fields have thus been water-logged, owing to the rise of water by capillary action through sand belts.[¹] Had the canals been cut through clay belts, there would have been less trouble of this kind.

As we go eastwards towards the Nara, the sub-soil water level falls and the depth of wells varies from 6 feet to 10 feet. Further eastwards the level falls rapidly, until in the sandy desert area, there is no water in the wells above 30.0 feet and man and beast cannot easily live. Several wells in Khairpur yield brackish water as the water percolates through salt layers within the subsoil. (See Diagram).

Kalar.

Large tracts of cultivable lands have also been ruined on account of Kalar, that is, "land in which ordinary crop cannot be grown or can only be grown with difficulty, due to the presence of water soluble salts in quantities exceeding their various toxic limits." [²] After the new irrigation system has been established, there has been grave anxiety in the minds of the cultivators regarding the future of their lands on account of this new circumstance. There is considerable salt in the soil and sub-soil, and after this is brought up to the surface by seepage and the water gets evaporated, the land is simply covered with salt.

There are two typical varieties of Kalar, black Kalar and white Kalar. The black one is somewhat better than the white variety for purposes of agriculture, as it contains at least some moisture. The white variety is very dry and gets easily swollen.

VIII. AGRICULTURE.

There is no separate Agricultural Department in the State but the P.W.D. seek the aid of the Sind Agricultural Department. Copies of its bulletins and circulars are supplied to them.

[1] "Problems of Drainage and Waterlogging in Sind"—Report 1934.

[2] C. G. Hawes—"A Note on the Sub-soil Investigations made in the area commanded by Lloyd Barrage Canals" Bombay Engineering Congress 1932—Paper No. 136. Footnote P. 8.

Divisions of Agricultural Lands.

(1) Those cultivated by inundation only: About 40,000 acres of crops are raised annually in the Ketis or Kutcha land by means of flood waters (sailab) from the Indus *e.g.* Rice.

(2) Those watered by wells : *e.g.* Wheat and vegetables are grown in the Khairpur and Gambat Talukas by well water in the Rabi season.

(3) Those watered by irrigation canals and their distributaries. The majority of the State crops are raised thereby, in both the seasons, *e.g.* juwari, wheat and cotton.

Growth of Cultivation.

The following table^[1] shows the growth of the State lands under cultivation, excluding the Shikargahs and Jagirs :

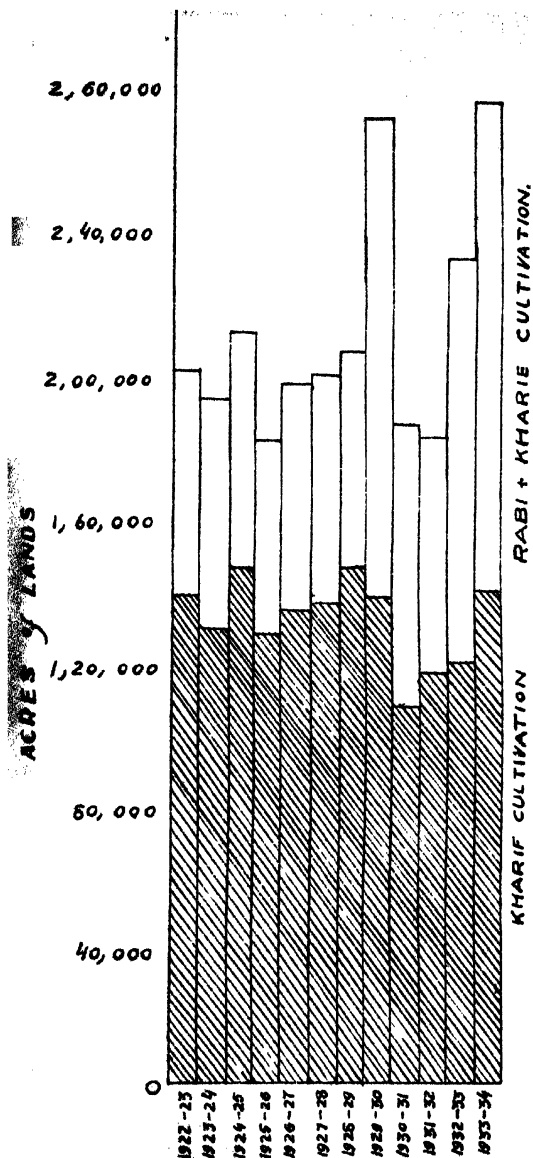
		1931-32 (Acres).	1932-33 (Acres)	Difference (Acres)
Kharif	..	1,13,494	1,16,767	+3,273
Rabi	..	63,850	1,11,498	+47,648
Total	..	1,77,344	2,28,265	+50,921
		1932-33 (Acres)	1933-34 (Acres)	Difference (Acres)
Kharif	..	1,16,767	1,36,582	+19,815
Rabi	..	1,11,498	1,36,527	+25,029
Total	..	2,28,265	2,73,109	+44,844

Thus it can be seen that the crops have considerably increased since the opening of the Barrage, nearly a lac of acres of land more have been brought under cultivation. The Rabi crops especially have increased to more than double the crops in 1931-32. The cultivation in the Kharif and Rabi seasons of last year is considerably more than double the average Kharif cultivation for 1922-23 to 1932-33 and four times the average Rabi crops for the same period, as can be gathered from the accompanying graph. (See Graph.)

Effects of Perennial Irrigation.

This prosperous condition can only be ascribed to the regular and plentiful supply of Rabi water from the Barrage as

[1] Administration Reports of the Khairpur State 1931-1933.



J. R. COLABAWALA

KHAIRPUR STATE (EXCEPTING NARA TALUKA)
GROWTH of CULTIVATION

the following tabular statement ⁽¹⁾ will show :

Year.	Amount of rainfall in the State.	Nature of Inundation.	Extent of Crops.	
	Inches.		Acres (approximately)	
			(Kharif)	(Rabi)
1925	3.07	Inundation satisfactory	1,43,000	64,000
1926	4.04	Indus did not rise high; Canals did not run well.	1,24,000	64,000
1927	2.76	Fair level in the river but inundation briefer.	1,30,000	66,000
1928	.74	Canals worked well at the end of season.	1,32,000	54,000
1929	10.27	Inundation good. Cultivation flourished. July rains and floods.	1,42,000	64,000
1930	8. 15	Effect of last year's floods—	1,34,000	1,34,000
1931	.92	Inundation deficient at the end of season.	1,04,000	78,000
1932	4.12	River rose late and fell early. Inundation below the average.	1,14,000	65,000
1933	5.20	Portions of Ketis flooded. Inundation of short duration. Barrage regulators work.	1,16,000	1,12,000
1934	6.01	Perennial supply of water	1,36,000	1,36,000

Thus it is clear that although the rainfall is irregular and often scanty and the river inundation deficient, there has been a steady growth of crops during the last three years. There is, nowadays, no consideration of the shortage or heaviness of rainfall or the nature of inundation. Rabi water supply is assured and 'lift' land is converted into 'flow' land. Only with the development of agriculture and agricultural facilities, the Khairpur State is bound to flourish. The following note in the State Administration Report of 1933 is significant : "The State was given by the Government the benefit of a water supply from the Barrage for the entire Rabi season without prejudice to the British Sind requirements and to the general question of the States liabilities to the extent of Rs. 26.79 lakhs. This increased the cultivation considerably and brought prosperity to the State and to its cultivators. The flooding of the 'Ketis' (Kacha land) along the river was also satisfactory and better than the previous year." [2] The most remarkable thing about land cultivation in Khairpur is that there is no Zamindari system and the land is held chiefly by individual farmers who cultivate it in their own private fields.

[1] Administration Reports of the Khairpur State 1925—1934.

[2] Administration Report of the Khairpur State 1933 p. 19.

IX. COMMUNICATIONS.

These consist of :—

1. Railways
2. Roads
3. Camel paths
4. Canal routes. (See Sketch Map).

Railways.

There is no State railway constructed in the area, but the only communication by rail through the Khairpur territories is the N.W.R., which runs almost parallel to the Indus, due north and south. There are altogether 8 railway stations, covering about 44 miles within the State limits, *viz.* Begmanji, Khairpur Mirs, Tando Musti Khan, Pir Katpar, Gambat, Ranipur Riyasat, Setharja and Malrabbpur Jn. On the Jodhpur Railway, Khadro and Dhoronaro Stations also serve the State.

Roads.

The roads provided for by the State are as under:—

Metalled road	... 8 miles.
Earth-roads (chief)	... 400 miles.
Earth-roads (ordinary)	... 400 miles.

Total ... 808 miles.

Out of these, 225 miles of roads are hay-covered and motorable. The rest are mere earth-roads and uncovered. All of them are very dusty, and for this reason the system of covering them with hay is very peculiar and economical and is generally adopted throughout the State.

The following roads in the Indus Valley Section are important :—

1. Khairpur-Sukkur road, forming part of the Karachi-Multan trunk road.
2. Khairpur-Kot Diji road, connecting the old Mirs' seat with the town of Khairpur.
3. Khairpur-Pir jo Goth road, leading to the sacred seat of the Pir.

4. Khairpur-Kot Lalu road, running almost parallel to the Railway and mainly along the Ali Bahar Wah.

Good and durable bridges exist over the State canals, some of them being ancient.

Camel Paths.

These are the only means of communication through the Nara Taluka and other desert tracts, crossing and re-crossing sand-hills.

Canal Routes.

Although there were not even observation paths constructed in the past along the various canals, good and motorable roads have now been built on the banks of the newly constructed water courses, such as the East and West Khairpur Feeders, the Rohri Canal etc., (about 75 miles). These are meant for canal inspection and official use only.

X. POPULATION.

The population of the State [1] consists of Moslems (83 %) and Hindus (17 %)—Moslems 186,577, Hindus 39,894, Others 712,—Total 2,27,183.

Moslems.

These are mostly Sunnis (Sindhis) by caste, while the ruling family and a few others are Shias (Baluchees). Most of the Sunnis, again, belong to the Sumra and Samma classes, who were Hindu *converts* to Islam in the Arab days. They are engaged in agriculture. Among the Baloochees there are the tribes of Rind, Muri, Chandia, Jatoi, etc.

Hindus.

The largest number of the Hindus are Lohanas and Baniyas who are engaged in trade. They, at present, prefer to live in towns together, *e.g.* Gambat, Ranipur, Khairpur, but formerly they occupied the eastern parts (Nara) of the State.

Other Hindus are the Soda Thakurs and Rajputs, who are strong and freedom-loving.

[1] W. W. Hunter—Imperial Gazetteer of India Vol. 8 Pp. 134—135.
Dracup and Sorley—Census Report, 1931 Vol. 8 Pt. II.

Occupation.

More than two-thirds of the population live on agriculture, which is the chief industry. The rest are traders, artisans and labourers. There are a few occupied in industries.

Professions.

Professions.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Pasture and agriculture	53,909	491	54,403
Trades	5,876	41	5,917
Domestic servants	2,425	....	2,425
State servants	464	1	465
Textiles	1,009	125	1,134
Potters	392	15	407
Butchers	62	2	64
Shoe Makers etc.	569	16	585
Embroiderers	1	....	1
Barbers	361	....	361
Well sinkers, stone cutters, etc. ..	383	32	415
Hunters, fishermen, etc.	482	19	501
Breeders of animals	160	....	160
Market gardeners	210	....	210
Forest officers, rangers	15	....	15
Estate agents	11	....	11
Rent Collectors	9	....	9
Boat Owners, etc.	134	1	135
Railway servants	17	....	17
Post Office and Telegraph servants..	19	....	19

Proportion of Bread-earners and dependants to population.

Population.	Bread-earners.		Working dependants		Non-working	
227,183	Male	72,684	Male	2,940	Male	49,430
	Female	1,205	Female	567	Female	100,357
		73,889		3,507		149,787

Growth of Population.

Census Year.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Remarks.
1872 .. ..	....	....	1,30,350	21 per square mile.
1881	70,746	58,407	1,25,919	....
1891 .. ..	....	....	1,28,611	....
1901 .. ..	....	....	1,99,313,	33 per square mile.
1911	1,21,783	1,02,039	2,23,822	....
1921	1,07,223	85,929	1,93,152	....
1931	1,25,054	1,02,129	2,27,183	37 per square mile.

The above census figures show that there is a growth (+101,264 variation in the period from 1881 to 1931) of population during the last seven decades with the exception of 1921, ever since the time of Mir Faiz Md. Khan, after whom the Faiz Wah is named. On inquiry it was found that the drop was due to several causes *viz.* influenza, forced labour, the Great War and the State political troubles, when migration took place. The forced labour or Chher was abolished by H. H. Ali Nawaz Khan in 1921, which year also saw the inauguration of the State's largest canal *viz.* Ali Nawaz Wah. (See Graph).

Another marked peculiarity of the census reports is that females are fewer than males.

Distribution of Population.

The following is the distribution of the State population by Talukas and villages :

Taluka.	Population.	Important Towns.	Number of Villages and Towns.
Khairpur	93,317	Khairpur, Lukman, Tando Musti Khan, Kot Diji	133
Gambat	69,610	Gambat, Khuhra, Ranipur, Hingorja	
Mirwah	34,823	Thari, Tando Mirali,	
Faiz Gani	15,999	Chang, Karundi	
Nara	13,419	Sorah	

Towns and Villages classified by Population.

No. of persons.	No. of towns and villages.	Population.
Under 500	33	7,388
500—1000	23	16,589
1,000—2,000	37	56,667
2,000—3,000	32	92,285
5,000—10,000	7	42,000
10,000—20,000	1	11,582

Houses in Towns and Villages.

Chief Towns	2	Houses	3,372	Average	1,686 houses per town
Villages	131	Houses	37,996	Average	290 houses per village

Manner of Distribution.

The urban population of the State is 17,868, while the rural is 209,315.

Within the State the tendency of the people is to gather together

1. Round their fields near the canals in Tandos *e.g.* Tando Musti Khan
2. Round religious places or tombs of saints *e.g.* Peer jo Goth, Darajah.
3. Round forts, *e.g.* Kot Diji.
4. Round old battle fields *e.g.* Halani.
5. In towns along the railways or trade routes *e.g.* Khairpur, Gambat, Ranipur.
6. In villages, near the fields and pasture lands. *e.g.* The Nara Taluka.

Notes on Towns.*Khairpur.*[¹]

This town was originally founded by Mir Sohrab Khan in the village called Boira and the Zamindari of the Phulpotras. In 1894 Vazier Kadir Khan established it as the State capital. It is by far the largest town, being the official centre and seat of the Minister. The population is over 15,000 of which half are Moslems and the other half Hindus. Its situation is favourable on the Mirwah and about 13 miles south of the Barrage. It is the centre of an important agricultural district with railway connections and also midway between the rocky eminence of the Ghar hills and the Indus river. The town is not well laid out and the houses are mostly mud hovels. The best building in Khairpur is the Guest House, called Faiz Mahal, but owing to seepage it also has its arches getting cracked. Other bungalows are affected likewise. The native town has narrow winding streets as is usually the case with other Sind towns. It has a good trade in indigo, jowar, bajri, and oil seeds and its manufacturing industry is weaving and dyeing. Outside the town are the tombs of Mahomedan saints *e.g.*, Pir Ruhan, Ziauddin, Haji Jaffar Shahid.

Kot Diji.

This is an old and ruined fort situated on a rocky eminence, a spur of the Ghar range, round which a small town has grown. "It consists of a number of separate fortified heights, connected by a loop-holed curtain and was no doubt regarded at

[1] W. W. Hunter—Imperial Gazetteer of India Vol. 8 P. 137.

one time as a place of great strength ; but it has been abandoned as a fortress." [1] There is, on the topmost height, an old gun with some Portuguese inscription. Till recently the Central Jail was located here. Near the town is the chief residence of the Mir and his family. About the town there are old water channels, now covered over with sand.

Gambat and Ranipur.

These are the chief Hindu centres of trade where fairs are held every year.

Halani.

This is an old battle-field, where Abdul Latif Kalhora was defeated by Mir Fateh Khan in 1781.

Fort Imamgarh.

At this place Mir Rustom Khan was defeated by Sir Charles Napier in 1843.

Pir Jo Goth.

It is some 12 miles to the west of Khairpur. The town has grown up round the tombs of the Pirs and the fort is about 30 years old. It is within one of the enclaves of British territory (Kingri Topa). The Pir Pagaro, a most influential Pir in India, is in jail at present. He is the leader of the Hurs.

Migration of Population.

According to the census of 1901, there were 18,000 Khairpuris found in British India, working in railways and canals, while 9,900 aliens lived in the State. The latest census reports show the number of Khairpuris in British India to be increasing, while that of aliens in the State to be 6,843 only.

As stated above, the Hindu element of the population in the State has shown a tendency to migrate to towns, such as Gambat and Ranipur.

Due to seepage and water-logging, the people who lived in villages which are destroyed along the Rohri canal have moved

[1] J. W. Smyth,—Gazetteer of the Province of Sind Vol. B. P. 44.

to the interior. Lukman town has been nearly destroyed owing to the same troubles and the rich and cultivable fields are all covered with Kalar. The population has been shifting to places near Khairpur.

Literacy among the Muslims is : 8,139 males and 480 females, total 8,619 *i.e.* 4%, while that among the Hindus is 3,181 males and 247 females, total 3,428 *i.e.* 8%. Education, though not popular, is spreading among the people living in towns. The total number of pupils drawn from various parts of the State and studying in the State A.V. schools at Khairpur, Kot Diji, Gambat, Piryaloi, Hingorja, Bhangoo Behan, and Khairpur Mirs, is 731. In the Naz High School there were 196 Moslem and 145 Hindu boys studying in 1933. In the villages there are a number of Mulla schools, in which 6,293 pupils were studying in the same year. Female education, except among a few Banias in Khairpur, is not at all popular[1].

Mortality is low; a reference to the vital statistics for 1933 and 1934 shows that the ratio of births and deaths per 1,000 of population was 13.7 and 14.3 and 9.6 and 11.7 respectively.

XI. TRADE AND MANUFACTURE.

A few of the indigenous arts and crafts are still preserved in the State. While a large majority of people are engaged in agriculture, a small proportion of the townsmen are engaged in minor trades and manufactures. The old cottage industries are cotton and silk fabrics, coloured cloth, lacquered work, pottery and swords making. Opium, Salt and saltpetre are also manufactured.

<i>Kind of Industry.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Manufacture.</i>
Cotton weaving	Gambat, Pir jo Goth	Khais (coloured bed sheets) and Susi cloth.
Do.	Ranipur	Chandnis (white cotton coverlets with red borders) and towels.
Woollen weaving	Uman (Faiz Ganj)	Farashies (carpets)
Carpet weaving	Khanpur	Giles Carpet Factory.
Silk weaving	Lukman (Khairpur.)	Silk cloth.

The last industry, namely, silk weaving, is very creditable to Khairpur, as the native craft is kept up with improved electric

[1] Administration Report of the Khairpur State 1933 P. 14.

machinery of hand-looms. The silk cloth is fine and durable while the silk yarn is imported from Mysore.

Dyeing in fast colour is a speciality of the State.

Exports and Imports.

In the earliest returns of the exports and imports of Khairpur, we find Rs. 5,36,508 worth of articles exported to British Sind and Jaisalmer, chiefly Indigo, cotton, wool, wheat and ghi, and Rs. 2,52,620 of imports of rice, wheat, piece goods, barley and molasses[1].

In 1886, the exports of goods such as indigo, wool, cotton, grain, tobacco, skins, amounted to 5½ lacs of rupees, while the import of goods such as rice, wheat, barley, sugar, oil, silk, molasses and piece goods amounted to 2½ lacs of rupees. In 1908, however, the exports and imports of the State were equal viz. 6 lacs each. 'Kharo chaniho' (sodium salts), Fuller's earth, grains of all kinds, hides, tobacco, indigo, wool, cotton and hand-made cloth are some of the exports of the present day.

There is a very interesting industry of country liquor distillery at Lukman, of which Seth Khemchand Diwan Mangher-sing & Co., are the contractors. Various kinds of liquor, possessing medicinal properties, are prepared in it. Native ingredients of spices and even of animal matter are used, while the molasses are imported from the Punjab. The manufacturers possess some carefully dispensed prescriptions and the following varieties of liquor are made: Dumbo, Partridge, Rose, Mush, Chandan, Elachi, Banana, Orange, Mango, Almond, Pista, Jiri, Nim, Auk and Tooh. The same manufacturers have now obtained a license to prepare English liquor also, and another one to export their products to Sind.

Toddy trees are plentiful in some of the Talukas and a movement is afoot to secure a license for toddy.

The rising generation in the State are given an industrial bias in the Sir Mir Ali Murad Khan Talpur Industrial School established in 1894. Carpentry, smithy, embroidery, carpet making, pottery and lacquered work are taught.

[1] A. W. Hughes—Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, 1876 Pp. 428—29.

State Revenues.[¹]

The State revenues amount to Rupees twenty lacs nearly, of which the following are some of the main sources :

Land Produce :—	1932-1933.	1933-34.
a. Land Revenue ..	11,67,135	13,77,340
b. Fuller's Earth ..	15,834	15,334
c. Kharo Chaniho ..	38,720	59,143
Excise ..	1,76,285	1,74,255
Other Taxes ..	89,110	1,02,663
Cattle Ponds ..	17,205	18,183
Ferries and Fisheries ..	10,833	7,611
Forests ..	14,552	10,533

XII. ANIMAL LIFE.

In an arid region with an extra-tropical climate as is described above, the fauna is scanty and more allied to that of the Iranian plateau than to other Indian provinces.

Among the domestic animals are cattle, horses and camels. The camel is by far the best beast of burden. Bullock carts with their peculiar creaking wheels are common and horse riding is practised by the better class of people in towns.

Wild Animals.

Tigers used to live in the jungles of the State but the species is now not found. The scrubland is the home of wild pigs, which destroy crops, while in the Shikargahs there are jackals, wolves, foxes, hares, wild cats, deer, stags, hyenas and snakes. Crocodiles live only in the Eastern Nara, while reptiles, especially venomous, are also not numerous.

Birds, etc.

Among the birds are jackdaws, owls, crows, sparrows, doves, pigeons, peacocks, geese, partridges (black and grey) and water fowls. Palah and tortoises are the common fish. The numerous lakes, dhunds, marshy channels etc. are the breeding spots.

Agricultural Stock.[²]

The following agricultural stock is recorded for the last two years.[²]

	1932-33.	1933-34.
Bullocks ..	21,205	26,290
Cows ..	24,951	30,630
Buffaloes ..	20,353	18,459
Horses ..	8,857	10,829
Donkeys ..	4,731	4,938
Sheep and Goats ..	47,785	61,560

[¹] Administration Report of the Khairpur State 1934, Appendix XXI.

[²] *Ibid* Appendix V.

There were altogether 16,111 ploughs, 756 carts for passengers and 3,432 carts for goods utilised in the whole State last year.

Shikargahs.

Shooting is not allowed in the Shikargahs without the permission of the Mir Sahib.

XIII. LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.

Relation of Geography to Human Life.

The life of the people living in the region is greatly affected by the climate—extreme temperatures and little rainfall. They live largely on agriculture, in huts and tents in villages and forests and in mud-houses with flat roofs in towns. They sleep in the open or on terraces whenever the nights are hot and unbearable. The bricks of their houses are sundried, because there is plenty of sunshine and little rainfall. The streets are extremely narrow so that much glare is warded off in summer and heat conserved in winter. They usually wear loose clothes and men put on big, white turbans—a typical tropical dress.

In rural areas the chief property possessed by people is their flock of sheep and goats, living on any grass that can be had in flat areas. They, therefore, move from place to place for fresh pastures, living a nomadic life.

Both the Hindu and Mahomedan sections of the people live amicably and they do not seem to be much concerned with politics. The non-co-operation movement did not touch them at all. The people who derive their energy from the hot sun are self-satisfied, having no affairs but their work of cultivation, and do not mind who rules the State, for, such is the influence of the climate and the physical environment.

Vestiges of a Foreign Influence.

Reference has already been made to the different castes and classes of people living together in the State. The ruling race of the Baluchis, deriving their culture from the Persians (Iranians), has made a mark on the character of the people, as can be seen from the following:

1. We have noticed above the meanings of the names of some of the ancestors of the Mirs of distinctly Persian (Iranian) origin.

2. The Sindhi language which is prevalent in the State is half Persian (Iranian) and half Sanskrit. The ancient name of the river Indus is Mehran [1], as the Arab geographers have popularised it. It is a purely Persian (Iranian) nomenclature. Other names of towns and villages have also similar Persian (Iranian) traces e.g. Tur, Mehrani, Khair-pur, Manak Bahman.

3. One of the most remarkable features of the life of the Mirs was their recreation in the Shikargahs or hunting grounds, which were so common in the days of Persian (Iranian) kings. Small enclosures in the neighbourhood of capital towns and large ones in the forests for prolonged tours were provided for. Even the present Mir possesses his own private hunting grounds. Polo is another purely Persian (Iranian) game, popular among the Sindhis.

4. Even in the architecture of India there are signs of Persian (Iranian) influence. The ruins of Pataliputra (Patna) [2] have provided ample evidence of a distinctly Achaemenian (Persian) contact, if not lineage. So are the shapes of domes and arches, which are the predominant characteristics of mosques, tombs and palaces built in Khairpur.

5. But the best of all, is the system of irrigation which is wholly adopted here. The Persians (Iranians), under Darius the Great, were great builders of canals and the originators of the Persian wheel, which is so common in our agricultural fields for lifting water. It is, strangely enough, still called 'Persian', a most tangible proof of Persian (Iranian) influence in this region.

6. And yet one more example of Persian (Iranian) craft is carpet weaving, the pattern of it being a piece of music done in a technical notation.

XIV. THE BARRAGE AND AFTER.

The fate of the State is sealed with the Sukkur Barrage.

Its effects are even, in its early stage, noticeable on—

1. Agriculture and crops.
2. Soil and seepage.
3. Human habitations.
4. Population.
5. Climate.

[1]. H. G. Raverty—"The Mihan of Sind and its Tributaries" J.A.S.B. Vol. LXI. Pt. I 1893.

(2) *Vide* the author's "Rock-Records of Darius the Great," 1918; Pp. 38-41.

Agriculture and Crops.

The State is mainly dependent on Agriculture and land revenue, which in the very first year increased from Rs. 10,27,903 in 1931-32 to Rs. 11,67,135 in 1932-33. The revenue system itself required, in the past, the State's share of the produce in kind. Since 1930, it is now received in cash at fixed rates of assessment throughout the territories. The assurance of water-supply, through the canals and their distributories, has resulted in an assurance of taxes. Besides, there are no landlords to do profiteering between the State and the ryot, the fields being directly in charge of the peasant class.

The Barrage has begun to function successfully and regularly, which means prosperity to Sind and to the Khairpur State. The following extract from the Government Annual Report of the Agricultural Department will throw light on this point :

"The transition from the former inundation condition of water supply to an assured and perennial irrigation system was the main feature of the agricultural year and constitutes an outstanding landmark in the history of Sind.

"The first year's working of the Barrage irrigation must be regarded on the whole with definite satisfaction.

"Records of the levels of the river Indus during the year clearly show that, under the old inundation conditions of irrigation, the supply of water for crops cultivation over the greater part of Sind would have been most inadequate and irregular.

"Accordingly, the controlled conditions of irrigation under the Barrage have amply demonstrated, at this early stage, their value and importance to the agriculturists of the province[1]".

Wheat has begun to be grown successfully and arrangements have been made for producing American cotton. Improved seeds of jowari, etc., have been imported. There are good prospects of the potentiality of the land yielding improved crops in all the Talukas, including the Nara.

The development of the Nara Taluka is only delayed for want of money. Forests have grown on either side of the valley

[1] Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture in Sind 1932-33.

to the extent of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in width. This area is cultivable and the Eastern Nara canal is big enough to supply the State lands with water for cultivation and colonisation. Much pioneering is needed for all this.

Lastly, the Barrage has enabled the cultivators not only to receive enough water at any time of the year, but also to prolong the Kharif crops and to extend the area of cultivation.

Soil and Seepage.

But there is also the darker side of the Barrage to consider. As in the case of every irrigation project in the world, soil seepage has resulted from the increased water supply and the passage of very large volumes of water through the State soils and subsoils. This has damaged the State fields and properties to the extent of thousands of acres of arable land. The loss to cultivators is really great. Even rice cultivation is restricted owing to the same trouble.

The soil generally is full of fine sand and is therefore very porous. There is considerable seepage due to capillary action through this sand all along the Rohri canal. Nearly 7,000 acres of the State lands have been water-logged and deserted in the different Talukas. The soil in Lukman, for example, used to yield excellent opium poppies but now it is badly covered with Kalar, as the water gets evaporated. In the Khairpur Taluka 6806 acres of good land could not be cultivated in 1933-34.^[1]

A great peculiarity of the new irrigation after the Barrage is that very little silt is carried by the water courses on the left bank of the Indus. The silt carried by the Rohri canal is too little to render its banks and floor impervious. This helps seepage.

What then must be the remedies ?

Several suggestions have been offered. Pumping out of the extra water from the fields into the canals by means of drains has already been introduced. A suggestion from the Agricultural Department is to try leeching for the Kalar lands full of alkali salts. But the fear is that the ground slope, being very gentle, there is little chance for the extra water to be drained off easily.

Deeper and more intensive ploughing might be effective in getting rid of some Kalar, and the suggestion of having a rotation of crops is worth trying in Kalar areas.

[1] Administration Report of the Khairpur State, 1934 P. 11.

It is also possible that as time goes on, more and more silt will be brought in by the canals and then their sides may get impervious. By planting grass along the banks of the canals, leakage can also be prevented, though not without affecting the velocity of water running through them.

But if the root cause of the whole trouble is the height of the Rohri canal above the general level of the State lands, the only possible remedy would be to reduce the 8 ft.—fall at Tando Musti Khan or to stop irrigation altogether and dig tube wells in the fields themselves for water supply by means of electric power produced from the Fall.

Human Habitations.

The loss to the inhabitants as regards their dwelling places is also great on account of seepage and water-logging. Nearly 15 square miles of land converging some 45 villages have been rendered unfit for habitation. [1] The walls of houses usually are of mud. Even the houses in the chief town of Khairpur are 'kutchra' mud ones, and a number of State buildings including the Faiz Mahal are affected. Malaria is common.

It is now possible to re-build the towns of Lukman and Khairpur with houses made of *cement concrete*, so that even if they have a tendency to sink, they may do so evenly.

The State has created a special Seepage Sub-division in order to help the distressed people to seek relief and to get their properties assessed by experts.

All this means another opportunity given to the State to rebuild its towns and villages on more solid foundations and on sanitary principles and to mobilise the resources of the State for better and healthier quarters.

Population.

It is difficult from the scanty records of the State to estimate the movements of population from year to year, but there is no doubt that it is on the increase and the influx of people towards the canal extensions and fresh farms is steady.

There is a distinct movement of population along the Rohri canal and the distressed people have been moving on to drier quarters in the interior.

(1) Administration Report of the Khairpur State, 1934 P. 29.

The possibility of colonising the Eastern Nara valley lands is great. The movement requires skilled labour and capital to the infinite advantage to the State.

The work of remodelling some of the old Wahs of the State has been contemplated. This means more lands to be brought under cultivation and more villages to be built on them.

Trade and industry require reorganisation. The sales of Kharo chaniho and Fuller's earth can be increased and the cottage industries of weaving, dyeing and carpet making properly revived.

Climate.

And lastly the question remains as to whether the Barrage and the vast extension of irrigation in Sind can produce any effect on the climate of the whole region of Sind.

Already the rainfall in many parts of Sind has shown a definite increase for the past few years. The average rainfall recorded for the whole State in 1933-34 was 6·1 against 3·50", the normal for 13 years. It may be a part of the periodic rise and fall of the rainfall curve, but the cycle has not been properly established and the irregularity is very great. A writer in the *Times of India* recently suggested that "a definite re-orientation of climatic conditions is in course of evolution—hence a wetter Sind." [1] But it is too early and too difficult to opine on such a matter as the climate of the province. It will take the meteorologists of India long to come to any definite conclusion. It may be that the increased distribution of water supply, canal construction and irrigation, evaporation, and growth of vegetation, particularly afforestation, may cause more precipitation, less aridity and greater prosperity for Sind in general and the Khairpur State in particular.

XV. CONCLUSION.

Khairpur, originally possessing a most strategic frontier in the N. W. and a far vaster area of arable lands, can now be said to be a poverty-stricken State, but flanking the Indus and the Sukkur Barrage on one side, and enclosing a good part of the E. Nara on the other, it has immense possibilities of economic development through the irrigation of its native fields and farms. Its liabilities to the British government are great, to the extent of almost half a crore of rupees. On the other hand, it has claims on the Government of India for damages done to the State territories and properties

[1] *Times of India*—February, 1935.

through the same system of irrigation and canal works. It seems self-sufficient within the present boundaries in respect of water supply and cultivable fields. It needs more skilled labour and more capital to be invested. No less than 3,00,000 acres of land are yet lying uncultivated, to say nothing about the millions of acres of barren desert land in the Nara Taluka. Its soil can accept any crop—good wheat and the best of cotton can be grown and have already been tried.

The State is not aggressive but not entirely controlled by foreign influences. It can grow from within and develop its own trade and industries. Out of the annual income of nearly 20 lacs of rupees, it claims an export trade of about 6 lacs only. Expansion is greatly possible in this direction. Even in the days of a Separated Sind, Khairpur will have to work out its own salvation, depending upon its own native products, its own facilities of trade and development of its economic minerals.

Its flat plains afford good chances for constructing canals of any size and any length and also roads for easy intercourse and communication. Where good roads cannot be made, numerous camel paths can maintain an easy influx, the main problem of population, *viz.* water supply, having been satisfactorily solved.

The people are healthy, hard working and contented. Generation after generation of cultivators, descendants of a virile race like the Sumras or Sammas, has held land tenure under the Mirs. To-day they do not mind who governs the State. There is sufficient solar energy which they can absorb and grain plentiful to maintain themselves. Being too near the Iran plateau, the fertile valley of Sind was destined to be invaded by the hill men, wandering in search of water and food, till at last the State of Khairpur was carved out and established firmly by the Baloch race, of towering personality, whose descendants yet wear the ancestral Turban to day. The Mahomedan conquerors of Sind introduced the Islamic government as well as the Islamic faith in the State territory, four-fifths of the population being Mahomedan. Conversion of the people to this Faith could only stop at the barrier of the Thar desert.

* * *

The geographical analysis given above is in no way a complete one. The State itself is undeveloped to a great extent and the main object of our inquiry has been to find out its future possibilities and potentialities, which would bring it in a line with other advanced Native States in India. Suffice it to say, with the Sukkur Barrage and the State P. W. D. its future is assured.

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HIS MAJESTY'S HORSES

BY A. B. ADVANI, M.A., LL.B.

(Read on 23rd June, 1935).

In spite of the early English traders of the 17th century, the lengthy report of Mr. Nathan Crowe, and the admirable book by Sir Henry Pottinger—*Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde*, Sind remained *terra incognita* to the British people up to 1827 A.D. Some useful light had indeed been thrown on the social, economical and political life of Sind by Dr. James Burnes who had come to Hyderabad in Sind, towards the end of 1827, to cure one of the reigning princes, namely Mir Murad Ali Khan, and this had aroused considerable curiosity regarding this province. The idea of navigation of the Indus "the highway of commerce," with a view to ascertain its commercial possibilities, had originally suggested itself to one William Moorcroft, somewhere in 1825 A.D. While travelling in Northern India, he had been struck with this idea, and had written to the authorities that be, that "the navigation of the Indus, although little known to Europeans, as it has not been attempted by them, since the days of Nearchus, is perfectly practicable for boats of considerable burden"[1].

Since that day, the idea had taken root in the minds of some far-sighted Englishmen, including Lord Ellenborough, the then President of the Indian Board of Control, in England, and Sir John Malcolm. The latter was of the opinion that a perfectly unrestricted communication on the Indus, would be of great importance but that the Hyderabad Amirs would never permit "an unrestricted communication on the Indus." [2].

This scheme had also entered in the brain of a remarkable Scotchman who was destined to play a, by no means, insignificant part in the rise of the British power in India. We refer to Alexander Burnes, the famous brother of Dr. James Burnes, already quoted above. Alexander Burnes had come to India in 1821 as a cadet and had risen to the post of Assistant Quarter-Master-General in British Army by hard work and ability. Towards the end of 1828, he had volunteered to explore the

[1] Moorcroft, *Travels in the Punjab, Ladakh, Kashmir, etc.*, II, p. 338.

[2] Quoted by Basu in *Rise of the Christian Power in India*, IV, pp. 472-473.

Indus, from where it is joined by the Punjab, down to the ocean. He had actually started on this adventure, but had been recalled by Lord Bentinck, who at that time, did not consider it politic to carry out this hazardous undertaking [3].

The matter was only postponed and Lord Ellenborough was waiting for an opportunity to have the Indus navigated. He had not long to wait. In 1828 Lord Amherst, the Governor-General of India, returned to England, taking with himself the present of a shawl tent for the King of England from Maharaja Runjeetsing of the Punjab[4].

Courtesy demanded that his Majesty George IV, should send some presents in return to the "Lion of the Punjab." It was decided, after much deliberation, that one stallion and four mares of the Suffolk cart-horse breed should be sent to the great Sikh ruler[5].

This strange present was decided upon for two reasons. Firstly there was an erroneous impression in the minds of the statesmen in England that Maharaja Runjeetsing was a breeder of the horses and would be glad to get the English mares crossed with the breed of the Punjab[6].

Secondly if it could be managed to send the horse and the mares to Runjeetsing by way of the Indus, it would afford an opportunity to survey the Indus and obtain information regarding its navigability[7].

To the present of the mares, was also added, a highly ornamental carriage, belonging to Sir John Malcolm, the Governor of Bombay, who had received it as a present from Lord Minto, in 1810[8].

This addition of a highly ornamental carriage had been suggested by Colonel Henry Pottinger, the British Resident at Cutch, who argued that "if a large carriage were sent with the horses, it might allay the fears of the Sind Government, since the size and bulk of it would render it obvious that the mission could then only proceed by water"[9].

[3] Kaye, *Lives of Indian Officers*, II, pp. 210 and 224-225.

[4] Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab*, p. 152.

[5] *Quarterly Review*, XCI, p. 380.

[6] Prinsep, *op. cit.*

[7] Kaye, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-227.

[8] Prinsep, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

[9] Burnes, *Travels in Bokhara*, III, p. 3.

The presents having been finally decided upon, the British authorities in India began to look for a person to lead this mission to Runjeetsing and at the same time keep his eyes open with a view to obtain all the possible information regarding the Indus. Their choice finally fell on Lieutenant Alexander Burnes. The Bombay Government recommended to the Supreme Government this scheme of navigation of the Indus by Alexander Burnes under the pretence of carrying presents for Maharaja Runjeetsing.

One of the members of the Supreme Council of India was Sir Charles Metcalfe. He was the only member who vehemently protested against this scheme. He felt, it was a trick unworthy of British Government, which when detected, was bound to excite the jealousy and indignation of the Mirs of Sind. He even feared that the survey of the Indus in this manner, might lead to war. "As our officers," he said, "in the prosecution of their clandestine pursuit (survey of the Indus) may meet with insult or ill treatment which we may choose to resent, that result (war) is possible, however much to be deprecated." He suggested another course for obtaining the necessary information about the Indus. The scheme was to "send persons incognito to survey and obtain information, without any ostensible commission, and without any protection, leaving them to take the chance of such treatment as they might receive, if detected in an illicit occupation"[10]. His protest was in vain.

The Supreme Government approved of the scheme and the selection of Alexander Burnes for this task. The presents from England arrived at Bombay in 1830. Alexander Burnes was also required to give some presents to the Hyderabad Amirs and to communicate to them some matters of political nature. He was instructed to obtain information about "the depth of water in the Indus, the direction and breadth of the stream, its facilities for stream navigation, the supply of fuel on its banks, and the condition of the princes and people who possess the country on it" [11].

The mission led by Burnes consisted of Ensign J. D. Leckie, a surveyor, a native doctor, and some servants [12]. The jealousy with which all foreigners were regarded by the Talpur Amirs of Sind was well-known and it had been anticipated that the Amirs would not welcome this mission to Lahore *via* Sind,

[10] Kaye, *Selections from the Papers of Lord Metcalfe*, pp. 211-212.

[11] Burnes, *Travels in Bokhara*, III, pp. 3-5.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

with open arms. It was therefore suggested that the mission should sail for the Indus, without intimating the Princes of Sind about it [13]. The mission sailed from the Mandivee port in Cutch on 21st January, 1831, and on 28th January cast anchor in the Pittee mouth of the Indus. From this place a letter was despatched to the Mirs' agent at a nearby place called Darajee, mentioning the arrival of the Lahore mission in Sind and their intention to proceed up the river Indus [14]. As soon as the coming of the English mission became known, a search party of armed natives boarded the boats of the English mission and a thorough search was made of all the boxes [15]. The party could not proceed any further until the coming of the Mirs' permission, so the boats were anchored and the party waited. Their stay was however rendered very unpleasant on account of petty harassments and threats of the armed soldiers. Fearing violence and dishonourable treatment, Burnes sailed towards the eastern mouth of the Indus, from where he wrote a letter of protest to the Mirs at Hyderabad and another to Colonel Pottinger at Cutch [16]. The Mirs of Sind were shrewd and they suspected Alexander Burnes of spying the nakedness of their land. "With the clearness of prophecy they saw that for the English to explore their country was some day for them to take it" [17]. Of late they had shown signs of alarm at the growing power of the English people in India and they perhaps felt that once the Englishmen got into their country it would be the devil's own job to get them out again. They replied to Burnes enumerating the physical obstacles attending the navigation of the Indus, but as there was no distinct refusal to enter the country in their letter, Burnes made a second attempt to navigate the Indus. This time not only was he refused to land in Sind, but even food and fresh water were denied to him. Owing to such privations, Burnes and his party became anxious "to quit the inhospitable shores of Sind." An unexpected storm nearly destroyed the whole fleet, and at last Burnes returned disappointed to Mandivee port. It was obvious that the Mirs were very reluctant to allow Burnes to navigate the Indus. Their objections were purposely exaggerated to dissuade Burnes

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7 and 10.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17. Masson in his *Narratives of Various Journeys in Baluchistan etc.*, II, p. 9, explains why the Baloch soldiers of the Mirs, searched the boxes belonging to Europeans, who came to Sind. "It must be conceded, that the ignorance and credulity of the Amirs render them easy dupes. It would surprise many to know that these rulers believe that a regiment of soldiers, may be lodged in an ordinary box. Whence there is no article in the possession of an European that they view with so much distrust. Such idle notions, it is obvious, would be dispelled by increased intercourse."

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 16-19.

[17] Kaye, *Lives of Indian Officers*, II., p. 228.

from venturing forth. After the mission had returned to Cutch, Pottinger wrote a letter to the Mirs, hinting that such vacillating and unfriendly conduct of the Mirs would not pass unnoticed [18]. He also pointed out to them, that the dray horses and the bulky carriage, could only be forwarded by water and that to refuse passage would be deemed as a most unfriendly act" [19]. Nay the Mirs were even threatened with the loss of their independence [20]. The Mirs made one more attempt to prevent Burnes from navigating the Indus, by inducing him to travel by land and not by water [21]. But Burnes set forward and reached Thatta safely. While waiting there, the necessary permission to sail up the Indus was received, and the mission proceeded on its voyage [22]. As the fleet of boats sailed up, a Syud [23] saw them. He was greatly surprised and turning to his companion exclaimed, "Alas! Sind is now gone, since the English have seen the river which is the road to its conquest" [24].

The Mirs had sought to keep Burnes in ignorance of the Indus, but their object had been thwarted by their own mistake; for, while they were procrastinating and dissuading Burnes for nearly two months, the latter had made several trips up and down the coast, had entered practically all the mouths of the Indus, taken their maps and surveyed and mapped the land-route to Thatta [25]. On 12th April, 1831, the party proceeded from Thatta and after six days' pleasant and exciting voyage on the Indus, Burnes reached Hyderabad [26]. If the former conduct of the Mirs had been hostile, it was now extremely courteous and hospitable. The mission was waited on by four deputations of the ruling Princes, and the son of the prime-minister was appointed to be their host during their stay at Hyderabad. Mir Nasir Khan, Mir Murad Ali Khan's son, presented the party to the Chief Mir—his own father. Mir Nasir Khan was one of the very few persons who, at this time, professed attachment to the British Government. In fact it was he who was responsible for procuring a passage for the mission

[18] Burnes, *Travels in Bokhara*, III, pp. 19-23.

[19] Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab*, p. 156.

[20] The following extract from the letter of M. Jacquemont to M. Prosper Merimee dated the 15th December, 1831, will corroborate the above statement:—

"On vient de faire savoir a messieurs les Amirs que, s'ils n'entrourent pas de facilites et de protection la navigation merchande et militaire des Anglais sur L'Indus, on les laissera a la merci de Runjet-Sing." (*Correspondance de Victor*

Jacquemont, II, p. 210.)

[21] Prinsep, *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.*

[22] Burnes, *op. cit.*, III, p. 25.

[23] Syuds are a religious sect of Mahomedans in Sind. They are much venerated on account of their supposed holy descent.

[24] Burnes, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 37-38.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

to sail up the Indus [27]. At the Hyderabad Court, Burnes was received with great distinction and he was assured of every comfort. The state barge was to convey the party to the Sind frontier, elephants and royal palanquins were at their disposal and their host, the son of the prime-minister, was to accompany the mission to the limits of the Hyderabad Mirs' territory. Presents were exchanged and Burnes took his departure from Hyderabad, greatly satisfied. It was apparent that no efforts were being spared to wipe off the memory of the previous unfriendly treatment which the mission had experienced. Burnes was agreeably surprised at this change of attitude and wrote, "After all the inconveniences, to which we had been subjected, we hardly expected such a reception at Hyderabad" [28].

After enjoying the hospitality of the Hyderabad Mirs, Burnes left Hyderabad and sailed upwards, observing every detail and making a thorough survey of the Indus. If the Hyderabad Princes were suspicious, the Mir of Upper Sind went out of his way, to welcome the mission. On 5th May, 1831, after the mission had passed the town of Sehwan which was on the boundary line of the territory of the Hyderabad Mirs, a confidential officer of the Khairpur Chief travelled a distance of eighty miles to welcome Burnes and his party on behalf of his master—Mir Rustum Khan of Khairpur. This was indeed very flattering. To quote Burnes' own words :—"The deputation brought an abundant supply of sheep, flour, fruit, spices, sugar, butter, ghee, tobacco, opium, etc., etc., on which our people feasted. Sheep were slain and cooked ; rice and ghee were soon converted into savoury viands ; and I believe, all parties thanked Meer Roostum Khan as heartily as we did, nor did I imagine that this was but the commencement of a round of feasting which was daily repeated so long as we were in his country, a period of three weeks" [29].

Mir Rustum Khan received Burnes very cordially, his object being to cultivate a more intimate relationship with the British Government. He also wanted to create an impression on Burnes that the Khairpur Chief was independent of the Hyderabad Princes. He pressed the mission to stay for a month with him and apologized for his "poor hospitality." His poor hos-

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 41-43 and 220. Mir Nasir Khan wrote to the Governor of Bombay on 28th April, 1843, "I granted Colonel Burnes a passage by the river, which had been refused by my father, the late Moorad Ali Khan." Vide. *Supplementary Correspondence to Sind*, 1844, No. 102, p. 58.

[28] Burnes, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 44-45 and 48.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

pitality, it may be noted, consisted "of eight or ten sheep, with all sorts of provisions for 150 people daily, and that while at Khairpur, he sent for our use, twice a day, a meal of seventy-two dishes. They consisted of *pillaos* and other native viands. The cookery was rich, and some of them delicious. They were served up in silver" [30].

The mission sailed from Sukkur on 21st May, 1831 [31]. From far and near, people would assemble on both the banks of the Indus to look on the strangers within the gates of Sind. In fact many of them had never seen a white face before. It may be mentioned here, by way of digression, that Alexander Burnes' fleet of boats was the second European fleet which had sailed on the Indus so far. The first European fleet had been led by Burnes' name-sake, Alexander the Great, the Macedonian hero whose fleet had navigated the Indus in 326 B.C. It is a remarkable coincidence that both the first and the second navigation of the Indus were undertaken by Alexanders. Some Europeans had no doubt sailed on the Indus in former times but never beyond Thatta.

The boundary line dividing Sind from Bahawal Khan's territory was soon reached and the mission was given the farewell feast.

The mission now entered the country of Bahawal Khan and ultimately reached its destination in July 1831. On 18th July, Burnes was personally welcomed by Maharaja Runjeetsing in the latter's *darbar*. He offered the presents and Lord Ellenborough's letter of friendship to the Sikh ruler. Runjeetsing was very much pleased with the present of the horse and the mares. He remarked that they were like little elephants and as the animals passed before him, he called out to his different Sirdars and officers, who joined in his admiration [32].

The fate of the presents, about which so much anxiety had been exhibited, and the transmission of which, by way of the Indus, had caused so much of unpleasantness, is bound to raise a smile. Runjeetsing's interest in his Majesty's Horses was momentary. The stallion was immediately put into the hands of a breaker, to learn the fancy steps, in which Runjeetsing

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 67-70.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82, 84 and 148-150, 153.

delighted. It was decorated with a gold saddle and necklaces of precious stones, and was sometimes honoured by Runjeetsing who would ride on it. The highly ornamental carriage, after being used for a few days as a novelty, was sent to the great arsenal at Lahore and was totally neglected. And the four mares, the beauty and pride of England's country-side, were not even looked at, for Runjeetsing had no breeding stud or establishment[33].

It is not within our province to condemn the surveying of the Indus under the pretence of escorting his Majesty's Horses to Runjeetsing on the grounds of political morality, which after all is a comparative word. Nor shall we applaud the British diplomacy in the matter. The object of the British statesmen was served. The Indus was successfully navigated and a *Memoir on the Indus* with a map of the river, was duly sent to the Governor-General, and Burnes was lionised in the official circles for his tact and enterprise.

[33] Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab*, pp. 152-154.

EXCAVATIONS OF PRE-HISTORIC PLACES IN SIND.

(With a Map).

BY N. M. BILLIMORIA.

(Read 12th September, 1935).

The Archaeological Department of the Government of India has conferred the greatest blessing, especially on Sind, as it has unearthed the treasures that were buried underground for centuries.

The excavations of Mohenjo Daro have been fully described by Sir John Marshall and his colleagues in the three well-illustrated volumes. The only defect of this publication is that it is very expensive.

Mr. N. Majumdar of the Archaeological Department had travelled in Sind, during the years 1927-1931, and has ably collected the result of his labours in a Memoir, which is fully illustrated. This valuable book is issued in paper covers, and if not properly handled would come to pieces. I wish it had been issued in strong cloth covers.

I have made a precis of this Memoir for those who would not get an opportunity to read this elaborate work and added something of my own for this paper.

A sketch map is necessary to note the places mentioned in this paper, but instead of crowding the names of places, I have shown them by numbers, giving a key by its side.

I will begin with Jhukar ; about six miles west of Larkana and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant from Bero Chandio, a station on the Larkana-Dodapur branch of the N. W. Railway. Several Brahiu and Sindhi labourers had followed the party of Mr. Majumdar from Mohenjo-Daro, fully aware that they would get work.

Two mounds were found at Jhukar ; trial pits were sunk, in one of which was found a broken spear head of copper ; it has a leaf shape, just like those found at Mohenjo-Daro.

In another mound the excavations revealed a building built of sun-dried bricks ; over 59 rooms of different dimensions were found, where pottery vessels, copper coins, inscribed seals were found ; but there was nothing prehistoric in the find.

A few coins of the class issued by Kushan King Vasudeva and his successors were found. A terra cotta sealing was also found which bears Pahlavi characters; the male bust shows a great resemblance to the coins of the White Huns, which belong to the 5th century A.D.

From the coins, etc., it can be concluded that the houses were erected in or about the 5th century A.D. As no Arab coins were found it may be surmised that the settlement did not continue upto the Arab times. A number of iron knives, daggers, spear-heads, chisel, were found from the mound. The find of pottery is very interesting, which shows four media of decoration, painting, glaze, incision, and relief. In Sind painted pottery is a speciality. It is practised even this day, and it was in use in the Chalcolithic age is well proved. The word *Chalcolithic* will occur often in this paper. This period is 4th and 3rd millennia B.C., that is three to four thousand years before Christ. The pottery from Jhukar was in use in the Indo-Sassanian period. They are painted in black and red; some other colours, yellow, chocolate, pink and cream were also used. Glazed ware was found at Jhukar. Samples of glazed ware was found at Brahmanabad also, which cannot be earlier than the date of Arab occupation of Sind, *i.e.*, 8th century. In the 9th century glazed pottery was much in vogue in Mesopotamia, as at Samara. This sort of pottery occurred first in Persia in the Sassanian times. Vahran II ruled Persia from A.D. 276 to 293. And during his reign, Sind and Eastern Iran was annexed to the Sassanian kingdom. It is likely that at that period glazed pottery of the kind of Jhukar first began to be manufactured in Sind under Sassanian influence.

The terracotta sealings found may be classed as those belonging to private individuals and another made as tokens or *ex voto* tablets for religious purposes; the latter class has the inscription Sri-Karpuri-Harasya, *i.e.*, of Hara (Siva) the wearer of skulls, which shows these tokens were used by followers of Siva. The objects refer to the 5th century A.D. In one of the mounds three strata were found; burnt bricks, like those at Mohenjo-Daro were also found, measuring 10 to 11 inches in length. Excavation in the middle and third strata show doubtless their Chalcolithic character, showing the same culture as that of Mohenjo-Daro. Hundreds of seals bearing a figure of unicorn and pictographic characters were found at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa; a similar seal was found at Jhukar also; this find leaves no doubt about the antiquity of Jhukar.

BHAMBOR.—A year after the excavations of Jhukar, the delta country was taken in hand. Bhambor is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Dabheji. Bhambor stands on a hill, locally called Sasui-jo-Takar or the hill of Sasui; it is said that Sasui and her lover Punhu met here; this legend is well known in Sind. Some writers assert that this was an outpost to guard the Gharo Creek and is not earlier than the Arab invasion of 712 A.D. Some coins of the Arab period were dug out.

TATTA and BUDH-JO-TAKAR.—Tatta was the capital of Sind in old times; on the spur of the Makli Hills are the ruins of Kalankot about five miles south-west of Tatta; it is a fort of the Muhammadan times; there is a mosque on the west; and is surrounded by a lake on three sides. By crossing the Indus from Jherruck one goes to Budh-jo-Takar. Here G. E. L. Carter is said to have collected some flints.

THE THARRO HILL NEAR GUJO.—Gujo is midway between Tatta and Gharo, ten miles to the west of Tatta on the Karachi road. Carter previously visited this place. Cousens in his *Antiquities of Sind* writes "at the Tharro near Gujo.....where there is a wonderful neolithic city, Carter made a fine collection of flints. There is a small hill about two miles south-west of Gujo. At three places on the rocky surface of this hill a number of symbols are carved. Among them, the man, bow and arrow, and intersected triangle remind us of the very symbols on seals of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro. Excavations across the chain of mounds revealed some potsherds of prehistoric pottery. A very large number of small isolated mounds or piles of stones were seen and were believed to be Mahomedan tombs. But on opening them the remains of a chamber in each of them were found; the chamber measured nine feet by four feet. The chambers are crudely built; pottery was found in each of them, but no bones; it cannot be said for what purpose the chambers were intended. It appears that Tharro Hill was merely a centre of flint-knapping industry, and not a regular dwelling site. From one of the circular mounds a large clod of fine clay was found; this when broken gave up numerous offertory tablets of the Buddhists; on some, Buddha was found sitting and on others a row of chaityas, with the Buddhist creed written in North Indian Character of the 7th or 8th century, A.D.

There are remains of Muhammadan period on this hill of Tharro. Chachnama, Vol. II, page 5 thus mentions it: "In the reign of Harun Rashid, Musa Barmaki was appointed Governor of Sind. As he was very liberal and gave away what he

acquired, he was recalled and dismissed and Ali son of Isa son of Haman was sent to succeed him. It was in his time that the fortified town of Tharrah in the district of Sakorah (the present Mirpur Sakro), the town of Bakar and some other places in the western part of Sind were taken by Shekh Abu Turab, whose musoleum together with the tombs of some other persons slain at the time is still visited. The dome over the remains of this great Shekh bears the date 171 A.H. (A.D.787) denoting the year in which it was built. It was in this Shekh's time that the ancient town of Bhanbhor whose founder is said to be king Bhanbhorai and some other towns were ruined by an earthquake."

The tablet has been again read and is found dated 782 A.H., that is A.D. 1380, and in the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlaq, and that it has nothing to do with the tomb itself or with the memory of the saint.

MIRPURKHAS, UMARKOT, and Badin were visited but they did not reveal anything of pre-Mahomedan period. Raverty notices that the district of Badin was the southernmost part of Sind in the reign of Akbar, when the Sarkar of Tattah, which included Badin, was bounded on the south by the Ocean. If a line is drawn connecting Tatta and Gujo in the west with Badin in the east, that would in all likelihood represent the utmost limit to which the Indus country could have extended in the south in the pre-historic period.

It is impossible in such a short paper to give justice to the Memoir, so I will describe the excavations of Amri and some places in and around Lake Manchhar.

AMRI.—Sir A. Burnes visited Amri in 1834. He describes it in his "Narrative of a voyage on the Indus." It is about 18 miles south of Sehwan on the same side of the river Indus; it was once a large city and a favourite residence of former kings. It is said to have been swept away into the Indus. There are several mounds about, and a few chipped flakes of chert (an impure massive flint) were picked up from the western side of the mound—this showed that this was a pre-historic site. Some trenches were sunk in one of the mounds, this revealed two distinct levels, first, from a depth of one to four feet; and second from six to seven feet. From the top level a collection of over a hundred potshreds were found; the vessels are of red ware with thick walls; the decorations were painted in black and dark red slips. This class of pottery was found at Mohenjo-Daro, and Jhukar in Sind, and Harappa in the Punjab, being

typical of the Indus civilization. The motifs are fish-scale, flower within circle, leaves of plants, biconical leaves, and zig-zag lines, square with incurved sides with a flower in centre, and birds and flowers. Some other objects were also found, *viz.*, a cylindrical bead of green felspar, biconical terracotta spindle-whorls, terra-cotta toy-cart frames, bull figurines, etc. In this trench a darker soil not like that of the upper layer was found at a depth of six feet. Here the pottery found was of different fabric not known anywhere in Sind. The pots had thin walls with a plain reddish brown band at the neck, a chocolate band on the inner side of the lip and geometric patterns on the body in black or chocolate on pink and in some cases on cream wash. Another trench was excavated. In this, the upper layer was found completely washed away by the action of the floods. What is said just above, that Amri was swept away by the Indus is a fact. The lower layer is practically exposed. We saw that in the first trench the pottery with geometric figures occupies a lower level than the pottery on which the painting is black on red, it can be concluded that the former belongs to an *earlier period*. The two wares are different in technique and decoration—which suggests difference in age, but also in culture. The later pottery of Amri on account of its affinities to that of Mohenjo-Daro, should be regarded as a typical product of Indus civilization. The earlier pot-fabrics of Amri should represent an earlier phase of the chalcolithic civilization than that represented by Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro. The Indus civilization had a long history without doubt, and it is therefore possible that the Amri culture while co-existent or identical with some of its phases, antedated others.

Sir A. Stein had discovered at Mehi, Kulli, and other places in Southern Baluchistan, pottery similar in decoration, colour, fabric, style, etc. to the pottery found at Amri; the pottery from Baluchistan is termed "hybrid wares" by Sir John Marshall. The pottery discovered at Amri goes to prove that the province of hybrid pottery extended as far east as the Indus.

Mr. Majumdar had performed a journey of about 2000 miles in the Sind valley; visited about 70 places in Karachi, Hyderabad, Nawabshah, Thar Parker and Sukkur Districts. Only at three places the remains of pre-historic period were found, *viz.*, at Tharro Hill, Amri and Chanhu-Daro. Tharro Hills lying in the deltaic region marks southern most pre-historic site, as far as it is known. Amri represents two strata of culture, one prior to, and the second contemporary with Mohenjo Daro; at Chanhu-Daro one more station of Indus civilization is

marked. The rest of the sites belong to much later period ranging from the Indo-Sassanian period to that of the various Mahomedan dynasties of Sind.

From the present situation of Amri, Chanhu-Daro, Lohumjo-Daro, and Mohenjo-Daro, we can imagine that in ancient times also, they existed not far from the Indus. Living in a flat riparian tract, the Indus people found unlimited scope for agricultural pursuits, just like the Egyptians in the Nile Valley, and the Sumerians in the valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris. But the Indus people suffered from two evils—inroads from the hills, and devastation made by the Indus. The people on the hills were poorer than those in the plain, because the former had less scope of agriculture. A wealthy city like Mohenjo-Daro could not have flourished in a hilly region. The country of Sind was blessed in former ages with a greater rainfall. The proof of this is seen in a large number of drains and pipes for rain-water discovered at Mohenjo-Daro; also the universal use of burnt instead of sun-dried bricks showed that the rainfall must be heavy. The representation on seals of animals living in moist climate, *viz.*, the rhinoceros, tiger and elephant, is an additional proof. The painted pottery showed a large number of trees and vegetation. It may therefore be safely concluded from the archaeological evidence that Sind, like Baluchistan, Sistan, Transcaspia and Central Asia has been subjected to continuous desiccation (dryness of climate).

If we look at the map of Sind we find that places of pre-historic culture discovered are very closely situated to one another forming a chain parallel to the Khirthal Range. These places have never been re-occupied after the chalcolithic times. This part of the country was very densely populated. Sir Aurel Stein has discovered a similar chain of pre-historic sites to the west of Khirthar and the river Hab in the Jhalawan and Makran districts of Baluchistan; and he detected clear evidence of desiccation. The reason for the desertion of places in Western Sind is the appearance of drier climate. And due to this cause or other the people slowly moved towards the rich, food-producing lands of the alluvial Indus country.

The buildings unearthed at Mohenjo-Daro give us an idea of the dwellings of the Indus people. They were all constructed with burnt bricks; some of them were more than one storey high. On the other hand on hill sites bricks were never used. The walls were made of stone at the base up to a height of two or three feet. The material used in the foundations was stone

rubble. The superstructure was made of mud. Reed and matting overlaid with mud were used for the roof and partition screens, as in Sind and Mesopotamia in the present day.

People at that time had some knowledge of fortification. This is shown by the fortresses or forfeited places, at Ali Murad and Kohtras. The walls of fortification were made of stones. No such structures were found at Mohenjo-Daro or at Harappa. Stone was not easily available in the Indus plains, and does not appear to have been used as a building material, except for covering drains in streets.

Lake-dwelling people were found living in different type of houses. Places near the lake have revealed neither stones nor bricks but pottery and chert flakes were found embedded in pure silt; it suggested that people lived in pile dwellings. The present dwellings of fishermen near Lake Manchar may be a survival form of pre-historic times. We find in the lake sites of Sind probably the only evidence of a fishing folk of the Chalcolithic period in India. Although no fishing implements have been found, it is just possible that the small chert flakes, which have been found in large quantity at Trahni and Shah Hasan were used for harpoons and angling hooks.

The people who lived in the gills, on the lakes, and on the banks of the Indus used wheel-made pottery, which revealed a community of culture in spite of many diversities. Samples of hand-made pottery were found, but they were deposited with the head in burial as at Bamb Buthi. As pottery plays an important part in determining the different era of civilization, it is necessary to classify it. The first is the thin ware of buff or light red clay with purely geometric patterns. This sort of pottery was found in Sind for the first time at Amri, on the Indus, and afterwards at Lohri near Lake Manchar and at several places in the hills of Western Sind, *viz.*, Pandi Wahi, Bandhi, Damb Buthi, and Chauro. The vessels of this class of pottery are rimless, *i. e.*, they have no rims. The second variety is the well-baked thick ware of bright terra cotta colour. In Baluchistan, Suktagen-dor represents a culture closely allied to that of Mohenjo-Daro. Painted pottery had in its initial stages a very wide currency over Sind and Baluchistan, but gradually it became rare. From the study of different strata, it is presumed that the Amri class of pottery should be regarded as earlier than the pottery of Mohenjo-Daro.

The pale-coloured geometric pottery of Sind (Amri, Chauro, Ghazi Shah) can be directly co-related with the foreign potteries of Mesopotamia, Western Persia and Sistan, and it shows affinity to Mesopotamian wares in a greater degree than it shows by the potteries of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro. There is no doubt that a particular form of decorative art, as illustrated by the Amri pottery travelled from one country to another during the Pre-Indus or early Indus period. Similar seals were found in the Indus valley as well as Persia and Mesopotamia, which shows there was mutual commercial intercourse between these countries. The people must have migrated carrying with them their own cults and traditions and also particular way of painting on vases, some of which were found in Sind. But it is not easy to state whether the migration started from east or from the west. About the people of Mohenjo-Daro it cannot be said that they came from out side of India, although some of their objects certainly show resemblance with those of Persia, Mesopotamia and Transcaspia of the chalcolithic period. From the household articles, arts and architecture of the Indus people it may be concluded that they must have settled in India for centuries, and that it was here that their civilization reached its height. It can be presumed that the people in pre-Mohenjo-Daro period migrated from the west. One of the proofs is the figure of ibex appearing on seals and pottery found at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, and also on a seal found at Chanhudaro, which is on the east of the Indus. The Ibex does not belong to the Indus plain. Blanford in the Fauna of India "Mammalia" states that in Baluchistan and Western Sind it inhabits barren rocky hills in herds, but does not occur east of the Indus. The male ibex has scimitar shaped horns curved backwards. It is represented *in herds* on the pottery found at Susa and Musyan in Persia, and of Mekran and Baluchistan, and hilly regions of western Sind. This leads us from Persia to the valley of the Indus, that is the migration of people who knew the Ibex from beyond the western borderland of Sind.

The route connecting southern Sind with Persia lies through Makran and the Las Bela State of Baluchistan, which could be reached by way of Karachi to Tatta across the Hab river. This route must have been followed by the invader Mahomed Kasim in the year 771. Also Alexander the Great on his return journey followed a tract across Las Bela. The Brahuis and the Baluchis in search of work enter Sind through the Mula Pass follow the track to Johi in the Larkana District and come over to the neighbourhood of Manchhar Lake. There is another route also; it passes through Lak Garre near Kathrach, and then through

Lak Phasi and Lak Rohel, finally coming to Sind by way of Pandi Wahi and Tando Rahim Khan. The discoveries of pre-historic sites at Tando Rahim Khan and Pandi Wahi and other places all along the route *via* Lake Manchhar and the Baran and Mol valleys upto Karachi proves that the same line of communication was followed in ancient times.

The pottery found in the upper levels at Jhukar, Lohumjo-Daro, and some places near Lake Manchhar show a sort of degeneration in the art of painting ; the old black on red style continued, but in a modified form, and a number of new patterns were found. In course of time, the chalcolithic civilization of Sind has passed into a phase when the red pottery gave place to a kind of black ware with incised patterns. This deterioration is significant ; for with the disappearance of the vase painters, the thread of civilization which we have been narrating upto the rise of Buddhism in Northern India is lost.

The sites of civilization are confined to the banks of navigable rivers.

LIEUTENANT AMIEL AND THE BALUCH LEVY.

(With a Map.)

By H. T. LAMBRICK, I. C. S.

(Read 28th July and 11th August 1935.)

In the map attached to Pottinger's "Travels in Baloochistan and Scinde," published in 1816, the province of Karachi, marked Kutch Gundava, bears a prosperous appearance. The names of numerous towns appear, connected by roads; the plain is traversed by mighty streams from the mountains of Khorasan. Pottinger's description of the tract admittedly based on second-hand information, is also favourable. "The villages of this fine plain are almost innumerable, and are increasing in number every year..... Of Kutch Gundava, the soil is rich and loamy; and so exceedingly productive that it is said, were it all properly cultivated, the crops would be more than sufficient for the consumption of the whole of Baloochistan; even as it is, they export great quantities of grain, besides cotton, indigo, and oil.....rice will not grow in Kutch Gundava, although the soil affords the most luxuriant crops of every other description, nor is there any deficiency of water."

On this map and this description the Government of India seems to have relied when planning the invasion of Afghanistan in 1838-39. It is notorious that the expedition was grossly deficient in the departments of Intelligence and Liaison between Politicals and Military: every narrative of the campaign, from whatever view-point written, affords evidence of blind movement forward in more or less complete ignorance of the country, its supplies, and the attitude of the tribes to be met en route. To sum up all in the words of W. J. Eastwick "there never was an enterprise of such magnitude undertaken with so little foresight and prudence." It was of course well known that the Bolan pass was a trade route between India and Central Asia: moreover, Arthur Conolly had come that way on his overland journey to India in 1830, and had duly published an account of his travels, together with a map of "the countries between the Arras and the Indus, the Aral and the Indian Ocean." But Conolly had travelled by himself and in disguise. A man who had been robbed of all he possessed in Turkestan might well be indifferent to tales of robber-tribes in Kachhi:—*Vacuus cantabit coram latrone viator*. And he had come through the pass and the plains in the cold weather. Burnes had visited Shikarpur

at the same time of year in 1836-37, but he too does not seem to have realised the conditions under which the Bolan trade was carried on. The Government of India, oppressed with empty fears of a Russian advance in Central Asia, were too much engrossed in consideration of conditions at Khiva to give due attention to those of Kachhi; and seem to have fallen into the easy assumption that where a merchant's *kafila* could pass, there could be no obstruction to an army. For all practical purposes, knowledge of the theatre of the future campaign began above the passes: as for the route thither, the very improvidence of the commissariat staff-work on the expedition implies that reliance was placed on the glowing description of Kachhi in Pottinger's work.

The book was twenty years old. It was forty years out of date. Kachhi had indeed been comparatively tranquil and prosperous under the rule of Nasir Khan I of Kelat, who died in 1794. The great chieftain is said to have been powerful enough to prevent the Marri and Bugti Baluchis from plundering the plains; it is even stated that their internecine wars and feuds were checked by their Brahui over-lord, that they remained within and cultivated their respective countries, and were held responsible for the protection of caravans passing between Gundava and Multan. But Mir Nasir Khan himself was baffled when, for some defiance of his authority, he attempted to coerce these tribes within their hills; he destroyed the alum mines in the Bugti country, and did as much damage as he could, but at last returned unsuccessful. We may assume at least that Kachhi prospered under his reign; and that its prosperous condition was, in the best tradition of Oriental camouflage, represented to Pottinger as obtaining under the effete rule of his successor.

The actual state of affairs in Kachhi and Upper Sind in 1838-39 has been described by so many writers, and in such vigorous language, that a mere summary of the elements constituting Pottinger's land of milk and honey may be given. Three-quarters of Kachhi was a waterless desert all the year round except when rain actually fell; and the *kafila* route to the Bolan passed through the very worst of it. The whole area was subject, during the hot weather, to the blasts of the simoom, a wind fatal alike to vegetable and animal life. The villages, collections of miserable huts; the roads, vague and illusory tracks, the only permanent indications of which were the bones of men and animals whom they had beguiled; the cultivation, patches of wheat or jowari precariously raised under the shadow

of the hills;—all were the hunting-grounds of the predatory Baluch tribes, under whose reign of terror, not to mention the tyranny of the Khan's officials, three quarters of the population had migrated to Sind.

The most active among the marauders were the Dombkis and Jakhranis. Their numbers were small, but the speed of their forays gave them the reputation of ubiquity, and in consequence great numerical strength. The Chief of the former, Baluch Khan, lived at Lahri, and with a portion of his tribe remained quiet and respectable. The more unruly spirits among the Dombkis acknowledged no head but Bijar Khan; the lord of Wazirah and Darya Khan and Turk Ali, the leaders of the Jakhranis, whose headquarters were at Sheranee, also admitted his authority. Together they had taken possession of the lands and strong-holds of the Khyberis, south of Lahri:—Phulaji and Chattr; and the Syeds of Shahpur, still further to the south, and within striking distance of the Talpurs' frontier, were under Bijar Khan's influence.

The condition of Upper Sind was little better than that of Kachhi. Since the city and districts of Shikarpur fell into the hands of the Mirs in 1824 the prosperity of both had declined. The extent and causes of this deterioration are ably discussed by Goldsmid in his Historical Memoir of the place. We consider that Shikarpuri merchants must have found their trade injured not a little by the transfer of authority. While their headquarters and their principal entrepôt, Kandahar, were subject to the same rulers, Hindu speculators' enjoyed facilities now abruptly cut off: and a lack of confidence in the Mirs may well have drawn off some of the mercantile community to the Punjab.

Their mistrust was well-founded: for under the Talpurs' rule the standard of law and order in Upper Sind rapidly declined, and in a few years the contrast with the Kandahar administration was most marked. The former rulers had maintained effective measures for the security, not only of the town and neighbourhood of Shikarpur, but the whole line of their border, by posts and patrols, affording a reasonable degree of protection to kafilas starting for the Bolan. The activities of the Baluch free-booters were consequently circumscribed; as for the route through Kachhi, a certain immunity could be secured by the payment of blackmail on a regular basis. Thus the Shikarpur Sethia sending a consignment of goods to Central Asia calculated as a matter of course for blackmail charges to

be debited; and the Jamalis of Rojhan, the Burdis at Barshori, the Marris and Kakars at Sibi, levied their "sung" without evincing a disposition to kill the goose that laid such golden eggs. A present to the Khan of Kelat's Naib at Bhag must certainly have figured in this primitive system of insurance.

When the Afghan grip upon Upper Sind was relaxed, and disorder reigned unchecked from Shikarpur to Sibi, Bijar Khan Dombki was able to tap the dwindling stream of kafilas nearer to its source; and actually established himself temporarily at Khangarh. The Mirs' method of dealing with this menace to their revenues was characteristic; he was invested by both the branches of the Talpur House with dresses of honour, and some years previous to the appearance of the British in Upper Sind he held a jagir near Larkana;—granted by the Hyderabad durbar, perhaps ostensibly for services rendered to the Mirs against Shah Shujah in 1833-34.

The predatory Jakhranis and Dombkis were essentially tribes of horsemen, who secured the country for plunder from the Bolan to Shikarpur, and from Lahri to Gandava. The villages and cultivated lands of Western Kachhi were well within their range; and the attacks on the columns of the Bombay Division, which marched by the route Khairo Garhi—Gandava—Shoran, may be ascribed to these two tribes rather than to the local Magsis and Rinds. As for the "High Road," by which the Bengal Division marched, and which remained the line of communications for the advance, the two predatory tribes found kafilas, richer than ever a Shikarpuri merchant sent to Khiva, passing week after week. They were strongly guarded, it is true: but the good Company's rupees, the innumerable camels, were an irresistible attraction; and naturally the Sarcar's commissariat was harassed in preference to the country people. It was estimated that besides occasioning a woeful loss of life, and seriously interrupting the communications of the army, the plunderers were responsible for a loss of actual property "calculated in round numbers at about two and a half lacs of rupees."

This doubtless explains in part Bijar Khan's scornful refusal to enter the service of the British Government upon the princely salary of three thousand rupees per mensem. The offer was made by W. J. Eastwick when he was officiating as Political Agent in Upper Sind, Kadir Bakhsh Khan, the Khosa Chief, being the channel of communication; it is sufficient testimony to the impression of the robber baron's power. But for the most

part the British authorities, Military and Political, remained for some months under the delusion that the country had risen against them, and that every Baluch of whatever tribe was their active enemy. It seemed incredible, and it seems so even now, that the robbers could come so far and so fast across that appalling desert. But the Baluch horseman and his mount were not governed by accepted rules and standards. Two descriptions of them will suffice to explain their methods. The Dombkis and Jakhranis were "mounted on small but high-blooded fiery mares, swift and enduring to a marvel....they were taught to drink only at long intervals, and were at times fed with raw meat, which is safe to increase their vigour for the time, and create less thirst."

"When an expedition across the desert was to be undertaken, the mare's food was tied under her belly; the man's, consisting of a coarse cake and sometimes a little arrack, was slung across his shoulders, and was generally sufficient for ten or twelve days' scanty fare: but it was used only in necessity, for the spoil the robber looked for subsistence." So Sir William Napier. E. B. Eastwick, who speaks with the greater authority of intimate personal knowledge of them at this period, writes "The Baluchis, of all men, can longest endure the want of water. On their most distant forays they drink but once, and never during the heat of the day. They undergo, in fact, a discipline of the most rigorous kind, and those who would cope with them must undergo it too. But no European can ever hope so to change his nature as to match them in hardihood. With the crown of the head bare, and a long roll of cotton cloth twisted loosely round his temples, on a wooden saddle of excruciating hardness, and mounted on a small, lean, ill-formed but indomitable mare, whose pace except when put out is a villainous short rough trot—the Biluchi rides on and on, fifty, sixty, nay seventy miles without a halt."

The results of the "horrid state of disorganization" in Kacchi and Upper Sind were experienced not only in attacks on the line of march and the lifting of camels wholesale: but in an almost complete lack of supplies. The army were very soon disabused of the vague idea that Kacchi would be found a granary. The irrigation works referred to by Pottinger had mostly been abandoned, and an enormous proportion of the cultivators had fled the country. Another circumstance which seems to have been forgotten by those who planned the expedition was that the season for the spring harvest above the passes was two months later than in the plains. The advance

under Sir Willoughby Cotton after passing through the Bolan soon exhausted the resources of the valley of Shal: the commander was naturally unwilling to fall back, while to advance and to remain stationary seemed equally impossible. Sir John Keane joined him with the main body, and the position became critical. The Army had to be fed from Upper Sind. The Bengal Army's Commissariat department was well organized: not so that of the Bombay Army: muddling and recrimination began as soon as the urgency for supplies on an unusual scale put a strain on the department; aggravated, of course, by the enormous length of the line of communications, the impossibility of feeding adequately the transport animals, the heat and shortage of water, and the constant harassment of the raiders.

The state of the army in the advance in April may be described in the words of a relative of the present writer, then an Ensign in the 23rd Bombay Native Infantry, stationed in Sukkur. "Sir John Keane's army was starving; the fighting men allowed only half a seer of flour daily, and the poor camp followers one quarter. Beer was selling at 150 Rupees a dozen, and everything else in the same proportion." The main duty for the Polticals in Upper Sind was to collect supplies by hook or crook, and to arrange some means for their safe arrival with the advance. They were asked to "strain every nerve to push on all the camels that may come in your way. There is no certainty of our getting anything beyond the pass, or at least, in comparison with what we require. Send no camels unladen, if you have wherewithal to load them. We shall want grain, grain, grain to the end of the chapter. Let the escorts be very strong.....I have little hope of this ever reaching you, but I must make the trial. Send camels and grain—grain and camels."

There was a limit, however, to the strength of the escorts that could be given when the country round the base of operations at Sukkur itself was in a turmoil. W. J. Eastwick, brother of the "ex-political" who wrote that fascinating book "Dry Leaves from Young Egypt" gives this account of the situation—the chaos from which he was expected to evolve order:—

"The country round Shikarpur is in the last stage of disorganisation. Every man is anxious to cut our throats, and we have a few hundred infantry to protect the vast quantities of stores and treasure, to provide escorts, and secure the base of our military operations. It is really quite lamentable to see the want of wisdom and common judgment. We have murders

and robberies every day. I am levying troops of the country on my own responsibility: thieves to fight thieves—an irregular corps of Biluchis."

This was the beginning of the Baluch levy: but before embarking on its history it is necessary to glance for a moment at the final efforts of regular troops to pilot through to the Bolan, and to punish those that harassed them.

A convoy of two thousand six hundred camels crossed the desert in the middle of April, under the escort of the 31st Bengal N. I., and the officer commanding wrote to the authorities describing the sufferings of himself and his men from heat and want of water, and declared that it would be madness to attempt to send another, as the season was so far advanced. The Baluchis had harassed him incessantly, and he "lost 52 horses from over fatigue, following those rascals." It was now decided to make an example of the marauders, and the unfortunate choice of the objective shows how much in the dark the politicals and military still were as to the identity of the raiders. Ensign Newnham, mentioned above, writes on May 12th from Sukkur: "a detachment of the 5th regiment have gone out with a six-pounder to take a small fort in which the Baloochees have deposited their spoil. I hope they will give them a good rubbing." Next day he hears the result—"that detachment of the 5th that left the other day have taken the fort. . . on our side Subahdar Bukadoor and 3 privates killed, 1 ensign and 7 privates wounded: on the side of the enemy, 2 chiefs and 48 men killed, and 46 wounded and taken prisoners." He adds later: "The Brigadier put it in Orders that it would have met with his highest approbation if he (the officer commanding) had not spared one." The spirit of indiscriminate vindictiveness, due to ignorance, had not taken long to grow.

Thus did Khangarh, afterwards to be known as Jacobabad, make its first appearance on the page of history. Eastwick's account is that "the fort contained two hundred men, chiefly of the Khosa tribe. Some of them were said to have plundered our baggage, though the other Sindhis declare these Khosas were innocent, and that the ill-deed was done by the Jakranis . . . a great number of the Biluchis were bayoneted—and the rest were sent prisoners to Shikarpur, where they were afterwards released. If the Khosas were really guilty of the marauding imputed to them they were terribly punished." T. Postans, writing some months after this tragic event, roundly declared that these Khosas were our friends, and that from the

error "a want of faith was engendered which we could not re-establish."

Perhaps some such doubt was in the mind of the newly appointed Political agent, Ross Bell, when he planned another expedition, against Phulaji. This shot would really have been in the bulls' eye, as the fort was a stronghold of Bijar Khan Dombki, the most active of all the Baluch raiders, and, as we have seen, leader of his own tribesmen and of the Jakranis.

John Jacob's account of the disaster that overtook this expedition, long before reaching its objective, occurs in his Memoir on Billamore's Hill campaign, and elsewhere among his writings. But he only witnessed one side of the whole tragedy; another detachment, designed ultimately to join that under his command, underwent an even fiercer ordeal, in the passage of the desert by the last of the great kafilas sent up to supply the starving army in Afghanistan. The tale of that crossing was told nearly thirty years afterwards, by Sir Thomas Seaton, then a captain in the 35th Bengal N. I., who being on his way to join his regiment, accompanied the convoy by a mere chance. The "*Athenæum*" critic refers to the book on January 27th 1866 in a somewhat patronising manner:—the notice might almost have been written by Mr. Arthur Pendennis:—but at least he admits that "the fearful hardships of this march in the hottest part of the year exceeded anything that can well be imagined, even by the most experienced traveller." Seaton omits to mention that any of the troops forming the escort were detailed for another duty as soon as they reached Dhadar, and went on up the Bolan to join the advance. The wing of the 23rd N. I. duly remained at Bhag and Dhadar under Major Newport, who had commanded the convoy; but were denied the excitement of a punitive expedition. They were in fact no more fit for duty than the remnant of Jacob's detachment which reached Shikarpur.

Ensign Newnham, who had to be left behind at Bhag to recuperate, writes of the experience as follows:—

"A most severe and fatal march we have had, one that, I hope, will never be my fortune to witness again. The heat was dreadful, far exceeding that of Guzerat; even the natives of the country do not venture out at this season, when exposure to the sun is certain death. They all said it was madness our attempting to proceed. Nothing but the most dire necessity could have justified an immense kafila such as ours

was, consisting of 4,500 camels, 400 cavalry, 600 infantry, and numerous camp followers, being sent when it was doubtful even if water was to be obtained at some of the stages. We started from Shikarpur on the 23rd of May, and got on very fairly till we arrived at Rojhan, where we first felt the want of water. From Rojhan to Barshoorie, a march of 32 miles, across a desert where not a tree or a blade of grass was to be seen, the men suffered extremely from thirst. Our men having kettles got over it much better than the Bengalees. Nevertheless we arrived at Barshoorie at 6 o'clock in the morning without the loss of a man. Here the heat was so great, the thermometer ranging from 115° to 124° in the tents, and the water so bad, that the men began to fall rapidly, and died like rotten sheep.

"From this place to Baugh only three marches, we lost out of the Europeans, 3 officers, one conductor, one sergeant, and Mr. Tait's agent (and myself nearly dead, at one time: I thought it was all over with me and my campaigning at an end). They all say it is the greatest mercy to have escaped. The day I was taken ill we had buried two of the officers in one grave. Of the Natives, 60 men of the Bengal 42nd, about 50 or 60 of the Irregular Horse, and camelmen, and only 4 or 5 of our own men died an awful mortality in so short a time ! The Brigadier has issued a flaming order begging to congratulate the surviving officers on their escape and said it was a case, however, to be regretted, that the sacrifice of life was warrantable, without which it was not expected the convoy would reach its destination.

"Mr. Roses Bell the Political Agent at Shikarpore, planned an expedition against Pullajee (the stronghold of the most powerful tribes) the other day, in which our detachment was to have taken part, the whole to be commanded by Cliboorn of the 1st Grenadiers; but the following fatal march from Suckhur knocked it on the head. The Artillery and the details of the European regiments in the advance marched for Shikarpore to join the expedition. Somehow or other the officer commanding the Europeans got separated from the Artillery and lost his way. The consequence was that his men were exposed to the sun nearly the whole day, himself, 1 sergeant 2 corporals and 9 privates died that day, and a number afterwards in hospital ; which I think ought to prove to the *wise* men in power that neither Europeans or Natives can stand this sun, and it is to be hoped that no more valuable lives will be sacrificed to the whim of such people as Mr. Bell, and old Gordon."

This was, in fact, the last of the attempts to use regular troops against the Baluchis that season, and the Baluch Levy was to hold the field against the predatory tribes until the cold weather. It is a convenient moment to make their acquaintance for a number of the Levy accompanied Major Newport's detachment, and their commandant, Lieutenant Amiel, saw them off from Rojhan. Amiel was an officer of the 1st Gernadier N. I., and before he was deputed to this duty had done twelve years' service. He had already had some experience of chasing Baluchis in the Janidero-Rojhan area, before the kafila marched on the 29th May. A letter from Captain Smee, who had led the expedition against Khangarh, and was now commanding at Rojhan addressed to the Brigade Major, Sukkur, gives a picture of the miserable conditions of existence at this place.

"Sir it becomes my duty to inform you for the information of the Brigadier that the detachment under my command has become so weak, both from cholera having broken out and the intense heat, that I have scarcely any men fit for duty. About 20 natives have died here within the last few days. I have lost one sepoy and two naiques from cholera. It has been out of my power to get the men under cover, the work-people all deserted except a few, who have been employed nearly all day burying the dead. Under these circumstances I shall await your reply to this letter. The heat has now become so great that it is almost impossible to move out during the day, and at night it blows quite a hot wind. There is not at present more than one Government Camel here, and it will take (a string) of twenty to move the tents, ammunition etc. should it be required. There is a very large amount of Government Grain in the Fort. It is with great difficulty that I am able to write this letter, being so unwell.

P. N.—Camels for the sick and to carry the provisions for the men will also be required should we move."

The regular troops were shortly afterwards withdrawn and Rojhan was occupied, from time to time, by detachments of Amiel's levy. He, meanwhile, had moved on the night of the 3rd June to Janidero, whence he writes to inform the Assistant Political Agent, Shikarpur, of the outbreak of cholera, which had caused the deaths of several of his Baluch Horses. He had only fourteen horses fit for duty; and looking to these conditions he asks for leave to build sheds to shelter the men!

We should, however, before embarking on the history of the Levy's activities say something of its origin and composition.

Lieutenant W. J. Eastwick, as we have seen had started recruiting for his corps of Baluchis in anticipation of the Government of India's sanction. This he received on April 18th, Government observing that "there appeared no improvement in the attitude of the people," and ordering him to raise 500 Baluchis as cavalry and the same number as infantry, through their chiefs. Enlistment on these lines was supplemented when on June 16th agreements were entered into by the Politicals with Kadir Bakhsh Khan, Chief of the Khosas, residing at Jamra, and Sher Mahomed Khan, Chief of the Burdis, at Shergarh. Each Chief was to receive Rs. 300 per month, the former for protecting the road between Sukkur and Shikarpur; and the latter as his territory adjoined that of the Dombkis and Jakhranis, to check plunder throughout his country. The Khosa Chief was to provide thirty horsemen at twenty-five rupees each, and Sher Mahomed ten men on a pay of ten rupees. It was also hoped that some Bugtis might be recruited.

Postans mentions a similar arrangement with Imam Bakhsh Jatoi, and observes "in both cases the expense was incurred as a sort of *douceur* to keep these people quiet".—in fact one of the most noted of all the border freebooters, Rahman Burdi, was in command of the quota from that tribe.

E. B. Eastwick's estimate of his brother's scheme is somewhat too flattering: "In this manner" he says "and acting on this foundation a body of police was gradually formed by the officer who first had the political management of Upper Sindh, which, as it employed the most active spirits and protected the communication between different parts and detachments, soon promised to terminate the old regime of anarchy and bloodshed, and to confer on the whole province the blessings of peace and tranquility." Meanwhile the Levy proper, six hundred foot and horse, had been enlisted at Sukkur, and Shikarpur. They were described by Ross Bell (Eastwick's successor) in a report to the Government of India as mounted on tattoos (country ponies) and looking more like grass-cutters than a body of horse. He was prepared to raise their pay from Rupees 15 per month to Rs. 20 provided they produced better horses.

At Shikarpur four hundred Khyris had been raised together with a number of Yusufzais: these men had been put under Amiel, and given the duty of protecting the *dak* across the desert to Dhadar. It is with these that we shall be mainly concerned.

The Khyris were a tribe which had originally occupied lands round Phulaji and Chatter. They were not Baluchis but Sheikhs, though they had adopted certain Baluch customs. For years they were subject to constant attacks by the Dombkhis aided at times by the Marris, and though they resisted bravely they had finally been driven out of their lands by Bijar Khan about ten years before the appearance in Upper Sind of the British who found them settled in the neighbourhood of Shikarpur. From the first they proved friendly and faithful, hoping that the Faringhi would be able to instate them in their ancestral country, for which they had applied to the Khairpur and Hyderabad durbars in vain.

The business of knocking this material into shape was not easy. One the 12th June Amiel wrote to Ross Bell that "if ever they are to get into any state of discipline it must be done very gradually. Our first essay must be to conciliate and gain their affections, after which we may do anything with them.... placing three men in a row the other day and drilling them has frightened them all."

The officers and men stationed at Shikarpur were still under canvas, but by the 14th July Amiel could write to E. J. Brown, the Assistant Political Agent at Sukkur, "I've commenced building a shed and on its being habitable I shall be able to get my papers and books into good order. I have only 9 bottles of beer left, and the road from Sukkur is impassable—pleasant, is it not?"

Bottled beer was, of course, the drink par excellence of British officers serving in India at this period. It was something more than a drink: the general belief was as stated by Ensign Newnham, writing home from Sukkur in May 1839 and justifying a modest budget under this head—"In this warm weather if you did not drink beer you would die of exhaustion." A few years later Sir Charles Napier himself the most abstemious of men, wrote that his subalterns did not seem to be able to undergo privations, and were discontented without their usual wine and beer! They regarded it not as a luxury but as a necessity. The redoubtable Major Gahagan tells us (and so it must be true) that during his first year in Bengal with the Ahmednuggur Irregular Horse he drank two hundred dozen bottles of Hodson's Pale Ale. To turn from fiction to fact, Eastwick writes of E. J. Brown, to whom Amiel addressed the letter quoted above "It is true that he was an able officer, and possessed excellent natural abilities, but..... no man who

swallows from one to two dozen bottles of beer per diem can always scrutinize with sufficient exactness the infinitesimal limits of the expedient and inexpedient." Richard Burton, who knew him later when serving as Secretary to Sir Charles Napier as Governor of Sind, speaks of him as "Captain 'Beer Brown' of the Bengal Engineers : poor fellow ! he lived upon and died of a dozen of Bass per diem." He died, indeed, of abscess on the liver, to the great grief of Napier, who was then Commander-in-Chief.

However, beer was indispensable : whether at the board of the Political Agent, where "fourteen thousand bottles..... annually poured forth their foaming contents" in miserable forts on the borders of the desert, or under canvas in Shikarpur.

To return to the Baluch Levy. Our information concerning the Corps is derived in the main from demi-official letters written by Amiel to Ross Bell and others, but particularly the former, with very occasionally an official despatch.

It will be convenient to bring its history with an exposition of the Baluch plunderers' methods as related by Amiel in a letter to Ross Bell dated 4th July 1839 from Shikarpur.

Yesterday 30 camels belonging to Lieutenant Shaw were driven off by the Balochis. We sent after them and recovered the camels two *cosse* the other side of Jeneedrah, 14 or 15 miles from this. The horses could not overtake the plunderers and four died from fatigue and heat. These Balooches travel quietly at night and arrive near the grazing ground about gun fire. Their horses then have a good feed and a rest. When they drive off the camels they manage to proceed at a rapid pace, yet not sufficient to knock up their horses. Our men arrive in sight with every animal tired and done up; they then forsake the plunder and make their escape. I wish information could be gained of an intended expedition, although we can never(—?) as the camel men (at least many of them) are accomplices of the robbers, giving them information and taking the camels in the direction they know the thieves are. The horses and tattoo that have died are not expensive ones, it would therefore be a desirable thing if Government sanctioned a certain sum to be given in compensation, otherwise it cannot be expected that a man whose only fortune is his horse will exert himself and perhaps lose the animal by the possession of which he obtains his livelihood." Amiel proceeds to inform Ross Bell of the

progress made in building the Residency in Shikarpur which in the following November Eastwick describes as a "barn-like structure."

Three days later Amiel writes to say that another party of Baluchis had driven off some camels belonging to a native, and recommends that a party of horse and foot should be stationed at Janidero with the object of cutting off the plunderers on their return towards the hills from the vicinity of Shikarpur; Minuti being another stopping place of the raiders. Two more horses had died from fatigue at Khangarh, and the rigours of the climate took a new form: as he concludes "Last night it blew such a gale of wind that my head aches from the dust having penetrated my eyes and head".

The tale of outrages and loss of horses continued almost daily. On the 10th July Amiel reports two of his Pathan horsemen killed near Rojhan. A party of Dombkis and Jakhranis attacked the *lapalis* (postmen) near Mauladad, murdered them and carried off the camels. Some of Amiel's men tracked the camels, and came upon the raiders, only to be cut up by them. The survivors in their examination said "we went after the camel about four *kos*. It was not a camel, but the Angel of Death who enticed us into the mouth of destruction." Amiel took up again the question of compensation to families of men killed, and for horses dying on duty: by the 12th a report came in that four belonging to the party which had proceeded with Major Newport's *kafila* to Dhadar had died from want of forage and fatigue while detained at Bagh by Lieutenant Travers. "Bagh," says Amiel indignantly though incorrectly, "where even water is not procurable without being paid for."

Soon afterwards water was in excess instead of defect. Amiel writes to Bell on the 18th July "Here am I in Shikarpur without a chance of seeing Janeederal without swimming there. The rain commenced on the afternoon of the 15th and has continued at intervals ever since. The country is a complete sheet of water and your house a mass of mud. We covered the walls with matting: this has been a slight protection, but I fear a few more showers will erase every appearance of its being brick. The natives are most miserably off...I hope ere long to start and look about the country.....and hope to inspire a little wholesome terror into their minds." The relief of the rain was only temporary. By the 23rd he is writing to Bell, "The weather here is hotter than ever, and the natives say for two months more we shall have it day and night: for my part I doubt whether there is any

cool weather in this country." The forage problem, at least, was in a way to be solved. While at Rojhan under Captain Smee they had been compelled to send for grass from Jagan; and similarly while at Janidero from Bungla, three *kos* distance. With the rain and inundation together the grass soon shot up, and preparations for the tour were begun.

Khan Muhomed Umerani of Minuti met Amiel and offered his assistance in showing him the country. Amiel writes to Bell "if I take possession of this fort we might cut the Doomkies and Jekranies off..... The Balooches have destroyed the two sheds and my house at Janeedera: have I authority to erect a few sheds, as there is no shelter. I shall in all probability take up my residence at Kangur, as it is the largest fort and has shelter in the bastions for a new men."

Meanwhile Ross Bell had been in correspondence with the Government of India on the subject of the Baluch plunderers, the disastrous result of the employment of regular troops at that season, and his hopes that for the time being the Levy would be able to restrain the raiders. He had also recommended that a body of Afgan Horse should be raised and employed against the Baluchis. Government replied that it would be necessary to use coercive measures against the tribes in the ensuing cold weather. Meanwhile two rissalas of Skinner's Horse and the Gwalior rissala of Anderson's Cavalry were being drafted to Upper Sind and "the number and efficiency of the Balooch Horse renders the raising of Afgan Horse unnecessary." In actual fact, the numbers and efficiency of the Levy left much to be desired. Amiel writes to E. J. Brown on the 28th July that he only had 128 men out of 356 available for duty in Shikarpur. The remainder were distributed between posts at Dhadar, Roghan, Jagun and Sukkur, besides providing an escort for the Political Agent (to which Eastwick refers ironically). The main body at Shikarpur were not cantoned, but scattered with their horses throughout the town, and the sowars gave considerable trouble. Amiel continues "I've a bad headache from drinking too much beer, and shall draw my letter to a conclusion. Sinclair who exceeded me, says, fresh salmon never agrees with me; curious, it never is the wine."—P.S. I've just heard that the forty sowars sent to Dadur have been detained by Travers at Bagh on account of the fighting between (sic) the Balooches between that place and Dadur. I am afraid that for some time these men will not return (not within twenty days. One jamadar of foot who got some horsemen together and who I made a duffadar refused to go as far as Dadur. I've had

dreadful work getting some men who never intended leaving Shikarpore to start: In time we shall find out the good and bad."

On the 30th Amiel reports that Bijar Khan, the head of the predatory confederacy, was said to be alarmed by his preparations to move out into the country, and that he might throw himself upon the Ameers. It should be remembered that the territories of the Hyderabad and Khairpur Mirs were inextricably mixed in the region of Shikarpur. Roughly speaking the country to the east and the north was under Khairpur. The rumour must have been deliberately circulated, for on the first August the *Dombkis* and Jakhranis took the fort of Rajan with the object of levying from it blackmail on the *dak* line.

Amiel gave orders to his men at Mubarakpur to retake the fort, and followed himself, to find that three tribesmen had been captured.

He now started on his tour. Only those who have moved about this tract in August, (camping in well-constructed bungalows, and supplied with ice and stores of all kinds, in these degenerate days) can appreciate the hardships of Amiel on his pioneer trip. The country was altogether unknown, and, where it was not desert, covered with dense jungle: its inhabitants, if not openly hostile, unwilling or afraid to give assistance or true information: the Levy unproved, intriguing, and as soon became evident, addicted to tyrannising over and plundering the people: the only shelter ruined forts or "kacha" sheds.

Amiel's first camp was at Janidero, where he arrived via Jagan. He found that it was impossible to remain there, as the Khyeri Horse who had vainly pursued the *Dombkis* and Jakhranis had consumed all the grass, though the *juari* crops which at the same season next year Eastwick found covering the country round for miles, and growing nearly twenty feet high, were coming on. Amiel decided to see Khangarh to consider its eligibility as a post, and in a letter to Ross Bell dated the 8th observes "If I had 500 horse and the 6 pounder I would try my luck against Chuttur and Poolajee."

By the 10th he was writing from Mubarakpur, which he describes as a bazar town, the fort of which was capacious and strong. He had seen Khangarh on his way eastwards, and had ordered his Khyeris to get banias to settle there. Among the

advantages of this place were a house formerly occupied by the Killedar, and the fact that it was only a march from Minuti, an oasis in the desert, already mentioned by him as one of the principal routes taken by the raiders on their incursions.

Ross Bell seems now to have decided to employ Amiel in the capacity of a political or rather intelligence officer, for the latter replies on the 13th "thanks for obtaining for me an appointment not only congenial but well-paid. I am only afraid my talents are more in riding horses than writing letters. He had found Mubarakpur a good place for grass and began to get his horses fit. His next move would be a visit to Thul. He proceeds "Rumour took me towards Khangarh, but I found no enemy, though I offered 100 Rupees for pukka information.. . . .the only drawback is the heat and miserable sheds. I'm obliged to live in that in truth after a ride of 12 *coss* as this morning I'm more inclined to sleep than any other thing."

He visited the villages and forts in the neighbourhood, and the appearance of the *Sarcar's* representative was noised abroad, for he received a letter from Bibi Sultan Begum of Shahpur (of whom he writes facetiously "unfortunately she's old") containing a story of the miseries she endured at the hands of the robber bands. By the 17th the cattle of the Levy had eaten all the grass round Mubarakpur, and Amiel decided to move on Mirpur, three *kos* distant, where he hoped to intercept the raiders' camels which were sent there to obtain grain. It was rumoured in the country that Bijar Khan was trying to persuade the Syeds of Shahpur to intercede for him. Amiel sent a spy to Chattr. His Kyhris were now in expectation of having their old lands restored to them. He says "they are the only friends Government has in this country. I feel an interest in the men and should like to see Kamal-Khan once more in possession of his country."

Amiel now moved on to Thul accompanied by Sher Mahomed Burdi, of whom he writes "his advisor in the shape of a fat Syud is one of those men taught from infancy to conceal the truth. They are our servants, yet keep the camels they have taken either by force themselves or as lords of the land from others." It will be remembered that Sher Mahomed Burdi was one of the two Chiefs whom we had taken into service in June to protect the country from the predatory tribes. As hitherto their efforts in this capacity had not been subjected to any real supervision, it was scarcely surprising to find them making capital out of their new position; but Sher Mahomed was now ordered to dance atten-

dance upon the Political authorities, and after the capture and execution of the notorious Saula, the Burdis ceased to be the scourge they formerly had been to the eastern half of Upper Sind. Amiel had now entered the territory of the Khairpur branch of the Talpur House, and he seems to have met its future ruler. "The Hakim of Meerpur, Allee Moorad,..... a very independent sort of character, built a bridge over a nullah which broke down and spoiled all my kit. After I had threatened, if another did so, to shave him, the bridges became strong and passable. These men have no gentlemanly feelings, to deal with them as equals is throwing away time. Those who really do our work we must take by the hand; the remainder must be kept down to the grindstone. The sheds become worse as I advance. Although this (Thul) is a town, yet inside the fort there is not a place equal to an English pig-sty.

"Since having the Belooch Corps I have taken every means of ascertaining the dispositions of the different jemadars. From what I've observed the Khyrees and Purdesrees would be the only people on whom any dependence could be placed. Abdul Kureem and his brother Abdul Ghunee Khan I would rely on. And from what I've seen Jemadar Abdul Haleem Khan is the only one who is not mixed up with the petty intrigues going on in this part of the country Jemadar Ulf Khan is Zamindar of the village of Zukriel and altho' not a partaker in the spoils yet he does not wish stolen property to be recovered, having threatened the scout in our employ to be revenged on him when the English left the coast clear. Jemadar Ghoolam Khan is a plausible soft-spoken Douranee, always vaunting of what his tribe could do. He is connected with all the Shikarporeans; many being under him, most of them perfectly useless as soldiers. He is always in arrears to myself and his sowars; in fact I've more trouble with him than all the remainder. It appears from what I can glean from listening to their conversation that he considers the service of the Feringees as a Pis-aller. At present reform is impossible: it must be done gradually. I shall not take (except Khyherees) and the characters whom I find useless can be gradually got rid of. These men may be individually brave yet as a body they are useless. To pursue Jekranees or Doomkees, or take the post to Dadur, Shikarporeans may do; for the purpose of forming a Russallah Hindus and Punjabee men are the fellows. We shall ere long know more of their work, as yet we've been in the dark. By employing Beloochees we add, in case of their becoming enemies to their efficiency in arms and horses, until the opportunity occurs of their turning against us."

The last half of this letter has only to be considered in the light of subsequent events for us to realise the justice of Amiel's observations. He was indeed unduly optimistic of the Levy's ability to deal with the Dombkis and Jakhranis. The raiders had so far avoided him, and like every one else at this time he did not understand the Baluch method of fighting; to evade coming to close quarters until in a strong superiority, and then to fight with dauntless valour. A taste of the real capabilities of the tribesmen was in store for him. But Amiel's estimate of the materials for a *rissala*, and his opinion of the undesirability of recruiting Baluchis for this service, anticipate in an interesting way the conclusions of John Jacob on this subject. Writing fourteen years later, on the Brahuis, Afghans and Pathans considered as recruits for our armies, Jacob makes it clear that his bad opinion of these races as soldiers extends also to the Baluch. He concludes his remarks "Were I proceeding on service against the tribes bordering on our frontier I should consider the real strength of my force to be increased by the absence of such soldiers. They could not be trusted without imminent risk of failure and disgrace." From the first Jacob declined to enlist Baluchis and Afghans in the Sind Irregular Horse, for which he recruited almost exclusively Hindustani Mussulmans.

But to return to our pioneer. In a letter written from Mubarakpur on his return from Thul four days later, Amiel shows his estimate of Jemadar Alief Khan was correct. Some stolen government camels were recovered from Chana, and this worthy claimed them as his own. "These men" (the local population and the Jemadars) says Amiel with resignation "are all related to each other or friends." Raman Burdi was a similar case. In the same letter he reports that the water in the Begari,—then the size of a large '*karia*' and half choked with jungle—had risen again. By the 31st August he was back in Shikarpur, arranging for the security of the *dak* to Bagh, and at length successfully persuading "three miserable Hindoos" to reside at Janidero. His auxiliaries continued their double game. He reports "Sher Mahomed Boordee has patched up a treaty with the Boogtees; only a week hence he offered to march against them with his whole tribe. We shall never get these men to understand us until a few have their brains knocked out; they imagine we fear them, from paying them so well." A report came in that Bijar Khan Dombki had sent his men to Rohjan to levy blackmail on the *dak* once more, and he sent one of the jemadars, Itbar Khan Khyri, from Mubarakpur to seize them. Amiel concludes his letter "I understand the General is taking the field next month. He'll find it very hot work: the plunderers

will keep. I wish he would give me a few auxiliary horse and a six pounder. Without the latter it would be folly as the villages contain enclosures with embrasures for matchlocks. The Time will yet come for our revenge, until which time we must keep quiet."

One piece of information picked up by Amiel on his tour was that some Hindus of Mirpur farmed the trans-desert trade in tobacco, bhang, sweetmeats and cloth from the Hyderabad Government. To stop this would naturally cause loss to the Mirs: but though the banias pretended that they could take security for the sale of these goods on arrival at Chattr exclusively to Hindus, their customers were actually the Jakhranis and Dombkis. The tribesmen were also largely dependant on Sind for grain, the bare hills and the patches of cultivation on their border producing insufficient supplies except in the most favourable seasons: and the Bugtis at least, did not steal all that they needed.

A peaceable visit of some men of this latter tribe to Thul to purchase grain gave Amiel the opportunity of sending Jemadar Abdul Karim from Mubarak and he captured nine tribesmen and several camel loads of corn. In the same letter as this questionable achievement is reported, he records a real success in the capture of a number of prisoners by the expedition to Rojhan referred to above, and requests favourable notice of its leader, Jemadar Itbar Khan Kyheri. Amiel recommended that the fort of Rojhan should again be permanently occupied by foot, not horse, as there was no forage there; the advantage being (obviously) the facility of gaining information of raids, and preventing the freebooters from obtaining water and food after crossing the desert. The Khyri foot were at this time at Khanpur, to protect their own families, as their old enemies had threatened to pay them a visit: doubtless annoyed by the growing strength and influence of the tribe whom they had driven from their ancestral lands, and so into British service. The problem of fodder was even more acute at Barshori, the next stage of the *kafila* route. We have already mentioned this horrible spot, surrounded by thirty miles of desert featureless as a calm sea, where the first disasters overtook Major Newport's convoy at the end of May. A post of twenty men was maintained here for guarding the *dak*. Eastwick who visited Barshori in the following year, writes of it characteristically. "This hole boasts of a chief, whose motto should be 'better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven,' "and this agreeable place, in which the delay of an hour seems protracted to infinite ages." Amiel recommended

that his men there should be given an allowance of Rs. 5 per man, since grain was only obtainable at prohibitive prices.

For some time after his return to Shikarpur Amiel had to give attention to the Western side of his extensive beat. The Jamalis round Rojhan were found to be hand in glove with the raiders from across the desert, and this was the explanation of an incident he recalls from the strenuous days in May which he had spent in vain pursuit of robbers who had stolen camels. "When the Russeldar and myself were come up with them he (Suleman Jamali) called out to the robbers 'you'd better be off, as Itibar Khan and the Khyerees are close behind'—the robbers themselves related this at Minootie." Another prominent man of this tribe Lashkar Khan, explained a suspicious absence from Rojhan by saying that he had been cultivating fields near Minuti; by a strange coincidence, no doubt, the Jammalis and other Baluchis had looted a kafila of Hindus' goods at just that time, in August: and the unfortunate owners had gone to Rojhan to pay the blackmail.

Amiel got information that the Jamalis had concealed their loot at Rojhan in the fort while he was paying a surprise visit to Khangarh on the night of the 10th-11th, when, in addition, he captured eleven Suhriani Khosas. He seems to have laid some of the Rojhan Jamalis by the heels, for on the 12th September he writes "my menagerie is increasing every day:—what is to be done with all these fellows? My trip has proved a good one, not so much from the number of prisoners as the information they have given us. I always doubted the Jamalees, altho' Eastwick called them as well as the Khosas quiet people. What fools the Baloochees must imagine us to be! I should like to hang a few; an example would be very thing; they would then know we were not playing with them. The information against Lushkur Khan is, plundering the kafila mentioned in my letter to Postans, the son of Luskur Khan having (stolen) sixteen camels when Major Newport's detachment marched; these he sold." Amiel concludes "yesterday I was so completely knocked up for want of good for four days that at one time I doubted my ability of riding back again."

A rumour now reached him that the arch free-booter, Bijar Khan, was intending to give himself up, together with Yar Shah, one of the Syeds of Shahpur, whose position at this period seems to have been (under compulsion) *Chursh* to Bijar's unique form of State. Amiel, in anxiety not to lose the fun, says he would like to know the Brigadier's plan of operations.

By this time he was alone in his command, Lieutenant Sinclair his former coadjutor, having been detailed on the much less arduous and more profitable duty of proceeding in charge of a beautiful boat a present to the new Sikh Maharajah Kharak Singh, for the successful performance of which he received, and was allowed by Government to retain, a sword with a jewelled scabbard and a charger! Amiel remained to plough a lonely furrow.

His next trip was to a village called Jalbani, about forty miles west of Shikarpur, where he had heard stolen Government property was concealed. He found the fort and village deserted; a horseman from Shikarpur had communicated news of his visit, giving time to remove everything. One of his Jemadars, Abdul Karim assaulted a man when drunk with bhang. Amiel says "as a soldier I think he would fight like the devil, but these men have not been accustomed to control. . . . I hope by being constantly with them to find out many who have merely entered our service for the purpose of plundering whenever the opportunity occurs, and turning out such will be the most effective way of eradicating the evil."

His words were prophetic ; for his next letter to Bell, dated September 23rd reports a fight between his men under Itbar Khan and some Burdis in Abdur Rahman Burdi's village, which seems to have been a squabble about plunder, though many government camels were recovered. Postans mentions that he went to Mubarakpur to inquire into the circumstances of this outrage, in which the Levy cut up a number of perfectly innocent Burdis; he secured the ringleaders, but they managed to escape. Amiel arrived too late for the fracas, but writes from Mubarakpur two days later that the Levy were quite adepts at plundering and that had dismissed some of them.

More congenial was the task of getting information about the country beyond the northern desert. He says "Bijarkhan Doomki's '*di*' has gone. He wished for an asylum in the Boogie country but Beebruk said no. He then sought out the Murees, but they likewise politely declined the honour. In fact, it merely requires 500 sowars to go across the desert to do for him. . . . the men in this part of the country are in a fine state of subordination, and I'll wager my existence that a sowar of mine shall go from Shikarpore to Dadur without anyone endeavouring to hurt him, always excepting our friends the Doomkies and Jakranees ;but their time is nearly out, and thereafter I anticipate splendid shikar."

Again the over-confidence : what says the Persian proverb ? "When you set out to hunt the deer you should be prepared for the lion." It did not occur to Amiel that possibly he might be the quarry ! The letter continues "Last night a Khyree named Abdulla, a relative of Kamal Khan and Itibah Khan's came from Chuttur and gave himself up to the latter. It appears he was concerned in some robbery and fled to Beeja Khan. He is under restraint but his being a relation prevented me from sending him to Shikarpur as a prisoner ; one man would not swell my list of prisoners and it would be the cause of much 'Badnamee' being attached to Kamal Khan. He has not spoken about the man, and even Itigah Khan is willing to cut his throat should I give the hookum. I think some good information may be derived from keeping him and this is more valuable than his services working in irons."

Such was the first appearance on our stage of the most useful and most faithful auxiliary we had yet gained in this country. As guide to Billamore's expedition, of which more anon, and in 1840 to Brown, Clarke, and Clibborn, his loyalty never wavered even in the face of utter disaster to those he served. Eastwick describes him as "a very handsome young man, with long dark brown ringlets, curling to his shoulders, and hazel eyes.

But we anticipate Amiel's next letter, dated 24th September was addressed to Postans then Assistant Political Agent, Shikarpur. It is in a truculent vein though the Levy had let its commander down badly. The jemadar (Ghulam Khan) and sowars sent to Rojhan to collect the Jamali prisoners improved the shining hour by looting the inhabitants. Of the surrounding Sind villages, collecting a large booty of goats, sheeps, and other property and nearly causing a serious rupture between the British and the Mirs' government. Amiel had now to tell his jemadars that "the first fellow found plundering will be strung up. This I shall carry into execution. It is useful, people who do not know these fellows making (suggestions ?) and giving advice as to your conduct ; they know nothing what it is absolutely necessary to do These chaps are ruled by kindness and tyranny, the first for good men, the latter for rascals. If a man does not obey my hookam I've fifty fellows who'll cut him down, and it is the knowledge of this that makes them fear me I intend administering an oath to the jemadars and men to fish up some concealed property Mr. Bell writes that he wishes for information of the country. To go in it is impossible without being allowed to cross the desert."

To Bell on this same subject of the looters, Amiel writes :—
 “these jemadars were employed from being the first to offer their services to Eastwick”. He also mentions that they had a practice of changing their men without consulting him. As to the state of the country for the rejected expedition against the robbers, he observes “I’m afraid water and grain will totally fail. Even at this time the ‘Begarree’ the largest nullah in this part of the country is nearly dry.”

On the 1st October he reports to Bell “.....heard that the Bugtis were assembling on the Northern edge of the desert, but were deterred from crossing owing to my presence at Mubarick-pur with a detachment of the 3rd Auxiliary Horse,” (which had lately been moved up to Upper Sind and placed under Amiel’s command). “On returning I left men to oppose them in certain villages. They came across on the 30th September and drove off cattle from near Meerpur. Our men followed them over the desert to a watering place near Shahpur, where they left the cattle, which were recovered.”

The hot weather was now almost over. Who, among those who have served in Upper Sind, does not know the thrill of those October mornings and evenings when ‘the breath of winter comes from far away’? And never was it more gladsome than in 1839, for men denied the laurels of Ghazni and the invigorating air of Afghanistan, who had dragged out a miserable existence in tents and sheds in the worst climate in the world, inglorious guardians of commissariat and communications, harassed not only by elusive enemies, but by impossible demands from the Advance, while Brigadier and Political Agent indulged in furious recriminations :—to these the prospects of an expedition gave a piquant relish to the dawning season.

For Amiel, the first earnest of future activity was a requisition from Clibborn, the Brigadier Major at Sukkur, for 150 men to accompany the *dak* to Dhadar—the re-opening of the *kafila* line. But better things were in store. Before we turn to the next phase of the Levy’s activities, it would be as well to pause and see in what estimation they were held by others, before the acid test of real conflict was applied.

Eastwick writes “on the 12th October a body of horse, called the Biluch Corps, arrived with their commander, Lieutenant Amiel. On the principle of ‘*lucus a non lucendo*’ these men were called the Biluch Corps, they being Afghans, Pathans and ~~Kahiris~~ without one Biluch among them. Some of them were

fine looking men: but they were in general mounted on raw nags, that looked as if they had been fed on sand for the last year. Their pay was insufficient—for forage in the desert places where they were employed was dear and scanty—yet they were to pursue the hill robbers, men who pride themselves on the fleetness of their steeds.”

An official report on the Levy was written to Government by Ross Bell on the day following its appearance in Shikarpur, thus described by Eastwick. The plan of raising men through the local chiefs had not worked well, as all but the Khvris were found to be in league with the plunderers, and to be furnishing them with information. An attempt to enlist Afghans from the region of Dera Ghazi Khan had produced only twenty men. Meanwhile Government camels grazing in the neighbourhood of Shikarpur were still being carried off. Amiel had not enough men to do more than protect the daks with escorts, and Government camels had to graze on the Sukkur side of Shikarpur.

Such as it was, however, the Levy was ordered to advance across the desert to clear the way for the regular troops, Postans having previously satisfied himself that supplies would be available as far as Khangarh. On the 15th October Amiel received from Ross Bell orders to proceed from Shikarpur to Mubarakpur, Khangarh, Minuti and Shahpur, sinking wells for a large detachment : to take possession of Shahpur in the name of the British Government, to move on to Chattr and reconnoitre it: and, if a much inferior force was holding the place to blow open the gates, take possession of it, and sink wells. Next day he was furnished with a proclamation to be issued in the villages, occupied by Jakhranis and Dombkis to hand over their lands to Kamal Khan, the Khyrie chief and ci-devant owner of them, and letters addressed to Baloch Khan Dombki at Lahri, Bibrak Khan Bugti, and the Syeds of Shahpur.

The game was afoot.

On the 21st October Amiel was writing from Mubarakpur, and gives his opinion of the force necessary to extirpate the nest of plunderers in Chattr, Phulaji and the neighbourhood. One regiment of Native Infantry, one or two guns and some Irregular Horse would be quite sufficient. The guns were required as “every village has a fort or walled enclosure: usually so badly built that the gateway is exposed and can easily be burst

open." He gives two alternative routes from Shikarpur to Shahpur with full details of water and other supplies available and continues "Eighty Khyree foot in Khangarh will be useful in getting the guns across the desert. If some Irregular Horse could be assembled to the north of Phulajee and advance from thence, it would prevent the plunderers from fleeing in that direction. When the roads to the North and West are closed, the hills to the East where the Boogties reside cannot afford the shelter long, even supposing Beeburuk the Chief would so far incur the risk of two-fold vengeance from our Government as to give the plunderers an asylum within his territory. Of this there is little probability, the latest accounts stating that on Beeja Khan's wishing to proceed in that direction he was not allowed to do so.

"It is not to be expected that a band of plunderers will fight for the country they now have possession of, altho' the chief might wish to do so. His want of wealth and authority over the lawless set who have nominally acknowledged him as leader (from the situation of the country he at present possesses being, from its proximity to Sinde, the most eligible from which they might sally out to plunder the inhabitants dwelling on this side of the desert) will preclude his making any great resistance. This is supposing a Force marched against them. Against a detachment of Irregular Horse they might so far forget themselves as to retire to one of the numerous forts; in that case a blockade for a few days, or the arrival of a gun, would unkennel them.

"When the infantry have possession of Chuttur and Phulajee the Irregular Horse and Belooche Levy will have to rout them out of the hills and strongholds they will fly to. To do this effectually I would recommend that a galloper gun be attached to the Belooche Corps an outpost might be sent to Bagh, to close that way of escape. The Chandis and Mugsis might be made useful; it would put their friendship to the test, and they themselves at the same time prevented from plundering the country which I fear will be their principal occupation, and make their enmity towards the Jekranees and Doombkis increase as the opportunity of partaking largely of their plunder, without great danger to themselves, and at the same time being revenged on their enemies, presents itself should the first town we possess ourselves of be protected from plunder, the inhabitants will remain and others who have fled return; and no doubt the country will in a short time again become as flourishing and populous as it is represented to have been before the Jekranees and Doombkis obtained possession of it."

Here we have Amiel spreading himself in his quasi-political capacity :—sanguine, full of ideas based on imperfect knowledge, and jumping to conclusions. But he did not neglect the practical side of his duty, to prepare the route to be followed by the regular troops. In a letter written on the same day he reports having sent 28 cart-loads of flour to Khangarh, and the arrival of 29 in Mubarakpur. For "kurbee," juari crops that had withered for want of water were being purchased. Wheels were needed to work the wells in these two places while he had cleaned out that in the fort at Mubarakpur, as the soil was such that 'kacha' wells could not be dug in it.

Meanwhile the enemy were not idle. Ross Bell, on his arrival at Shikarpur on the 22nd, was met with the news that Bijar Khan Dombki, with Darya Khan and Turk Ali Jakhranis, the robber triumvirate had crossed the desert from Phulaji *via* Barshori, north and west of Amiel's line of march, devastating the western and cultivated tracts of Kachhi, plundering the villages and destroying the wells as they went along ; while the local authorities of Mehrab Khan of Kelat removed all the grain to the western hills, extorting money from the inhabitants and preparing to cut the green crops. Amiel was ordered to push on towards Phulaji, to attempt to cut off the raiders. But it was too late. On the 24th he writes from Khangarh that Kamal Khan with his Khyeris and others, in all 287 strong, had started for Minuti, and that he was following next day. But the robbers had returned from the raid with their accustomed celerity and had partially filled up the wells at Minuti. He continues "Reports say that they are mustering at Shahpur : return we cannot, and all I require is the 6-pounder in front of the quarter-guard at Shikarpore : Down's men in the left flank (company) know how to use it, and the very knowledge of its having started will do more than Major Billamore bringing, slowly, 50 howitzers. With men like the plunderers every thing depends on advancing. If we remain in Shahpoor many days without any appearance of a Force coming from Shikarpore report says they'll muster in force. I've a few locals, and altogether with me, with Khyheree horse and foot, 403. I care for the rascals, but neither water or juaree is procurable at Minoutee, so on we go. 24-pounders are difficult things to get over the desert : had a six-pounder been here this morning the Khyerees would have taken it on even if obliged to drag it themselves."

Amiel duly pushed on from Minuti, after taking possession of the place in the name of the British Government and seeing that water for 500 men was available ; and leaving Jemadar Alif

Khan with a few men in Shahpur, was in Chattr on the 18th. He found the plunderers had retired on Phulaji, after failing in an attempt to destroy the wells at Chattr, and so determined to follow them up, after reassuring the inhabitants. He now was able to attend to his other instructions, and in a second letter reports that Baluch Khan, the Dombki Chief, had not yet made his appearance, though Inayat Shah (one of the Syeds of Shahpur) with Mir Hassan, later to earn notoriety, had been despatched "So that Biburruk may be assured of one faith, a thing these men have not been accustomed to I made his minister a present of 100 Rupees which I hope you'll approve of ; it may induce the Boogties to bring in provisions for our troops. The bazar at Shahpore is getting on famously, and I've no doubt in a few days this will be a second Burlington Arcade."

Ross Bell wrote back from his camp at Kunda, west of Barshori that no presents should be sent to any Bugti or Dombki:—the British Government was not going to bribe these plunderers ! They were being offered a pardon on terms, and Amiel was directed not to enter into any engagements with them.

The march of Major Billamore with the Force which had been detailed for the duty of suppressing or exterminating the robber tribes were delayed by lack of carriage, and Amiel's impatience daily grew. His letter to Bell dated 31st October, shows sign of having been written in great excitement.

Darya Khan Jakhrani and his freebooters had looted Phulaji presumably having given up hope of holding the place, made off on the appearance of the Levy. Amiel writes ".....until the infantry arrive they cannot be hunted out.....Itibah Khan and Abdul Hulleem had a skirmish at Phulajee with Darya Khan: the wounded were only two horses. The Jekranees are wandering about and come to the nullah for water. I took a sweep round the country this morning without being fortunate enough to come on any of the rascals.....Belooch Khan has not made his appearance, nor has our friend Biburuk. The fact is, Major Billamore and the guns are long on the road : had I commanded the detachment every man should have carried two seers of flour and I'd have crossed the desert and pushed on. Our Field-officers are mere old women, and I do not expect the pultan for week".

This was coming in rather strong. Amiel's temperament was naturally self-confident, and from the beginning of his correspondence with Ross Bell he had been on terms of intimacy to

which the Political Agent admitted few of his subordinates. He was riding for a fall. The delay was exasperating: but Billamore was not to blame. Amiel writes next day that Baluch Khan had appeared, and had been assured as to the maintenance of his position. He continues "I am going to Shahpore for the purpose of getting Major Billamore to leave 25 men at that place. Beeja Khan is piling up stores and making preparations: these infantry are very slow. Billamore halted at Minoutie in consequence of something going wrong among the guns. If they do not push on I shall try my fate alone: had the pultan been a little faster Phulajee might have been in some measure saved".

The Political Agent was just then making strenuous efforts to collect grain for the expedition. As already observed, the Khan of Kelat's minions in Kachhi were doing their best to remove the crops before the British could get at them. Ross Bell sent his Assistant, K. J. Brown, to stop this; and with a troop of the 1st Light Cavalry he surprised the Khan's naib, Mahamed Amin, and arrested him. This had a good effect: the crops were saved, though the stored grain had been removed. "This country," says Bell in his report to the Government of India, "has been for years past in a state of anarchy, and latterly the tyranny of Mehrab Khan's naibs has been such that upwards of three-quarters of the population have migrated to Sind". Major Newport, who had remained in command of the depot of Dhadar after his desert ordeal in May and June, was also collecting supplies for the force.

Billamore at length arrived at Chattr and Amiel heard from him that he had asked for the services of Lieutenant Vardon and the detachment of Light Cavalry recently come to Upper Sind. This did not fall in with Amiel's views on the subject, and he writes to Bell "as the rascals would not face us in the plains in the first instance there's very little likelihood of their showing themselves in sufficient force to require regulars: they are never in that compact body that a charge would disperse them. What we require are a few infantry to knock them out of the hills. Vardon's horse among mountains would be useless, and only increase the quantity of commissariat stores.....should the detachment under Vardon join the head-quarters of the Regiment. I should feel obliged by your obtaining permission and allowing him to do duty with me. He is anxious to do so, and leaving the Regiment will be no loss as he has not charge of a troop. By having someone to look after accounts and other things I should have time to explore the country, find out and pursue plunderers, etc."

This was written on the 18th November, and it is amusing to read Billamore's view of the case. Jacob tells us that Billamore hated writing:—to such an extent that his only report on his successful campaign was a verbal one. However, when he did write it was to some purpose, as will be gathered from a letter addressed to Ross Bell from Phulaji one day after Amiel's.

"I beg to urge the necessity of Lieutenant Vardon's cavalry joining me as speedily as possible, as with them I can reconnoitre the country and obtain much better knowledge of it than from the Balooch Horse: indeed the only information I have as yet gained has been from the European Officers with me, who for two successive mornings have been to the hills to examine them and to report, as to the practicability of carrying guns amongst them; and the report, as far as they were able to go, was favourable for that purpose. With the Cavalry I can penetrate much further, and being under discipline they will be less likely to be observed than a set of men whose only object appears to be galloping about the country without bringing me any intelligence that I can rely on...."

Amiel, however, continued in his complacency. It is necessary to mention that his command was altogether independent of Billamore's; and this fact, coupled with a strong probability that their relations when serving with the regiment—for both were officers of the 1st Grenadiers—had not been of the best, explains the friction, which was soon to have an unfortunate effect. On the 10th, Amiel reports the country between the edge of the desert of the hills as quiet, though he suspected that the plunderers were lying up in the juari fields by day. When the harvest came they would have to leave the plains. Meanwhile Captain Raitt, Billamore's second in command, arrested Baluch Khan Dombki, presumably under the impression that he was connected with Bijar Khan; and Amiel had the satisfaction of correcting this error. Ahmed Khan, a son of Bibrak, the Bugti Chief, had come in and acknowledged himself the subject of the British Government, undertaking to seize the property and families of Jakhranis in Bugti territory, and treat the plunderers as enemies, and even offering to accompany Amiel with fifty horse men. Amiel does not vouchsafe an opinion on the value of these asseverations. Next day he writes "...I am continually wandering about between this (Chattr) and the hills, but have not been lucky enough to fall in with any of them. My own men as yet have not recovered the funk; the sight of a Jakranee puts them out. I should like to flesh them...the only fear of the Doombkies and Jakranees escaping is their proceeding

to Rojhan to the east of the hills into the Seik country: I shall write to Dost Khan Chief of the Muzzarees and likewise the Seik authorities....Inayat Shah and Doulat Shah came here with Ahmed Khan Boogtie, the former having proceeded to Trukkee with Meer Hussan to satisfy Beeburuk regarding our good faithafter Beeja Khan's flight people have come back to the country: I am making Kamal Khan make a list of them, disarming them for the present, they say they are cultivators, but probably many are plunderers.....I find great difficulty in obtaining information regarding the Murree country, few people having proceeded into a country where neither food nor habitation is procurable."

And now at last the opportunity of 'fleshing' the Levy came.

Amiel arrived on the morning of the 13th November off Phulaji, where Billamore was encamped. What followed may be told in the words of his official report to Ross Bell.

"About 11 o'clock intelligence was brought in that some camels were being driven off. I immediately mounted and went after the plunderers. After going about a mile I was informed that infantry and horsemen were in my front. This was afterwards contradicted, only eight horsemen showing themselves. I continued to advance in the direction of the hills, the—Khyerees having under Itbah Khan gone on in advance. I was to the right with the Russuladar, one duffadar and ten sowars of the 3rd Bengal Local Horse, and about 30 sowars under Duffadar Syed Ghoolam Shah.

"Seeing some horsemen edging off to the right, I concluded them to be the horsemen supposed to have driven off the camels. I therefore moved at a quick pace to the right, and seeing the Khyerees draw up thought the horsemen had escaped into the hills, and went on: but I suddenly found myself within shot of at least 500 infantry and many horsemen. I called to the Khyerees to assemble round me and to open a fire retiring towards Phoolajee, as the Grenadiers and guns were coming up. The Khyerees from the quick pace they had come at once dispersed and I could not get them to assemble round me or open fire to stop the enemy, who continued to advance. I am sorry to say the Khyerees not behaving as I thought they would, I was obliged to retreat at a good pace towards Phoolajee, during which two of the Local Horse were killed and two wounded, 8 of Duffadar

Ghoolam Shah's men, and I believe 15 Khyerees. I have now no reliance on the Khyerees and shall bring the detachment of the 3rd Local Horse on here.

"I heard yesterday that Ahmed Khan Boogtie, dissatisfied with the manner I received him, had sent two men to Dodah Muree for the purpose of combining the Murees, Boogties and Jekranees to meet us. I therefore hope as these men have come into the plains and the Khyerees have behaved so ill, not having supported me in the least, you'll despatch Lieutenant Vardon with the Cavalry and a few Local Horse, if able to spare them, with the least possible delay."

Thus Amiel in one of his rare official despatches to Bell. A demi-official written the same day is almost illegible. "I am sorry to say the Khyerees unknowingly took me into a complete ambush, and my fellows have suffered in consequence. However, I cannot *rely* on my Levy. And therefore earnestly entreat that Vardon and cavalry and some local Horse may be sent—this cutting up my men will fill them with (illegible) that the camels will be the next they'll attack. I cannot from excitement write much, but of this be assured, that my Levy are useless, the Khyerees especially so—and should some Local Horse not come as soon as possible, the plunderers will cut up our line of communication. The ambush was well planned, I was close to the foot-men without seeing them—what could I do with ten Locals ?——"

Alas for Amiel and his fond hopes of hunting down by himself Bijar Khan and his rascals, thus showing the plodding Regulars the value of mobility ! He had overtaken the infantry at a smart pace on his way out, but this had been nothing to the speed of his men on their return in full flight. Bitterly must he have regretted his easy resignation to the impossibility of instilling real discipline into the Levy: it was as though the six months of his command had gone for nothing, in spite of all his energy and care. Worst of all, his discomfiture had taken place under the eyes of brother officers of the 1st Grenadiers.

As to other narratives of the affair, Jacob is restrained if sardonic : Eastwick says "his (Amiel's) men at once turned bridle and rode for dear life. The enemy hotly chased them and slew more than a fourth of their number. One of Amiel's native A. D. C's caught his bridle and turned his horse round; the ten Puna horsemen kept close to him, and this small party retired

with less precipitation, and in better order than the rest. 'Who was that on the white horse?' said Bijar, after the skirmish was over. On being told that it was the Faringhi officer, he observed 'Well for him that I knew it not, or his grey horse should not have saved him, fleet though it was.'

Two days later the chastened commander of the Levy reports his loss as 21 men killed. There was in addition other matter to justify pessimism. Phulaji, after its partial destruction by Bijar Khan, could not be occupied in any strength: Amiel had failed to establish a bazaar there, and any Horse stationed in the place would have to be fed by the commissariat: on the other hand the Baluchis having swept the country of grain were living on "juari, pounded gram, and other luxuries." He recommends that posts of Native Infantry be established at Shahpur, Chattr, Phulaji and Lahri for their protection from plunderers if a Force proceeded into the hills.

He had meanwhile found out a little more about the Marri country, and observes that "Kahun is spoken of as a town with a fort and bazar: should this prove to be the case, to effectually eradicate the marauders, a strong detachment of Native infantry must be stationed there, or the place destroyed." He proceeds "I am informed by Eastwick in Hyderabad that Lieutenant Clarke is coming to join me with a detachment of the Kutch Horse. I believe Major Billamore intends remaining here until joined by Vardon and some local Horse. In fact, should these fellows continue there is no knowing the result. They are not sufficiently aware of the celerity a musket can be loaded with to fear a rush. Report says a night attack is their favourite plan. Two or three thousand making it upon as many hundreds is a ticklish affair. Major Billamore despises the idea. I however feel the sepoys may not be as steady as he imagines they will: his never having seen a shot fired has not added to his experience."

Though all his confidence was gone, Amiel's spite against the man destined to avenge this and all the former insults and losses we had sustained at the hands of the marauders was inflamed—and a few days later we find more than a glimmering of the reason. He writes from Phulaji on the 20th November "At present I am perfectly useless; my sowars are in the towns and villages for the protection of the inhabitants, and my force at present in Phulaji is 60 Khyerees and 80 Patans: these must remain for the protection of the place. To proceed with Major Billamore is quite impossible: not only has he told me to keep my

cowardly rascals in the fort, but will not allow any of them to proceed with me should I go into the hills with him, altho' he wished for my only support, the 24 sowars of the 3rd Locals. Brown tells me it is your intention to continue my Corps. I would recommend that an alteration be commenced as soon as possible. The poneyes on 15 rupees a month altho' adapted for convoys guards and daks are perfectly useless in war. In an advance they remain behind and in retreating they are cut up by the enemy.

"I require for a commencement two or three from the Local Horse as jamadars and russuldars; they having been subject to discipline and knowing what is required from sowars will gradually instil a little discipline into the men under them. We cannot expect that those jemadars who have been in different service for years, in which running away or plundering were not considered crimes will be strict and look after their men". He asks for the transfer of a son of the Rissaldar of the 3rd Locals and proceeds to other topics "As it is your wish that the Murrees should be driven down from the north I should like for (sic) your permission to proceed to Seebee and collect a couple of hundred Kujuks. By all accounts these men are good irregular soldiers, and fear not my friends in the hills" (the saying was 'Marri mi nazed ba koh, wa kajjak ba maidan'—Let the Marri go boast on his hills, the Kajjak will hold the plain country)—"report says there are two roads from the north to Kahun, one from Lheree, the other further to the north. It is only by surrounding these brutes we can effectually exterminate them. Infantry, except by night, they'll not attack. Regular cavarly are not the thing for the hills, requiring too much commissariat stores. The Kujuks we might dismiss whenever the work was over; I might be useful collecting grain, etc., which I'm told is procurable from Seebee.

"Meer Hussen, Biburuk's minister, is here and denies that any Boogties were present when my men were cut up.....I am much afraid the men in the hills will get grain from the Seik territories when ever pressure from the West and North is great: if I am to remain here I hope you will place 100 of Skinner's Horse under my command that I may make myself useful."

Next day Amiel received from Bell an official directing him, in view of his report of the uselessness of most of his men, to strike the Khyeris off the strength, now that their chief Kamal Khan had been restored to his lands. He was to select dependable men and give them to Billamore, while the remainder of

the Levy could be disbanded at Shikarpur. These orders were rather more drastic than Amiel had bargained for. With regard to the Khyeris, he replies that they would be struck off the Baluch Levy from the 22nd: but asks that four men should be retained. Two of them were wounded, and had killed two Jakh-ranis during his stay at Chattr. The third Jan Mahomed, was the man who had come up and caught hold of his horse's head when the others ran away, entreating him not to remain as he was forsaken by the rest. Similarly Itbar Khan had stood by him, and was well known as a brave man.

The upshot seems to have been that the Political Agent changed his mind and acquiesced in the continuance of the levy. He was in fact embarrassed by the difficulty of getting supplies for the Force, and by developments naturally following upon Amiel's failure, as is evident from a letter addressed to his Assistant, E. J. Brown, dated from Bagh, November 19th.

"I have written letters to Dodah Murree and Beebuck Boogtie urging them to come and meet me; and have informed them that should they fail to do this five days after the receipt of my letter, and to disperse the large bands of their tribes which are in arms and ravaging the country, they will be treated as enemies. Should they themselves come or send messengers to you, be so good as to receive them with civility and request them to join my camp via Bagh. In this case you will send a letter and trustworthy person along with them. So long as the crops are not gathered in it is an object of the first importance to prevent them from being destroyed by the plundering tribes. It is also absolutely necessary that all the posts from Minoutie to Lehree should be held so as to secure the safety of the communication between Bagh and Rojhan.

"I have just learned that a considerable body of well-armed Horse have passed this morning through Jhunoo, a village about half-way between Kasim-ka-Joke and Phoollajee. The Marauders therefore besides getting in the rear of the post at Phoollajee are hovering near the highroad along which our convoys pass. Until the crops are cut I consider that it would be exceedingly inexpedient to have the posts of Lheree, Phoollajee, Chuttr, Shahpur and Minoutie without adequate protection. It will afterwards be more easy for cavalry to act with effect, and a more efficient body of Horse will be at Major Billamore's disposal. Two Rissallahs of Skinner's Horse may be expected at Sukkur every day, as well as the same number of Local Cavalry from

Lower Sind. I shall write and request Brigadier Gordon to send them to Major Billamore as soon as they arrive.

He proceeds to give in detail the arrangements he had made with the Military authorities to secure Kachhi by Cavalry posts, so as to allow Billamore to act with the whole of the infantry.

Amiel's next letter to Bell, dated from Chattr the 23rd November, gives his proposals for the future organisation of the Baluch Levy. He advised that the material should be drawn from "Afghans, Patans, Purdesees and Seiks", that a Headquarters should be established, and the men encamped in the plains and taught to move together and gradually assimilate discipline. He continues "I must here state my firm conviction of the inutility of employing Belooches; they appear to have no other thought except plundering. To discipline them would be impossible." He suggests that the sowars' pay should be raised from Rs. 20 per mensem to Rs. 25, as the Bengal Local Horse (the Irregular Cavalry, a detachment of which were under his command were paid at the rate of Rs. 30.) As to their equipment, the Balooche Corps might be dressed in green ankrekahs, red turbans and waist-bands. The front rank armed with spears and swords, rear ranks swords and carbines. I recommend carbines from their being the most efficient weapon with which a horseman can be armed; in skirmishing it is loaded with celerity, its range is quite sufficient and it is always ready. . . . a pistol . . . would complete their efficiency." He ends by urging that the corps be put on a proper Irregular Horse basis.

The main interest in these proposals is that once more Amiel is anticipating even in some matters of detail Jacob's organization of the force which was destined to succeed in the work in which the Baluch Levy failed—the Sind Irregular Horse. In regard to the composition of his regiments, indeed, Jacob, as we have already observed, rejected Afghans and Pathans as well as Baluchis, and after experimenting with Sikhs discarded them by degrees. He swore by the Hindustani Mussulman—the "Purdsee" mentioned by Amiel. With regard to their equipment, Jacob writing in 1847 describes the dress of his Horse as "a dark green 'alkelug' (tunic) white drawers, jack boots, red pugree and 'kumer bund' while as to arms he says "with regard to the arms of Irregular cavalry, after many trials, I am certain that the native sword and a good percussion carbines are the only weapons for use save that the officers and duffedars may carry pistols—the lance is in my opinion (formed after considerable

experience of its use both in the chase and in battle) useless for Light Cavalry.

Amiels' reorganization scheme was pigeon-holed for the time being; "a more efficient body of Horse being at Major Billamore's disposal." This was the detachment of the Cutch Horse,—the nucleus of the Sind Irregular Horse—which under Lieutenant Walpole Clarke had been rushed up to Kachhi. Amiel writes to Bell in dudgeon that Clarke is serving directly under Major Billamore (he had hoped, as we have seen, that he would himself be placed in command of any cavalry detachment sent in support) while he had to remain in Shahpur to protect the inhabitants. He thus missed the brilliant affair in the Tegaf valley, in which Clarke, with greatly inferior numbers, succeeded in killing fifty of Bijar Khan's horsemen.

Preparations for the advance of the field-force were being hurried on, and on the 24th November Major Newport at Dhadar reported to Bell that he had collected the necessary supplies. Jacob, when writing the history of the campaign some twelve years later, says with regard to its commissariat with "little or no assistance from either the Military or Civil authorities at headquarters these arrangements were admirably made by the officers of the force" which statement, doubtless made in good faith and in ignorance of the efforts made by Ross Bell in circumstances of great difficulty, does scant justice to the political officers. In fact though Jacob's Memoir, in view of the extreme paucity of other materials, must remain the authority for this campaign, it is inaccurate in several particulars; probably on account of its having been written from memory so long afterwards, when most of the officers who took part in it were dead. But we are at present concerned only with the events leading up to Billamore's operations in the hills.

Amiel, though relegated to Shahpur, was not confined to purely garrison duty. He writes to Billamore on the 25th that while in pursuit that morning of over a hundred Jakhranis and Dombkis he learned that they were assembling in strength, and had driven off some camels belonging to the Syed which were grazing near the town, the numbers of his force being known to them; and on these grounds asks for a reinforcement of "at least 50 of the Kutch Horse." Billamore took prompt action on this information, and the successful engagement at Uch was the sequel. But again Amiel and his men took no part in this affair. A few days later he reports in a letter to Bell the return of a spy from the hills with the intelligence that Bijar Khan and Darya

Khan were encamped at Sarab and that they intended paying him a visit when the dark nights set in and the Risala—the detachment of 250 of Skinner's Horse now under Amiel's command—had departed. Once more he found himself exceedingly in want of flour; the Hindus told him that the hills were full of it, having been compelled by Bijar Khan to bring it there across the desert from Sind!

The Politicals were still engaged in collecting supplies, and, as Jacob puts it, "making up their minds as to what further should be done." At last a decision was reached. On November 28th Ross Boll writes from Shikarpur to Lieutenant Pastans directing him to proceed to Phulaji and there take up the political duties of Northern Kachhi, enclosing his correspondence with Billamore, Amiel, and Erskine, with the first of whom Pastans was to communicate! The Political Agent writes "As the time within which Dodah Murree and Beebruk had the option of joining me and professing submission to Shah Shoojah's authority, on condition of forgiveness for their past crimes, has expired, it will be proper that you should in concert with Major Billamore take measures for reducing both tribes to subjection. Any opposition will of course be forcibly suppressed by the Military authorities, but should Dodah Murree and Beebruk offer to place themselves in your hands, you are requested to suspend hostilities and merely to leave a sufficiently strong party at Kahun and Deyrah to keep possession of both places. In the event of Dodah and Beebruk acting in the manner referred to, be so good as to send them to my camp under an escort sufficient to prevent their escape, though not nominally as prisoners."

A further period of grace seems, however, to have been given; probably partly because the commissariat arrangements for the Force were still incomplete, while movement into the hills was scarcely practicable in uncertainty of the Bugti Chief's intentions. Bibrak Khan's position was in fact critical. There might have been a possibility of avoiding or delaying by negotiations the political issue—his subjection to Shah Shuja—but this was only one of the objects which had brought the British Force to Phulaji. Bijar Khan, Darya Khan and Turk Ali had taken shelter in his country, and were playing a game of hide-and-seek with the cavalry on the border-line. To disown them, when the British had more than an inkling of his real relations with the predatory bands, was not enough: to get rid of them impossible. Many anxious Jirgas must have been held, and urgent messages passed to and fro, behind the curtain of the hills, before Bibrak decided to give in, which he did at length on the 19th December,

Amiel, writing to Bell on that date : says 'Postans has gone to Chuttuh where Beeburuk Boogtie has made his appearance. Major Billamore has not moved into the hills. Ere receiving the hookum he was all anxiety, yet immediately on receipt of it he finds himself deficient in grain....I heard this morning that Major Billamore leaves this for Sukkur on sick certificate. He wrote to Postans that the Political bubble had at last burst'. What he means I know not: no doubt on his arrival he will make up some good story". Amiel's old enmity against Billamore now appears in his willingness to believe any rumour to his discredit, and the immediate cause of this outburst seems to be explained in another letter written to Bell on the same day. He had heard that his own ill-success against the marauders had been canvassed in very equivocal terms over the whist-tables in Sukkur, and mentioning the imputation he says truculently "Luckily some fellows are yet alive who know instead of not resenting an affront, I have generally, at least sometimes, asked for explanations when no affronts were intended"; and a few days later "I am glad you exonerated me from the charge of having quietly submitted to be insulted without demanding satisfaction". When his own conduct in the presence of the enemy was the subject of mirth at Headquarters, the maiden success of the Commander of the Field Force at Uch must have rankled with double virulence. Ross Bell was naturally sympathetic on the question of honour: his own was so tender that six months previously he had challenged Brigadier Gordon to a duel.

The Baluch Levy continued its patrolling under difficulties, and Amiel resumed the informal tone of his correspondence with his chief on every subject:—"Beer, the Parsee writes, is "no go". If such a thing was procurable my existence might be lengthened for some days"...."I hear you have been kind enough to get the services of Vardon for 'naukeree' with me in this nice country. Should it be the case, do not allow him to get into the Shikarpore bazar, but despatch the boy to me under an escort. I assure you employment shall not be wanting for him."

But he left Bibrak Khan awaiting the Sarcar's pleasure at Chattr, where Postans found him on the 19th December. He writes to Bell on the 21st "on my arrival at Chuttur on the 19th instant, I found the Boogtie Chief with the influential men of that tribe awaiting me, and in the course of a lengthened conference at which Meer Fatteh Khaun was present I fully explained to Biburuk the terms on which alone he and his tribe could expect pardon from the British Government for their past offences, and its protection and countenance for the future. These

have hitherto been fully acceded to. The Minister of the Chief, Meer Hussan, remains with me, and under the guidance of a confidential agent Sheer Mahomed brother of Meer Hussan, a detachment will march on Deirah from this place to-morrow morning.

"Ukhtar Khaun, a Vakeel from Dodah Khaun the Murree Chief arrived in my camp yesterday. The Chief himself is represented as too old and infirm to visit me but has delegated the above Vakeel with full powers to attend to any order he may receive from the servants of the British Government. A detachment will leave Fullajee for Kahun via Lehree to-morrow morning. Confidential agents from Dodah Khaun remain with me. I have directed Beburack to send one of his sons, Islam Khaun or Chandu Khaun, without any delay, in order that I may be enabled to depute a sufficiently confidential person from the Boogtie tribe to you, and have also called upon Dodah Khaun to lose no time in doing the same on the part of the Murrees.

"But I beg leave to bring to your notice that the distrust and apprehension of these men is so great, that I find it most difficult to induce them to believe that we do not practise the same perfidy and treachery which distinguish their own intercourse on all occasions : my promises of safety when proceeding to and from Sukkur are evidently received with distrust, and the point is one that I shall have some difficulty in carrying ; but the detachment in the heart of the hills cannot fail to have a salutary effect.

"I have strictly enjoined on the Military authorities the necessity of inspiring these lawless tribes with all possible confidence in our good faith and moderation, by abstaining from the slightest approach to severity towards the two who now evince a friendly disposition ; that supplies when furnished are to be scrupulously paid for, and every conciliatory measure pursued towards a people, with whom we are now for the first time brought in contact, in order that their first impressions of us may be favourable, and induce a feeling of respect rather than fear. On the other hand I have fully explained to the Murree and Boogtie tribes that they may rest assured that in the occupation of their capitals no violence against the peaceably disposed of their subjects is in any way intended, and that the troops have orders only to offer resistance to those who may oppose them ; the Vakeels themselves are security for the safe conduct to the detachments to Kahun and Deirah as far as the respective tribes are concerned ; and that supplies according to the capabilities of the country are to be forth-coming, for which fair remuneration will be made.

"I have verbally informed Major Billamore that he will use every exertion to destroy any parties of Doomkies or Jekhranees whom he may meet in the hills, providing at the same time for a strict espionage being kept between this place and Lehree over the passes to the hills from which it is more than probable the marauders will issue.

"Duryah Khan has, I believe, presented himself at Shahpore, and Toorkali is on the point of coming in. I have directed Amiel to send them under a sufficient escort to me Bejar Khaun has made the most humble appeals through Meer Futtch Khaun to be allowed to come in, but I have replied that the same must be unconditional and that I had no power to offer terms." The memorandum of instructions for Major Billamore reproduces the substance of this report. It also mentions that "Abdullah Khyheree may be usefully employed in giving information respecting the haunts of the marauders"—one of Amiel's best men was thus lost to him.

The curtain now rose on the first and most successful campaign of the British in these hills. Its first-fruits were gathered in before it had really begun, as will be seen from Postans' next report, dated 23rd December 1839.

"The troops at this place marched yesterday morning upon Deirah and Kahun, the former accompanied by a gun and Irregular Horse and commanded by Major Billamore, the latter consisting of about 200 infantry and 50 Irregular Horse under Captain Raitt I myself accompanied Major Billamore's detachment for the first march, and thus have had an opportunity of observing how truly formidable the passes of these hills would have proved to our troops had the tribes who infest them continued hostile.

"I beg leave also to report that Durya Khaun, Toorkali, Jaunee and all the noted leaders of the Kekhranees have thrown themselves unconditionally on the mercy of the British Government. Durya Khaun, Jaunee and some twelve of the heads of the robber bands are now in my camp; Toorkali is with Lieutenant Amiel at Shahpore. Durya Khaun is the acknowledged head of the Jekhranees, and confesses that he and Bejaour Khaun have been the greatest offenders against the peace of the country but that the Doomkies and Jekhranees were on all occasions assisted to a certain extent by the Murces and Boogties, who took their share in the spoil. That Government property to a large amount has been sold out of the country and that portions **only now remain in the hills,**

"The most active freebooter in the Jekranee tribe is Jaunee noted throughout the country for his daring and the swiftness of his mare. It was this man who, I knew, had been annoying the country near Shahpore, whom we unsuccessfully pursued, and who confesses to have killed the three sowars reported in my private note of the 14th in retaliation for seven of his own band who fell to the swords of the Irregular Horse under Lieutenant Clarke at Goorgon. The whole amount of armed and mounted men under the Jekranee leaders is stated by Durya Khaun at one hundred and forty, and he has them completely under his direction.

"On the occasion of these outlaws coming into my presence I distinctly told them that I could only be answerable for their lives whilst in camp, but that their persons must be considered in custody, and that their future disposal must depend on the pleasure of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India at your orders; without recapitulation of the conference it is only necessary to observe that Durya Khaun on the part of himself, Toork Ali and the whole tribe acknowledged a long course of rapine and excess, but that in the power of the British Government alone would he have placed the disposal of his own and followers' lives, because he trusted in its mercy and hoped that notwithstanding the enormities he had committed, he might be allowed to become security for the future peaceable conduct of himself and his tribe, and prove by their future acts their determination to abandon from henceforward their lawless practices and to be taken under any circumstances or restrictions into the service of the British Government; but that he well knew how little right he had to expect such clemency: and whether his proposals were acceded to, or the lives of himself and followers demanded as an act of justice, he was prepared to submit to the will and pleasure of the British Government, as shown in his unconditional surrender.

My advice to these outlaws has been to lose no time in taking every possible opportunity of recovering Government property from the hill-tribes; that the enormous amount of loss for which they were responsible stood as a formidable obstacle to their pardon; to call in, disarm and dismount their band, for any fresh instances of plunder by the Jekhrances would be visited on the leaders, and render their chances of escape still more distant: in short, to prove immediately as their only hope that they were sincere in their professions.

"Durya Khaun has represented that he and Bejaur Khaun have been companions in guilt, so he would wish they should

share in whatever may now befall him. That the Domkie Chief only asked for the safety of his life whilst in my camp, and his meeting no molestation in proceeding to it. His future disposal being left to your authority, I have granted my purwanah 'that the Domkie Chief's life if he surrenders is safe whilst with me, but that his doing so must be unconditional, and his future disposal left entirely to the pleasure of the Political Agent in Upper Sindh.' Bejar Khaun will be in my camp in the course of a day or two.

"Referring to the correspondence between yourself and Brigadier Gordon which has been kindly forwarded for my perusal, and the statement put forth by me in my letters of the 16th and 17th instant, I beg leave to point out that late events have, I submit, proved the correctness of the opinions I advanced, on the advantage likely to arise from speedy operations, and the danger of the delay of two months which the want of supplies and commanding arrangements had occasioned. No sooner did the outlaws see our determination in spite of all opposition to enter the hills than they simultaneously surrendered to our terms. And the movement on Ouch, Deirah and Khaun (which getting supplies from Khangar we were enabled to make) have had the effect of at once bringing affairs to a favourable crisis in this direction. But for the causes before referred to, I have no hesitation in asserting that the same would have been the case a month earlier. Our remaining inactive has put the Government to unnecessary expense and public servants have incurred the risk of reprehension for a lack of activity which did not exist.

"I will only add that the troops have now marched with the smallest possible amount of supplies, and are yet mainly dependent on what Deirah and Khaun may provide. I trust in my next to report favourably on the passage of the detachments through the defiles to Kahun and Deirah. I propose to see things on a secure footing in these districts and then to bring to you at Sukkur the Vakeels from the Murree and Boogties, with the Chiefs of the Doomkies and Jekranee tribes. Were I to send the latter prisoners now, I should incur the risk of unnecessarily alarming these outlaws, and it is of some moment at present to keep everything quiet, until our position shall have placed matters beyond a doubt of their stability."

The Force destined to achieve this end, and present the Politicals with a fair field for 1840, have vanished into the hills, and Amiel was left behind at Shahpur. He writes to Bell on the 27th December "On the evening of the 24th the report of guns

was heard, and no doubt the detachment under Major Billamore has had a skirmish. The report in the bazar is that Beeja Khan was at Deraah when the detachment arrived, that they attacked and killed old Beeja, Beeburuk through fright has betaken himself to Trukkee some time will elapse ere the true account reaches us." The rumour was not true : Bilamore did not reach Dera Bugti till the 31st ; but we are not concerned with the history of the Hill campaign, and it is time to take leave of Amiel and his men.

The Baluch Levy continued under Amiel's command for more than a year, but his scheme for reconstituting it on an Irregular Horse or regimental basis was dropped, and its duties were restricted virtually to those of mounted police. For a striking-force Amiel had detachments of regular and Local cavalry acting under his directions. The famous Turk Ali was made a jemadar in the Levy, and a number of the freebooters enlisted : Turk Ali's grandson, Dad Muhamed, was later one of the most trusted of Jacob's Baluch Guides, into which body the Levy may be considered as eventually merging.

We have seen how Amiel's theories anticipated much of Jacob's practice. His failure in the face of the enemy must not blind us to the useful work he had done in opening up the country and proving —by bitter experience—the quality of our friends and enemies there. If we learn best by our own mistakes, the next best school is found in the mistakes of earlier actors in the same field.

Amiel's character and abilities can be fairly assessed from the many letters we have quoted. With abounding energy, and no small share of insight and imagination, he was lacking in the qualities of perseverance, concentration, and the practical adjustment of theory to fact. He was set to work with poor materials : and without Walpole Clarke's gift of leadership, or John Jacob's powers of organization, he failed to improve them. So those who came after him were conscious of no obligation to Amiel, and his name is forgotten. Yet there may be some, to whom the history of Upper Sind is the history of Jacob, who may find some interest in the story of an obscure pioneer.

Upper Sind Frontier,
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NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

Members are earnestly requested to remit their subscription for 1936 to Mr. N. M. Billimoria, Marston Road, Karachi, without further delay.

THE MARRI RISING, 1840.

BY H. T. LAMBRICK, I.C.S.

(With a Map.)

Read on 6th and 20th October and 1st December, 1935.

For half a century before it first, in 1839, came in contact with the British, the Marri Tribe of Baluchis had steadily grown in numbers and power. Their subjection to the Khan of Kelat ended for all practical purposes with the death of Mir Nasir Khan, and in the chaos that succeeded the fortunes of the western tribes depended on the strength and ability of their Chiefs. The Marri Sardars, of the Gazani sub-section, enjoyed extraordinary prestige, which was greatly reinforced by the reputed supernatural powers of Bahawalan, who ruled the tribe at the end of the eighteenth century. The policy of the Marris, too, was unique in that they welcomed any useful elements from their neighbours; and round the original Rind Baluch nucleus had crystallized a confederation of exiles and outlaws, proud to renounce their origin as Khetranis, Khorassanis, Kakars, Sindhis, and Pathans, and to receive with the name of Marri all the rights of tribal brotherhood. From such refugees the Marris learned how best to plunder the tribes from which they came, and shrewdly fomented the quarrels of their neighbours for their own profit.

In Bahawalan's time a quarrel with the Hasani tribe began, and the Marris gradually expelled them from the country later known to fame as the Marri Hills; Kahan was occupied as their capital, and under Doda Khan the conquest was complete. Though in common with other Baluch tribes the Marris were devoted mainly to theft and robbery, relations dependent on the payment of blackmail soon grew up with traders who used the routes passing through and near their country; and the tribe held to the laws of honour, which regulate such relations, with the utmost stringency.

The appearance of the columns of Sir John Keane's force in Kachhi, in the beginning of 1839, disturbed these relations, in common with much besides; and though old Doda Khan had no desire to embroil himself with the invaders, he probably felt a good Mussalman's hatred for a 'Kafir', and connived at his fanatical tribesmen's harassment of the British line of march. So the Marris took their share in destroying the commissariat, menacing the depots, and interrupting the communications in the area where with the Kakars they had been wont to levy

blackmail, in the neighbourhood of Sibi and the Bolan, while the Dombkis and Jakhranis from their strongholds on the western border of Kachhi, raided far and wide throughout the plain country south of Bagh—careless or contemptuous of the Nemesis which might follow.

When the specious success of the British expedition to Afghanistan culminated in the peaceful restoration of Shah Shuja to the throne of his ancestors, it was decided to detach Kachhi from the effete sovereignty of Kelat and annex it to Kabul; in other words, to place it under British administration for so long as a British army in support of the Shah was maintained in Afghanistan; and at the same time the long postponed expedition to make an example of the marauding tribes was prepared. Meanwhile the authorities above the passes had determined to punish the Khan of Kelat himself for the excesses of his nominal subjects, and on November 13th his citadel was stormed, and he himself killed at the head of his men.

This victory gave the British an opportunity to 'Shah Shuja-ize' again, as E. B. Eastwick expressed it; and Mir Shah Nawaz was elevated to the throne to the exclusion of Mehrab Khan's young son. The fall of Kelat produced a deep impression in Baluchistan, and with a British protegee installed as Khan it was felt that our hold upon the country from Sukkur to Kabul was at last complete and absolute. The Political Agent in Upper Sind, Ross Bell, was thus in a position to dictate new terms to the Marri and Bugti, under threat of invasion of the hill-country by the small force assembled at Phulaji under Major Billamore.

These terms were to the effect that the Chiefs of the Marri and Bugti tribes, Doda Khan and Bibrak Khan respectively, should wait upon the Political Agent, and, on the condition of forgiveness for past crimes, profess their submission to the authority of Shah Shuja—whose restoration to the masnad of Kabul we had effected in violation of every principle of international law and natural justice:—terms of a peace with the general arrogance and folly of our political expedients at this period; for was it likely that the proud mountaineers, who since the death of the great Mir Nasir Khan of Kelat forty-five years before had maintained a practical independence of that State, making war and peace with their neighbours as they pleased—would these tribes ever submit to become the humble servants and tributaries of a prince of alien Kabul, or their unconquered hills an appanage of the flimsy Durani Empire? But the British bayonets which had escorted Shah Shuja to one throne, and had hurled Mehrab Khan from another, were now

before the grim gates of their country, cutting off supplies from Kachhi and Sind, and backed by the unlimited resources of the Company. It was necessary for the Chiefs to gain time. Since the British were determined to penetrate their country, let it be so: let them try to drag their guns through the defiles and over the passes, and when they wearied of the sport they would return. And the bolder spirits among the Bugtis recalled the day not since long when the jackals of the Marow plain were gorged with Brahui dead from any army sent by the Khan to punish the tribesmen for their depredations in Kachhi; if God willed they might soon taste a nobler prey. With a determination to wait upon events, and not to provoke hostilities until they were in a favourable situation, the chiefs gave their assent to the British terms: Bibrak in person, and the shrewder Doda Khan through a wakil, representing himself as too old and infirm to make the long journey to the plains.

Doda Khan alleged in proof of his sincerity that he had visited the Shah's Naib in the Sibi country, and proffered his allegiance. He sent guides for the detachment which was to proceed to Kahan, but observed that he was at a loss to know its object in marching there.

The story of Billamore's expedition is told by John Jacob, who accompanied the force in command of the artillery, in his 'Memoir of the first campaign in the Hills West of Kutchee.' Against all expectation he took his gun everywhere; the old boast 'Even God cannot hurt Bibrak in Dera' was made vain.

Doda Khan came out to meet Captain Raiff attended by about 300 armed and mounted men, and everything indicated a great degree of confidence on the part of the Chief and his people. Unfortunately, the collision between the Bugtis and the other detachment under Major Billamore, probably reported to the Marri in the light of an unprovoked attack by the latter, destroyed this good feeling, and one night Kahan was deserted to a man; Doda Khan merely sending word from the inaccessible country to which he had retired, that he feared that what had happened to the Bugtis, would also happen to him; and no subsequent efforts to establish any personal intercourse with the Marri were successful. In a report on the tribes written before the field-force evacuated the hills, Postans, the Assistant Political Agent, says 'Dodah Khaun and the Murree tribe have from the first been jealous of the troops at Kahun; and in spite of the lenient terms to the Chief, of sending his vak-eel to the Political Agent, when our detachment would be with-

drawn, has evacuated the capital and removed the inhabitants. Dodah Khaun himself is an infirm old man, and his influence over the turbulent tribe is said to be limited. The Murrees like the Bdogties have always considered themselves independent, and do not understand why they should now be called upon to be tributaries." The rough draft of this document, which is of interest as being the first accurate description of the hill-country and its inhabitants contained several well-reasoned proposals for the settlement of the newly "subdued" country; but these were cut out by Ross Bell with the marginal observation that they had 'no business in such a memoir in its present form. Lieutenant Postans is aware of my plans, which are here made to figure as speculations of his own.' The 'Great man' did not scruple, however, to do in the manner ironically mentioned by Eastwick, so far as the main report was concerned, and 'with a stroke of the pen made it his own.'

One of the cancelled proposals, with which alone we are concerned, read as follows: "unless Dodah Khaun gives the security demanded of him it will be necessary to keep a detachment of British troops at Kahun, and at least 150 men and a gun will be required for the purpose: this, combined with the presence of our troops at Lahree and Dadur, will prove an effective check to the annoyance this tribe has the power of giving to northern Cutchee and the neighbourhood of the Bolan pass." This was written on January 25th, 1840, and orders on these lines were soon afterwards issued. The proposal to occupy Kahun originated from Lieutenant Amiel, the commander of the Baluch Levy, who in the previous November had suggested "to effectually eradicate the marauders, a strong detachment of Native Infantry must be stationed there, or the place destroyed." On February 5th Postans was able to write to him that the occupation of Kahun was approved. His own suggestion that Dera Bugti should be similarly held was not considered necessary, for though Bibrak's sons Islam Khan and Ahmed Khan were still at large, the Chief himself was being sent with his father-in-law to the fort at Bukkur as a hostage, where his treatment would depend on the conduct of his sons.

Sir Thomas Willshire, under whose command the storming of Kelat had been effected, approved the plan, but considered that the detachment should be three hundred strong; and Ross Bell left for Simla, no doubt confidently believing that it might safely be left to the military authorities to carry out his wishes, with the help of his own subordinates, to whom however he left a minimum of discretionary authority.

Having thus perforce explained at some length the antecedents of the Marri Rising, we may conveniently pause to consider this, our first great error. In April 1841 the Government of India, wise after the event, censured Ross Bell for his "grave error in his original determination to establish a small post at a point so isolated and difficult of access, and one from which so little influence could be exercised by such a detachment over the surrounding country, as the fort of Kahun." The Secret Committee amplified this by observing "We know not for what useful purpose any such post had been occupied. We have now before us the report of Lieutenant Jacob, containing a topographical sketch of the mountainous region in which Kahun is situated, together with the line of march of a field-force through those districts; and we do not perceive that the command of Kahun keeps open any important line of communication, or is so situated to be available as a depot, or for the maintenance of a garrison, capable of military possession of the surrounding country."

The Political Agent replied that he would not have recommended the occupation of Kahun except by a force so strong as to overawe the Marri Tribe: that Brigadier Stevenson (commanding in Upper Sind) had told him, previous to his departure for Simla, that this would be done, and the force provisioned up till November; that even the small detachment eventually left in Kahan prevented the Marris from raiding the plain of Kachhi, though the Kakars and other Brahui tribes were in insurrection from June onwards: and that Kahan was the point from which the passes out of the Marri country diverge.

These answers appear plausible at first sight; but the Political Agent, having tied the hands of his subordinates during his absence, must remain responsible for their failure to adjust his scheme to emergent events: and as to the moral effect of the occupation, we need only remark that the Marris continued their depredations in Kachhi even after the force was established at Kahan. Postans, writing to E. J. Brown on the 11th June 1840, mentions excesses committed by them at Bagh, observing that the naib of Kachhi was obviously not doing the work for which he was paid, Northern Kachhi being in a lawless state. But if the Marris' incursions were less frequent than in the previous year, was it not the fierce hope of annihilating the remnant of the British Force in their midst, and increasing their valuable booty of arms, gunpowder, and stores, that kept the bulk of the tribesmen on the alert in their own country, close to the town?

Had the force been twice as large, well provided with stores, and able to move about the country, the Marris could still have resumed their raids upon Kachhi; and as fast as the detachment ate up their corn and bullocks in one direction, the mountaineers would have recouped themselves from the plains in another. At this period, the failure of the crops in the few cultivable areas of their country—the Kahan valley, Mawand and Bambhor—involved the tribesmen in no great distress. While nowadays they migrate to graze their flocks in Sind or the Derajat in times of scarcity, obtaining labour at harvest time, in those early days they levied contributions at the sword's point from the harvesters and kafilas of Kachhi and Sibi. The fact that Kahan commanded the known routes into the plains was of no consequence; a migratory population of hill-men is independent of villages and roads: of everything, in fact, but water and fodder: and the few places off the beaten track where these would be found were known to the Marris alone.

The occupation of Kahan, then, was undertaken with the object of overawing the tribe and preventing a repetition of its predatory incursions into the region of Sibi and the Bolan pass, which had so embarrassed our main operations in 1839. The attitude of the Marri tribe towards Billamore's force had afforded no indication of their real strength: they had restricted their hostilities to half-hearted sniping of Jacob's working-party engaged in making the Naffusk pass practicable for artillery. As a result the Marris were probably held in less estimation than the Bugtis, who had not shrunk from a trial of strength with the invaders. Actually, the tribe had been kept in hand by its old chief, whose object was not to interfere with the force, but to await its inevitable withdrawal, when they would be at liberty to resume their predatory expeditions into the plains. Doda Khan's policy was resented by the more unruly elements among the Marris, though the punishment of their neighbours the Bugtis and the exile of their chief showed its wisdom. The Bugti bard who celebrated the battle of Naffusk in heroic measures commends Doda Khan for having no truck with the Faringhi. The old chief had probably not calculated upon the British persisting in their fantastic scheme of subjecting the country of the two tribes to Shah Shuja's authority. It should here be mentioned that when the Government of India first enquired, after the disasters of 1840, the reasons which led Ross Bell to fix upon Kahan as a post in spite of its difficulties of access, he replied that there would have been no need to have occupied the place, but that Brigadiers Willshire

and Stevenson and he himself were agreed that it was impracticable to annex the country to Afghanistan without holding it down by a temporary post. The Government of India then lamely disowned their responsibility by observing 'It does not to his Lordship in Council appear probable that had the Murree tribe been left by you, after the annexation of Cutchee to Afghanistan in the same condition of practical independence which they had enjoyed while nominally subject to Khelat, they would have manifested such a repugnance to an arrangement by which they would in fact have been little affected, as to render necessary the establishment of the post. But when the future of tribes and countries had been decided, though against all reason and justice, by the Jove-like fiat of the Government of India, it were surely inconsistent with the Sarcar's high dignity if its servants had made no attempt to translate the wild theory into fact.

So far as the more practical object of protection of the plains was concerned, Jacob's subsequent achievement in Upper Sind showed clearly that this was best maintained by cavalry posts between which constant patrolling was kept up at all seasons : but after the appalling loss of life in the hot weather of 1839 the Governor General had directed that troops should not be actively employed in Sind and Kachhi between April and October. Amiel's Baluch Levy, after its unhappy debut against Bija Khan and his free-booters, had been relegated to police-work in southern Kachhi, and the duty of protecting the main Dak line *via* Rojhan, Barshori and Bhag. As previously observed the Marris' depredations in the plains were mainly in the neighbourhood of Sibi and the Bolan. In this region we maintained two posts : Lahri, the capital of Baluch Khan Dombki, who had remained friendly to us while Bija Khan led the wilder spirits of this tribe on plundering expeditions, commanded one main route from the Marri country into Kachhi ; while Dhadar, not far from the mouth of the Bolan Ppass, was held by a large detachment and contained a depot. If strong forces of cavalry had been maintained throughout the year at these two places, under the command of active officers, the Sibi area could have been effectually secured from the Marris' incursions. The occasional shortage of forage at either place would itself have provided a stimulus to constant movement in the surrounding country, much of which was regularly cultivated.

In fairness to Ross Bell it must be recorded that as early as October 13th, 1839 he had represented to the Government of India that a large body of Horse would have to be maintained

in Kachhi even after it was joined to the kingdom of Kabul, apart from the necessity of making an example of the plunderers. He suggested that to the detachments at Dhadar and Gundava about 800 Irregular Horse should be added, under a commandant, second in command, an adjutant and a subaltern. Its expenses would be paid from the revenues of Kachhi, and strong parties of the force could be posted in such places as might be found suitable.

Unfortunately this proposal seems to have been dropped, and the cavalry withdrawn from Northern Kachhi for the hot weather. Without this arm the protection afforded by the posts could only be nominal. From the military point of view, therefore, it was hoped that the occupation of Kahan would overawe the Marris and render unnecessary any operations in the plains during the hot season. But it was not only in cavalry that the Upper Sind Brigade was deficient. Lord Keane in his operations above the passes had bled the Command of troops and crippled the commissariat. His demands for camels, grain and military stores of all kinds had been incessant. With the return of the Bombay column, followed by the break up of the Army of the Indus, there was a good opportunity of remedying defects, but it was not taken. Lord Keane was something of an autocrat, and his opinion of the forces necessary to hold the country, both in Afghanistan and Sind, based on an optimistic view of the situation not unnatural after Willshire's and Billamore's successes, was not to be gainsaid. Under General Orders issued in February 1840 the Sukkur Brigade was constituted as follows :—the 1st Grenadier Regiment, the 5th and 23rd regiments of Bombay Native Infantry, with cavalry consisting of 160 sabres of the Poona Auxiliary Horse under Lieutenant Loch, 152 of the Cutch Auxiliary Horse, and 196 of the Bengal Local Horse ; and details of Artillery. Even the infantry strength of the Brigade was less than what the Political Agent considered necessary by at least one battalion, while the commissariat department was to prove inadequate to the small expedition actually planned and not less so the Staff.

Everyone who could on any excuse get out of Upper Sind took the opportunity : those who stayed, scarcely less than those who went, feeling few misgivings for the future tranquillity of the Command.

Before Ross Bell left, the Brigadier told him that he thought he could manage, by employing the whole of his available carriage to supply Kahan with provisions uptill November. He

made a trip to Lahri to see for himself what supplies were available locally, but the result was disappointing. Then followed a delay of two months, owing to the inefficient state of the commissariat. Major Clibborn, Stevenson's Brigade Major, being on intimate terms with him, tried to dissuade him from sending the detachment so late in the season in view of the Governor General's order referred to above. The Brigadier agreed with Clibborn in principle, but unfortunately had not the courage of his convictions; he did not care to take the responsibility of countermanding a plan already agreed upon, although circumstances had altered the case. And so our second great error was made.

The consequence was that Captain Lewis Brown of the 5th Bombay Native Infantry, who had taken part in Billamore's Hill campaign, and was now appointed to command the detachment—assembled at Phulaji, left Sukkur only in the first week of April together with Lieutenant Walpole Clarke. The latter called upon E. B. Eastwick on his way through Shikarpur. "Well, Clarke" said the young Political, "what can bring you out in this villainous weather, which is enough to melt one's head, even if it were made of cast iron and faced with granite?" Clarke told him, adding that he had had fever for the last three days, and still felt unwell, while it was not his turn for duty, though he would say nothing about that. He asked for guides, which Eastwick furnished.

Arriving at Phulaji on the 8th Brown found his detachment consisted as follows : 300 bayonets of the Bombay N. I. under Ensign Taylor ; two 12-pounder howitzers under Lieutenant Erskine ; with 50 of the Sind Irregular Horse and 50 Pathan horsemen, to be commanded by Clarke. Brown's orders were to convoy 600 camels with supplies for four months, and Clarke was to return with the unloaded camels, and an escort of 80 infantry and 50 horse, to bring up four months more supplies. Further delays in the commissariat department—lack of camels—kept the detachment in Phulaji for more than three weeks ; during which the heat became excessive. A subedar died from sun-stroke, and Erskine and Taylor both went down with fever.

Just at this time the Political authorities requisitioned the services of Clarke and his horsemen, to proceed towards Shahpur and there act in concert with 100 men of the Baluch Levy under Lieutenant Vardon, in an attempt to surprise a party of Kalpur Bugtis. This "Chapao" failed, and "the sufferings of the party

from the heat and want of water when crossing the desert on their return were beyond anything conceivable." 25 men of the Baluch Levy remained behind, of whom three died. The failure was attributed to the treachery of Yaru Khosa, the guide ; but we may accept the version of Eastwick, to whom he was referred for trial, that the simple Baluch measured the stamina of the troops by his own. This same Yaru was afterwards most useful to John Jacob, and died a pensioner of the British Government.

A week later, on the 27th April, Brown received orders from the Brigade Major to send back his guns to Lahri, in view of Erskine's sickness ; but on the 29th reports came in that the Marris intended to oppose the detachment at the Naffusk pass, and Brown, mindful of the experience gained in Billamore's campaign, requisitioned one gun on his own responsibility. Erskine having recovered somewhat, brought it in : Assistant Surgeon Glasse had joined, and the convoy was at last ready to march.

The detachment left Phulaji on the 2nd May, leaving behind the 50 Pathan Horsemen, whom Brown distrusted, and the second gun. Ensign Taylor's condition became so bad on the first march that he returned to Lahri. For the first five marches through the defiles there was water in abundance, which mitigated to some degree the intense heat ; yet one sepoy died, the thermometer rising to 116° with a burning wind; the convoy could only proceed in short stages owing to the heaviness of the road, and the wheels of the gun and ammunition waggon soon became rickety. A report reached the commander that the Marris were preparing to oppose him, and were reaping the spring crops, and he decided to take the short cut to Kahun, by which Major Billamore had left the place in the previous February *via* Surtai and Naffusk, which would save fifty miles.

The ascent of the former mountain, 1,500 feet at an angle of 25°, took twelve hours for the camels alone and here the Baluchis began to annoy the flanks and rear of the column. When all were assembled on the summit of Surtai it was found that there was no water, and the cattle had to be sent back to the bottom, on which the enemy began to menace the watering party, and Clarke was detailed to make a demonstration against them. In the Naffusk pass three breastworks had to be removed, and the camels and bullocks being completely done up the ascent of the convoy and gun took eighteen hours. The Baluchis followed up

the rear guard in an attempt to seize the bags that had dropped off the overloaded camels, but Brown kept them at bay with Clarke and twelve men—the third successive night that the troops had been under arms.

The pass was crowned at length, and at dawn on the 11th the descent began. As soon as the rear guard left the summit it was occupied by about 60 Baluchis, who opened a sharp fire. "Clarke was wounded in the thigh, but showed his usual courage and coolness." "Don't say a word," he said to Brown who was with him "it has gone right through me : but I do not want to show these fellows their shot has taken effect." The wound was actually trifling compared with that which he had received on the occasion when Captain Hand was killed near Karachi some fifteen months before, though for a moment he thought it serious. By the evening of this day the convoy reached Kahan without further molestation, having left only two bags behind.

The place which Brown's detachment was to occupy was found abandoned : a large irregular, sex-angular walled town, 900 yards in circumference, with six bastions and one gateway. The walls were about 25 feet high, but so thin in some places that they could be seen through half way down. There was no ditch, but a tank in front of the gateway filled by rain water. It stood in a broad valley, in which the characteristic half-tones of the hill country were livened here and there with the gold of ripened wheat crops ; the Soro nai wound through the plain on its way to debouch from the hills at Lahri :—a deep water course, bordered by jungle : and on every side the prospect ended in bare ranges, scarred by crag and chasm, the whole scene exquisitely clear in the limpid mountain air.

On the next day the detachment, which had encamped in the plain, occupied the fort. A sepoy was killed only 500 yards away, and Clarke went out to chase the enemy. He did not succeed in overtaking them, but found some crops still standing, and also the gates of the fort in a field two miles away. These, with fifty camel-loads of wheat in stalk were brought in. The Baluchis attempted to burn other standing crops, and another party from the fort secured fifty more camel-loads. Brown now set his men to work on cleaning the wells and putting out fires kindled by the Baluchis in the bastions ; it took ten days to extinguish all completely.

On the 16th May Clarke left the fort at 2 a.m. with the return convoy en route for Phulaji. Brown says "I had received orders from the Brigadier to increase the number of infantry, if I thought it necessary. I did so with a subadar's party, consisting of 5 havildars and 80 rank and file. Clarke took them over the first hill, when, I suppose, finding no opposition at the difficult pass of Naffusk, he sent them back, proceeding on himself with the original party, and 700 empty camels. About 12 o'clock a dooleewalla (a doolee and six had accompanied the Subadar's party) came running in with the dreadful report that every man of the Subadar's party had been massacred ! The dooleewalla was the only man who escaped, and his is the only account we have of this melancholy affair. He says that "the Subadar, on seeing the last of the camels over the hill, began to descend on this side ; that when half-way down they all of a sudden saw the top and bottom covered with Beloochees ; that the Subadar then commenced a double march and took up a position on some rising ground, forming square. The Beloochees, to the number of 2,000 then completely surrounded them, and after receiving two volleys, rushed boldly in on them and began to slaughter them right and left. He saw the Subadar fighting to the last : he himself managed to escape by hiding in a nullah, where an old Beloochee found him, and after stripping him of what he had, let him go."

This was not the only loss the British were to suffer that day. Clarke proceeded over Sartal in utter ignorance of what had happened on the North side of Naffusk ; and the Marris, their keen swords reeking from the slaughter of the Subadar's party found him encamped at the bottom of the mountain. The few published accounts of what followed seem to have been drawn from the same source, a statement made by Abdullah Khan Khyheri, the guide to Lieutenant Amiel at Shahpur, three days after the disaster. He related how after the other party "of 100 infantry had seen them through a defile" and returned, they went forward "more than half way to Phulaji", when Clarke halted against the advice of Mir Hassan Notani (a Bugti notable who, having proved useful in Billamore's campaign, had been treated with consideration by the Political authorities, and was supposed to be in our interest), his own Native Officers, and Abdullah himself. The latter pointed out that they were certain to be attacked, as the place chosen was not a good one, while some way further on was another tank. Clarke would not listen, saying he would have his *khana* and if the Marris came down he would fight them. The party had been halted two hours when three or four men

showed themselves on a hill in the direction of Kahan. Clarke asked who they were, and was told that they were Marris and had come to loot the camels. Abdullah entreated him to move on but Clarke replied "You're one of Mr. Amiel's sowars, your heart's like a fowl's" (an allusion to the panic in the Baluch Levy six months before). Clarke then divided his sowars into two parties to protect the camels, sent parties of infantry twelve each to occupy two small hillocks, and marched with the remainder towards the Baluchis who were collected to the number of about 2,000 on a height about half a mile from the camels. The firing lasted about two hours when a bugler came back for the camel on which was the ammunition; he had not got far in advance when the sepoys were seen running back, the Baluchis following and cutting them down. Previous to this, the two small parties on the hillocks having seen the others flying before the enemy had fled towards the camels. The sowars instead of advancing fled: Abdullah saw the sepoys throwing away their accoutrements to accelerate their flight.

Gunah Khan (another Khyeri guide) who was with the other twenty sowars could see what was going on (*scilicet* better than Abdullah). The sepoys advanced partly up a hill and opened fire, but the Baluchis being hid behind rocks it was of no great utility. He saw Clarke stagger and fall; a Baluch immediately seized him by the waist and threw him down. Gunah Khan was off his horse and taking aim at a Baluch when the twenty sowars bolted: Abdullah says only two shots were fired by them. Some of the sepoys got as far as Mir Hassan's village where they were killed; the Surwans (camel drivers) were looted and many killed: the sowars lost their road and Abdullah fell in with them afterwards, and showed them the way to Phulaji.

The version of the disaster communicated independently by Daffadar Sheikh Mahomed to Captain Scott at Phulaji is much the same. He mentions that Clarke killed three Baluchis with his own hand before he was overpowered by two others and estimated the Marris' loss at 250 men. The figure is placed at 300 by the compiler of the Foreign and Overseas Expeditions from India; on what authority is uncertain: the Marris acknowledged to 25 killed!

Eastwick, in his "Dry Leaves from Young Egypt" gives a noble turn to the incident of the *khana* referred to by Abdullah. "Clarke saw the hills in rear and in front covered with armed

men. He sat down to his last meal ; ate with the same composure as he would have done with no enemy in sight, and rose up to die." Jacob rightly points out that the detachment was not waylaid, but overtaken : and also observes that one reason for the disaster was that on such ground horsemen were useless.

The estimates of the distance between Kahan and Phulaji given by the eye-witnesses are of course incorrect. Clarke's halting place was the small sandy plain, in which a few stunted trees stand, immediately below Sartaf : and though the Marris cannot show the grave of the man whom their tribe long remembered as the "burra bahadur," a cairn has been erected on one of the stony hillocks. The modern map of the country shows the word "water" at this point, and also at the junction of the Sartaf nai with the Sihaf, eight miles further to the south. If Clarke had taken the advice of Abdullah, and pushed on to this latter point he would have been able to camp in a less confined position, where his cavalry could have operated to advantage :—as they had done on more than one occasion in the Sihaf valley under his leadership a few months before.

It is impossible now to discover whether the story of the prolonged halt at so dangerous a spot is true ; nor, assuming that it is true, whether Clarke had adequate reasons for it. Abdullah does not suggest that the camels had straggled or become incapable of proceeding further ; but with a convoy of 700, with far too few drivers, the march of thirteen miles over mountains of appalling asperity must have incapacitated many. It should be remembered that this animal experiences peculiar difficulty in a descent, and Sartaf is both steep and long. The probabilities are that when Abdullah and the others urged Clarke to push on they were considering the safety of the detachment, not of the convoy : and that the commander refused to move, not out of ignorance or bravado, but because doing so would have meant abandoning a large number of his camels.

The 'Bombay Courier' of June 1840 censured Clarke for his rashness : an imputation resented by Brown, who writes :—"The real truth will perhaps never be known—I mean his reasons for attacking the enemy ; but in my humble opinion for the following reasons I think he was right. From the spot where the fight took place is 40 miles to the plains through beds of rivers the whole way, with high rocks on each side. The camels (700) under his charge would stretch at least 2 miles through these

ravines : with only 80 infantry and 50 horse, and one European officer (himself) how was it possible to guard them at all points, when followed up by some 2,000 Beloochees? No ! I think it very likely that, seeing the hopelessness of getting his convoy safe to the plains, and having too much pride and daring to desert it, to save his party, he not unreasonably thought a check to the enemy at first starting would dishearten and deter them from following him up, and there was every chance of success—Until then the Baloochees (Marris) had never crossed bayonets with the sepoys, and had the utmost dread of them ; and from what I have since heard, I firmly believe that had not the bugler been killed bringing up the ammunition, and the sepoys with him had had any left, he would have beaten them off, although 30 to 1. The Beloochees never attempted to charge him until they saw that all the ammunition was expended.”

Abdullah Khan Kyheri, the guide, told Eastwick some months later that before leaving for Kahan Clarke had said to some Baluchis that he was going into the Marri country, and that if Doda wished to encounter him he might. Eastwick adds that he does not credit the giving of this rash challenge, as Clarke was not given to vaunt in words. So far as Doda Khan himself was concerned, Brown heard on the 3rd June that the Chief “had done all in his power to prevent the tribe from attacking Clarke’s party, and that on their leaving for that purpose exclaimed ‘Ah ! there you go—selling your country for 500 camels’.” “All who knew the brilliant young officer well—Jacob, Brown, Eastwick—agree that he was the beau ideal of the Irregular Horseman ; and his extraordinary valour and his natural gift for leadership are beyond question. But by no great stretch of imagination we can suppose him contemptuous of the Marris, who both in Billamore’s campaign and the advance with Brown had kept out of reach of that strong right arm, which had emptied the saddles of the Bugtis. Clarke’s great error was, of course in sending back Subadar Bagu Jadao and his eighty men ; and the author of the “History of the 2nd Grenadier Regiment” to which he belonged, rightly points out that in this his “extreme personal bravery inclined him to over-confidence.” He probably thought that Brown’s need of them was greater than his own.

As for the fight itself, Brown’s opinion seems correct. Clarke probably argued that the savage tribesmen would not stand before the controlled fire of disciplined troops, and the push of the bayonet ; an infantry officer himself, he must have

felt confident in leading to the attack the men of the 'Kali Pul-tan,' one of the best regiments of the Bombay Army ; totally unaware that these same Marris had already annihilated the detachment which had returned from Naffusk.

One havildar, eleven privates, and the majority of the Irregular Horse escaped from the slaughter.

A day to be marked with a white stone, in Marri History ! Whatever their own losses—and in the fight with Clarke they can hardly have amounted to 250—though the only son of Lal Khan, their most warlike leader, had fallen, the tribesmen had killed a British officer, two Native officers, and 144 rank and file ; had routed with loss a body of disciplined Horse ; and had captured a large train of camels, with tents, stores, arms and ammunition. With two powerful blows they had destroyed one half of the British force that had dared a second incursion into their country. This was the first severe loss, coupled with defeat, says Eastwick, that we had suffered since our army had crossed the Indus : the effect was great indeed ; and as was soon to be shown, not merely among the Marris, whose old chief Doda Khan could no longer keep the tribe in hand, his influence passing to the hot-blooded "muqadams" who had led their men to victory.

In Upper Sind the Politicals buzzed in their overturned hive. Postans wrote to the Brigadier that the tribes were emboldened with success ; if they could not be punished at least the plains, where Shahpur, Chatter and Phulaji were in "a defenceless position," should be secured by an immediate reinforcement. The Brigadier sent up 300 infantry and part of the Poona Horse. In a letter to Ross Bell dated May 19th Postans again adverts to "the injurious delay in the march of the Kahun detachment which was not the fault of the Political department" ; this with "the imprudence of the troops themselves," had brought on the disaster. Remedies which could have been applied a few weeks before had now, with the advance of the season, become impracticable ; communications with Kahan could hardly be kept up, and it appeared that the post would have to be withdrawn. Meanwhile he wrote to Amiel at Shahpur to direct Lieutenant Vardon with as many of his men as he could spare to Phulaji, to employ themselves assiduously in opening up communications, and to try to obtain information of any large force of Marris or Bugtis collected in the hills. He conferred on Amiel wide discretionary powers—probably more extensive than those allowed

himself by Ross Bell—"You may act on your own responsibility with no reference to any authority in any manner which after due deliberation you consider absolutely necessary." Delay at the present crisis, Postans adds, must produce the worst results.

The only effect of all this activity to reach Kahan came on the 27th in the shape of an express from Lieutenant Loch, one of the officers under Amiel's general command, that he was coming up with 200 Horse "to see what had become of us and to open the communication." Brown sent the Kosid back immediately to tell him on no account to attempt it, as, if defended, he could never force the Naffusk Pass, particularly with Horse.

Brown had devoted the anxious interval which ensued after he heard of the destruction of the Subadar's party to strengthening his defences and mounting his gun on the bastion next to the gateway of the fort. When on the 21st he received intelligence of Clark's disaster, he had sent back the kosid with a message that he still had four months' provisions, there was plenty of water within the walls, and with his gun he was confident of holding the position. He mentions the fact that Doda Khan had been averse from hostility, the Marris having acted under the instigation of Lal Khan and Sanwan Khan. The former commanded 1,500 fighting men, and was equal in strength to the head of the tribe. The Marris had dispersed for want of food, but were ready to reassemble. Brown now took a strict account of the stores, putting his men on half rations. From this time onwards every man was on duty at night, for fear of a surprise. He pulled down all houses touching the walls and dug deep trenches along the foot of them in which sharp stakes were planted, while all the ground outside for two hundred yards round the fort was cleared of jungle. For the first three weeks of the occupation the camels and bullocks were sent out fairly regularly to graze, the parties in charge having a brush with the Marris now and then; but on June 3rd the latter made their appearance in every direction, and thence-forward the cattle were confined to the fort, while the camel-men and others went out to pick up what forage they could. Brown writes "the river which was only a mile off was almost dry, and the banks were high enough to conceal 1,000 horse men. It therefore became necessary to use the utmost caution, not being able to afford the loss of a single man." He had only 140 bayonets and one gun, to man 900 yards of wall.

Meanwhile Postans followed up his first despatch to his absent Chief with a report on the 1st June to the effect that his previous belief that a large body of Marris and Bugtis had assembled in the hills for open hostilities was not the case : that convoys previously had almost always met with a demonstration of annoyance similar to that first seen by Clarke : but that as in all instances officers had acted on the defensive and considered solely the protection of their charge, they had never yet failed to get through ! The despatch in fact shows a complete lack of appreciation of the real circumstances. The convoys which had previously traversed this region were Brown's, on the way up, which was accompanied by more than double the numbers of Clarke's escort, not to mention the gun and Billamore's which consisted of far fewer camels, similarly strongly guarded, particularly in the route over Naffusk and Sartaf. Postans goes on to observe that it was "useless to comment on the rash and unmilitary conduct of Clarke" which had brought about this result. The next question was whether the Marris should be treated as open enemies and he thought this should be so since they did not appreciate the "conciliatory and merciful measures of Government" :—as, in duty bound, he characterised the occupation of their capital, the political object of which was to make them bow the knee to Shah Shuja.

The "Great Man" enthroned upon the Simla hills asked for further details, and Postans writes that when it was considered what small parties had previously traversed the Marri hills with equal if not greater chance of being attacked, the escorts provided for Clarke seemed unusually strong (!) :—as to the annihilation of the subadar's detachment, he speculates whether the want of a European officer might have been the cause, as native troops when alone were apt to march negligently. If Postans could have seen the terrific descent on the Northern side of Naffusk, cut up with spurs and ravines, and ending in a narrow and tortuous defile, he would have realised that odds of twenty to one on such ground were sufficient reason for disaster, without the fatigue and heat, which he presumed must have been extreme.

The despatch goes on to deal with the gloomy outlook for future operations, Postans laments the general paucity of European officers, mentioning Ensign Taylor's return sick from the first march of Brown's expedition. Brigadier Stevenson at Sukkur had already represented that his regiments must be made upto due complement, but instead he had lost several officers removed to Staff appointments. The recruits lately landed in

Karachi would have to wait there till "after the monsoon," and as to the troops actually in Sukkur, the opening of the season for military operations would scarcely be earlier than the middle of October. Every possible precaution would be taken to keep the Kahan garrison in its present position, and if possible reinforce it, but Stevenson would not attempt it with 200 bayonets, all he had at his disposal at Lahri, for the Marris were now in strength on the Kahan road. However, all the available Horse concentrated in Northern Kachhi under Lieutenants Loch and Vardon, Lieutenant Amiel directing their movements. There was therefore no apprehension at least for the low country between Shahpur and Lahri.

Postans was as good as his word in attempting to do something for the Kahan garrison by means other than the despatch of troops. He wrote to Captain Bean, the Political Agent at Shal (Quetta) to obtain if possible the assistance of the Kakar tribe against the Marris, their hereditary enemies, acquainting Brown with the proposed expedient, and at the same time requesting his absent Chief's approval; but long before Ross Bell's reply disapproving of such a plan reached Upper Sind, conditions above the passes also underwent a change for the worse. The disaffected Sardars of Kelat broke out into open insurrection against our protégé Shah Nawaz Khan, and Lieutenant Loveday, our agent there, wrote that unless aid were immediately sent the town would fall into the rebels' hands. The 31st Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry had originally been left to garrison Kelat, but with that fated blindness which marked all our dealings with doubtful friends and potential enemies at this period, all but a minute detachment had been withdrawn.

On the 24th June the Kakars, instead of proceeding against the Marris, attacked Shalkot (Quetta) itself, but Bean repulsed them with some loss. At the same time the Kajjaks broke into a state of rebellion. Postans wrote to warn Brown. His first impression was that the Marris' attack on Clarke had been part of a widely concerted plan to rise against the British, embracing all who owed allegiance to the Khan of Kelat. Thus the Marris, whom we were trying to place under the authority of Shah Shuja, might be expected to feel some sympathy with young Mir Nasir Khan in his bid for his father's throne. But it seems sufficiently clear that the Marris' action was independent of all but their own concerns; and that it was their success that gave the other tribes their cue.

Meanwhile in Kahan Brown had not been resting on his oars in the expectation of relief. He had working parties engaged day and night in cleaning out the wells and strengthening an old inner fort : banyas were made to fill empty grain bags with sand, the lascars armed with clubs and drilled for look-out duty, and a road made to convey the gun from one bastion to another. All were animated by the resolute spirit of their commander.

On the 25th a friendly face appeared outside the fort—Sher Beg Bugti, who had been the guide in later stages of Billamore's campaign, paid Brown a visit. Luckily Brown had at that time shown this man much kindness, and so was able to persuade Sher Beg to bring in such supplies as he could. Some days later the Marris, whose activity had been on the increase, attacked two foraging parties from the fort and slaughtered ten bullock-drivers who had ventured beyond the river in defiance of orders. However, Erskine killed several of the tribesmen with a shell, and what might have been a serious disaster—the only sheep the garrison had were also outside the walls at the time—was averted. Sher Beg returned on July 3rd with 45 sheep and goats, and a week later brought some luxuries in the shape of chillies and sugar. The Baluchis kept prowling about the fort on the look out for foraging parties, and Erskine got an occasional successful shot at them. But this constant activity of the enemy meant that the camels and bullocks began to break up for want of fodder ; and an innocent-looking herd of cattle of about 200 head wandering across the plain a mile and a half away was difficult to resist, though obviously a trap.

Postans' letter communicating news of the attack by the Kakar tribe on Captain Bean at Quetta now reached Brown, who remarks in his diary "it is fortunate that we did not depend on these allies." It was also fortunate that among his other precautions he had put the doolee-wallas, camel men and bullock drivers through "a sort of drill", as they proved very useful in the middle of July when his troops were suffering severely from ulcers, as the result of bad water. On the 18th however there was a violent storm of rain, which filled the tank and flooded the country all round, and a few days afterwards the Marris began to cultivate the plain in every direction. Brown reported the fact to Postans who wrote in return suggesting that they should be encouraged to do so ! This letter does not seem ever to have reached Kahan, which from the 26th July was invested closely on every side. Sickness increased in the garrison, Brown and

Dr. Glasse both being attacked by fever; the run on the ordinary specifics was such that recourse was had to the panacea of Doctor Sangrado "Hot water the order of the day—found to be a very good substitute, being of a very purgative nature."

On the 6th August Brown entered into "a sort of truce with a Muree Chief called Hybut Khan" who was owner of most of the flocks grazing round the fort; this man warned him to look out for Lal Khan in a few days time. It does not appear that the Truce contemplated the sale of supplies to the British, Hybat Khan steadily refusing to part with a single sheep, though he furnished news, and offered to take a letter to Lahri. Later it appeared that this Chief had arranged with the other to try under colour of the 'truce' to lure the garrison out for foraging, and then to cut them up. His information with regard to Lal Khan strangely enough turned out to be true. Lal Khan concealed himself and 500 men in the nullah and jungle with the intention of rushing the gate when it was opened for the officers who had been taking their usual walk under the walls. But this bold move depended on the efficacy of the charm which their Syed had agreed to lay against the gun, to render it harmless for the day. As the Marris gathered, for the rush, Erskine, who was fortunately on the alert, dropped two shells amongst them, which it was afterwards ascertained killed and wounded fifteen men. Next day, on the 9th August, Brown noticed small parties of the tribesmen going up to the Nafusk pass, and at once suspected that they must be destroying the road up it on the other side. He had no means, however, of sending word to the plains. Not a man was willing to leave the fort, and the last kosid had come and gone on the 26th July.

The 10th August proved a lucky day for the besieged. Two large flocks of sheep and goats came grazing within striking distance of the fort, with only three Baluchis in charge of them. Brown got the gun trained round and slipped a party of thirty sepoy out. The raid was successful; 300 sheep and 57 goats were captured without the loss of a man. Hybat Khan was furious: a few days before he could have sold 100 sheep at his own price. His impotent threats were not the only message Brown received that day; he was told that Mir Nasir Khan, the rightful sovereign of Kelat, had driven all the British outposts in the plains into Sukkur, and Doda Khan in consequence demanded the instant evacuation of his fort, offering an escort of his tribesmen down to Kachhi. The Kelat rumour though exaggerated, was not without foundation. After a gallant defence by

Loveday and Shah Nawaz the place had fallen into the hands of the insurgents.

The Political and Military authorities in Upper Sind had long been exercised over the problem of relieving Kahan. According to Clibborn, Brigadier Stevenson had tried after Clarke's disaster to throw provisions into the fort by private (*i.e.*, native) enterprise ; but no one could be found to take the risk. Ross Bell writing on the 6th July had directed that military operations should be avoided for the present, and perhaps altogether. When the news of the fall of Kelat reached the Brigadier he wrote to Postans that in consequence it might be best to withdraw the post from Kahan. Its sacrifice would be but a temporary evil ; to relieve it would be difficult without more troops than he could spare even in November, and Brown, on half rations, could only hold out one week in September.

Now this clearly ignores the most elementary fact that Brown was not in a position to extricate himself from Kahan. The trouble was, that Brigadier Stevenson was dying of water on the brain, and the Military authorities were completely at sixes and sevens, and out of touch with the Politicals. The letter mentioned was written on the 8th August. Yet according to Brigade Orders, a force consisting of a detachment of H. M's. 40th regiment, the 1st and 2nd Grenadier regiments, and a company of Golandaz with four guns was to be ready to march on the 10th ! They were also to pick up the Poona and Scinde Horse at Phulaji. Postans, on learning of the proposal which had been made without reference to him, wrote to Ross Bell that the force suggested could practically subjugate the whole Marri tribe, let alone relieve Kahan, and that it could not remain there for more than 30 or 40 days owing to difficulty of carriage. In actual fact it was this difficulty which resulted in the scale of the expedition being cut down, and not an ill-advised demi-official sent by Postans to Major Forbes, the acting Brigade Commander, to the effect that four hundred men, with two guns, could go any where in the Marri country and keep ten thousand Baluchis at a distance. Postans was compelled to admit later that his note was not to be taken literally, but as a mere expression of his anxiety for prompt action. Obviously it reflects his annoyance at such an important matter being settled without consultation.

Eastwick says that towards the end of July Abdulla Khan Kyheri paid him a visit, with the news that the Marri

were fortifying the road over Naffusk. Asked whether they were in strength the guide said "So strong that they will beat back five hundred of your men. If you send a thousand you may succeed, but even then it will not be without fighting." He named the chiefs—we may presume one was Lal Khan implacable since his only son was killed in the fight with Clarke—who he heard had assembled to prevent the relief of Kahan. Eastwick took him before another political officer—probably Postans—and made Abdullah repeat his story; but could not find any one who would believe him. "All laughed at the idea of the Marris fighting a whole regiment." Unfortunately, the kosids sent to and by Brown did not travel by the Naffusk route, and lately they had not been able to get through at all. Postans had received nothing definite to show what opposition a relief column might expect, and no spy would risk his life by going into the hills to collect information.

Meanwhile it appears that the Assistant Political Agent at Sukkur, E. J. Brown, who was later to become Secretary to Sir Charles Napier as Governor of Sind, was making suggestions to the Brigade Office independently of Postans. Major Clibborn who had been appointed to command the column, replied, as follows :—

"My dear Brown,

The plan of the Dadur and Kahun detachments forming a junction is not feasible for many simple reasons. In the first place Brown has *no* carriage, or it is in such a wretched order from starvation that it is useless : in the next place, of the total number of his fighting men which includes *even* the tent lascars, amounting to 185 men, 90 are in a such a state from ulcers as to be quite unable to walk sentry and they are therefore obliged to *lay on their posts*, and the whole detachment is on half rations and has only provisions for *one* week in September ; we may therefore safely conclude that they are not equal to marching even supposing that they had carriage ; and the gun bullocks are reduced to skin and bone. The Dadur detachment is quite strong enough to defend itself and protect the post from insult, but it has in charge a valuable depot and a large amount of treasure, nearly Rs. 60,000. It would not therefore be safe to abandon or weaken such a charge for distant expeditions; and I doubt greatly if the Kahun detachment could move out five miles without being surrounded : it is so closely watched. You may therefore imagine that I am somewhat anxious to be off to its

relief, as Postans in an express received by Major Forbes, to-day has decided that the post shall not be withdrawn. I am only waiting for the camels now en route from Larkana and hope to be off to-morrow night with my regiment—70 or 80 men of the 2nd Grenadiers, and Captain Stamford with two guns, and we take up the second gun and of (sic) the Kahun detachment from Poolajee, the want of which has been greatly felt by Brown. I shall relieve Brown's men by Heighington, a subaltern, and 200 men of the grenadiers, and fifty Scinde Horse and throw in provisions for two months, and if possible for three, so that after arrangements may not be hurried by the necessities of the Kahun post.

"The Brigadier I do not think has heard anything about the departure of troops from Bombay; there is nothing to prevent ships going from Bombay to Kurrachee after the middle of October; but if they are not continually *goaded on* in Bombay, and boats from Upper Scinde are not ready for them at Tatta (for no carriage that I am aware of is ready in Lower Scinde) you will find that they will creep in here when the best part of the season for operations has passed.

"I will ask Forbes to send you two letters for your perusal with reference to the Kahun post. He has not got the public documents yet from the poor Brigadier's quarters, but has sent for the letter you refer to."

The last two sentences of the letter go far to explain the muddle. Meanwhile we may return to Brown. On the 15th a kosid arrived—the first for nearly three weeks—with a letter saying that it was contemplated to try and throw in supplies through the agency of Jethsing (the famous Shikarpur merchant) and Mir Hussan, to save moving the troops up with a convoy. The next day came another, the system previously mentioned having been found impracticable was discarded, and a detachment was leaving Sukkur on relief of the place. The detachment was given as consisting of the troops first detailed by the Brigade Office, which is sufficient proof of the bad staff-work in Sukkur. Equally significant is the sudden change in policy. The two letters were perhaps not written on successive days, one kosid having possibly taken longer over the journey than the other; but it is quite clear that Postans had not been consulted at all.

The spirits of the Garrison, which had always been good, were now raised to a high pitch. A week passed, with the usual

little incidents of skirmishes and raids on cattle ; then came a third kosid with news that the column, reduced in size was actually on its way up and in Kahan joy was unconfined. Brown seems to have sent back a letter to Postans by one of the first two kosids as the "Policital" later admitted that he received on the 21st August a letter in which Brown communicated his suspicion that the Marris were breaking up the Naffusk pass. As previously observed, the kosids did not pass that way, the Lahri route being safer. Apparently Brown did not anticipate that the Marris would attempt to resist the force details of which he first received, and said it would be a case of "Flight, not Fight", but it also seems that he recommended the longer route via Dera Bugti. This letter was never produced before the Court of Inquiry held later on; but of course it could have been of no practical use, unless Clibborn opened it on its way to Shikarpur, as he had left the latter place several days before it reached Postans. There is some ground for believing that he did so or received a similar note, before he actually entered the hills.

The Marris' Intelligence was good ; they probably interrogated all kosids thoroughly. Doda Khan's brother sent Brown a message on the 21st that ten days later (the exact date of the arrival of the column before Naffusk) the whole tribe would assemble and destroy the British. On the 28th Hybat Khan said that the Marris were assembled to the number of 3,000 behind the hills North-West of the fort, and that they intended to have three fights with the relief-force, for the honour of their land ; first at the pass of Naffusk ; secondly, where they then were ; and then if beaten by the British in both, to fall back on Mir Haji's fort in Barkan (the capital of the Ketranis) where they would fight to the last. Brown chafed at his inability to communicate this to Clibborn, though he still considered it as bravado. And so at last the memorable day dawned. Brown's diary for the 31st August must be given :—

"A day of great and almost overpowering excitement. It commenced about 5 o'clock last evening when the plains and hills became alive with Beloochees, and, at dark, large signal fires on the tops of all the hills. At day-break, large parties of horse and foot were seen hurrying across the plain to the Naffusk Pass, on the opposite side of which we soon learnt the arrival of our convoy, from the report of one of their guns, a signal agreed upon between us. About sun-rise, we saw collected on the very top of the pass about 2,000 beloochees, and other prowling about in all directions. The distance, as the crow flies, is about four

miles, —in fact, we were completely behind the scenes, and saw all that the Beloochees were at ; and fully expecting to see our comrades crown the top every hour, we were highly amused and excited.—2 p.m. No sight of convoy coming over pass; they must be repairing the road up.—3 p.m. Saw the shrapnell flying over the hill, and bursting in the midst of the enemy with the most beautiful effect.—5 p.m. Still no sight of convoy. Beloochees still crossing the plains towards the seat of action. Erskine scattered a small body of them with a shell.—8 p. m. Heavy firing of guns and musketry for ten minutes when all was silent for the rest of the night. I should be very sorry to pass many days of my life like this,—I would ten thousand times sooner have been in the thick of it : the excitement and suspense was beyond anything I ever felt before. Knowing the difficulty of the pass, and not seeing our people crown the top, I felt certain there must be much bloodshed going on."

Leaving Brown in his anxiety, we may now return to the plains once more, and accompany Clibborn's march. Eastwick saw the force arrive in Shikarpur. It consisted of the 1st Grenadier regiment (Clibborn's own) mustering 8 British and 10 Native Officers and 550 rank and file, the light company of the 2nd Grenadiers, with two British and two Native Officers and 87 rank and file ; Artillery served by forty men under a British and a Native Officer ; fifteen pioneers under a Native Officer, and artificers and extra artillery men making up a total of 750 fighting men, apart from bhisties and 52 horse keepers for the artillery teams. In addition Clibborn was to pick up 100 sowars of the Poonah Auxiliary Horse at Phulaji under Lieutenant Loch, and the same number of the Scinde Irregular Horse under Lieutenant Malcolm were joining from Shahpur. It will therefore be seen that the force detailed for the hills numbered very little short of 1,000 men. Eastwick knew that it had been proposed to send two companies of Europeans and a whole wing of the 2nd Grenadiers. "You had better take them," he said to Clibborn as they stood on the steps of the Agency. "I am quite sure you will have hard fighting." "I shan't want them," said Clibborn. "The Beluchis will never stand." Eastwick wrote an official application offering to go with the force, but was told that he could not be spared from his post. He says "my mind misgave when I saw the way in which the enemy was underrated, and when I beheld the great string of camels the troops had with them." There were still more camels to be collected, and the total eventually reached 1,100, with 600 pack bullocks.

The Force marched at 1 a. m. on the night of the 14-15th August, in two columns, as the water at Minuti, the third stage—a miserable cluster of huts in the middle of the desert—had run short. Clibborn says that while crossing the desert to reach it many sentries fell down on their post, and he was obliged to allow them to keep watch at the doors of the tents. At Minuti several horses died of the heat, and during the day the officers were obliged to lie down with wet cloths round their heads on the floor of the mess-tent, which was kept as cool as possible with tatties. However, there were few casualties, as all the marches were made at night.

At Phulaji the force was joined by the cavalry, and here the gun left behind by Brown for want of carriage was taken up, and Abdullah Khyeri the guide made his appearance once more. Clibborn must now have heard that the Marrs were breaking up the Naffusk pass. It is not certain whether he received the note in which Brown advised the adoption of the Dera Bugti route by the column. In a statement made afterwards he says he knew of it but that two marches of 19 and 20 miles respectively without water, and a very strong defile, made it a proposition even less attractive than Naffusk. Moreover it was fifty miles longer, and every day lost would be dangerous; while by taking it the convoy might have been exposed for many miles to attacks by the Bugtis, whose attitude was uncertain.

Postans had arranged to provide two more auxiliaries for Clibborn; Syed Bachal Shah, who was stated to possess influence over the Khetrians, Lunis, and Pathan tribes of Northern Kachhi, and to know the hills, though his knowledge was later found to be confined to the country beyond the great range, of which Naffusk was part: and Mir Hassan Notani who having accompanied Clarke and survived the disaster certainly knew the road, but was held under suspicion on the score of loyalty. Postans had intended that the Syed should precede Clibborn, but he only joined the force at Phulaji, and Mir Hassan made his appearance four marches into the hills.

The column left Phulaji on the 23rd August, and next day a proclamation was issued, as they had now entered the Bugti country. The convoy wound its way along the water courses; there were threatening clouds above the hills ahead, and the guide Abdullah expressed anxiety lest rain should bring down a spate, which in their confined line of march could hardly have been avoided. There was thunder and lightning in the distant mountains: to the north appeared the stupendous fastnesses of

Bambhor, famous in Baluch legend ; and at every step the country became more intricate and wild. The wheels of the guns and carriages ground their way through the shale, and clattered over the boulders : the camels grunted under their creaking loads, as the long column struggled forward, with many a stumble for horses and men. The air was alive with the shouts of the drivers but around was a dead silence : not a living thing was to be seen but the birds of prey that wheeled high above them. The weather became daily more oppressive, until, threading narrow ravines, they came to their ground at Chikarji. Here Mir Hussan Notani came into the camp, professing friendship, but Clibborn was warned against him by Abdullah. Uptil this point no habitation or inhabitant had been seen, but they were aware of being narrowly watched from the heights on either side of the line of march, and the men's nerves were on edge : that night the pickets opened fire on a party of Mir Hassan's people who were ostensibly bringing goats into the camp.

On the 29th the column left the Siahaf river, striking north for Kahan. The 'road' proved still more trying to the gun horses, steep ascents followed by strong rugged defiles, with shingly bottoms and stones so large that the wheels of two guns were broken : and here the pack-bullocks and camels began to lie down in great numbers, which at last attracted the Baluchis from their coigns of vantage above the road. They started to harrass the baggage, but Loch with the Poona Horse turned them and killed eight, taking prisoner a 'ghulam' of Mir Hassan and a boy. It was impossible to guard or feed prisoners, so they were handed over to their master, and a receipt taken for their production when called for. Mir Hassan was also entrusted with a packet of letters, which were never delivered.

Clibborn's force now encamped in the large open rocky plain immediately below Sartaf ; probably on or near the site of Clarke's disaster. The next encamping ground was to be on the top of the mountain itself. The greater part of the night of the 29th was passed in repairing the gun wheels ; that evening the Baluchis showed themselves, flourishing their swords. The ascent of the pass began at 2 a. m. on the morning of the 30th. A strong advance guard was posted, and one gun was dragged to the top by 10 a.m. The dhooly bearers and camel men who had been drafted into this duty evaded a repetition of it by hiding, but the sepoy's got the other two guns up at 6 p. m. But on the summit of Sartaf there was neither water, nor forage and like Brown's convoy the camels and cattle had to go down to the

bottom again, where Malcolm, in command of the rear guard, reported numbers lying exhausted. When dusk fell the Baluchis began firing in the valley, and into the camp from the opposite side of an impassable ravine. The fire was returned, and Stamford gave them a few rounds of grape. Before retiring the tribesmen shouted that there were many thousands ready for the column on the morrow; and all that night the alarms continued. At 2 a. m. Clibborn moved on over the open rocky face of the mountain; the road ascended for a short period, and then undulated towards an inner range of mountains: Naffusk was before him, and he became aware of the enemy collected in strength towards his front. Clibborn concentrated his force in the advance and moved slowly forward, but a large ravine running to the right of his line of march obliged him in case of a flank attack to halt for an hour till the day broke, when the advance continued.

Here the road crossed patches of scanty cultivation which the commander narrowly scrutinized for traces of recent rain: but in vain: what Brown had noticed, and reported to him, must have been a partial or local shower. As the troops advanced crowds of the enemy could be seen on the summit in front, dancing, shouting, and flourishing their swords; and further on a pillar of smoke was rising, to give notice of the approach of the British. A small number of Baluchis could be perceived picking their way up a ravine which afforded an easier ascent: but the character of the mountains developed as altogether inaccessible every step the column advanced. This ravine, says Clibborn, was the only track by which the pass of Naffusk could be turned with any chance of success; but it needed four hundred men for the work, and the magnitude of the convoy—the 1,100 camels and 600 bullocks reaching five miles back to the ground at Sartaf—rendered the detachment of so large a proportion of the force impracticable.

The action at Nuffusk must be described in Clibborn's own words.

"The enemy becoming bolder descended parts of the mountain and commenced firing on us from above, and several men were wounded before our heavier fire forced them to retire; the sun's rays began to be felt even at this hour of the morning (8 o'clock) and the exertion of the sepoys in dragging up the gun and carriages caused such thirst that the little water left after cooking at Sartaf was soon exhausted. When the guns were

righted and with their limbers safely established over the ravines I moved on and took up a position in front of the pass of Nuffloosk while the convoy continued defiling towards (?) our rear and the last deep ravine, already noticed; in fact we were now in a cul de sac, and no further progress offered itself except over the precipitous mountain in our front. I gave instructions for placing the guns in position with the advance so as to bring their fire as much as possible to bear on the masses of enemy crowding the heights: the sepoys formed line on the left of the guns, and while awaiting the arrival of the rear guard every effort was made to seek out water for the troops and followers. A scanty supply of rain water was discovered in a hole in the nullah 100 yards to our right front and under the fire of the enemy musketry; but this was soon exhausted and was not sufficient to fill the lotas of the men: a company I despatched under Lieutenant Peacock returned disappointed; not another drop was to be found and it became evident that the rain had been confined to the Kahun side of the mountain. A skirmishing fire was kept up on both sides, but the majority of the troops laid down to snatch a little repose until the rear-guard came up, their progress being greatly retarded by the pack bullocks which were completely knocked up; added to the difficulty of the ravine we had crossed. The heat was terrible, and this with the increasing thirst began to tell on the sepoys; and I was obliged to send Lieutenant Malcolm back twice under fire from the heights to expedite the arrival of the rear-guard, which at last was effected at half past one p. m. The third gun was then put in position to throw a cross fire on the mouth of the pass in our front, and the left flank companies of the 1st and 2nd Grenadiers were warned for the storm of the strong and precipitous mountain pass in our front, while the supports were told off and the colour placed under charge of the right flank and 6th companies of the 1st Grenadier Regiment which had just come up to our ground as the rear-guard. 50 of the Poona Horse and 50 of the Scinde Irregular Horse under Lieutenant Loch volunteered to skirmish with the supports; at this time the true nature of the ascent was not known. The remainder of the Auxiliary and Irregular Horse took up a position to protect the baggage under Lieutenant Malcolm. When these arrangements had been made I gave directions for the advance of the whole and for the guns to pour heavy fire on the crest while the storming parties advanced up the mountain. I proceeded with the right support myself, which I placed under Ensign Fanning; the left support under the command of Lieutenant Moor 1st Grenadiers was intended to have taken up a similar position, but from the steepness of the ascent no situation could be obtained that yielded a footing,

off the main track, and while occupied with the right support I discovered that Lieutenant Moore had ascended in the track of the storming party. Lieutenant Loch's men, after scrambling a considerable distance on their hands and knees, were eventually obliged to jump down on the made road, which in this manner became crowded ; a serious advantage to the enemy who at a given signal and when one sepoy was already in the mouth of the pass, rose, and as I have before mentioned in my official despatch, overwhelmed the advanced party with stones from above. The public newspapers, in utter ignorance either of the localities of the scene of action, the time of day, the burning heat of this region, or the laborious and persevering efforts of our gallant sepoys, have presumed to draw the most odious and ungenerous comparisons between (sic) the character of the sepoys of the sister presidency ; but it is my unbiassed opinion that no troops, not even our own British soldiers, could have withstood the impetuous and daring onset of the enemy on such difficult ground, borne downwards as they were by showers of stones from the heights above them. The crowds of the enemy that rushed over the tops of the mountain, and thro' the opening of the pass, soon thrust back the advanced parties and the supports off the confined ledge on which they stood, and then (sic) being no footing these hardy and brave mountaineers, better accustomed to such difficult ground, soon became intermixed with our sepoys. I was at this time with the Right support, which I gave instant orders to withdraw and join the Colours ; but the sepoys continued to skirmish so long that before this body could reach (it) and form, the other support came in and intermixed with it, and a rallying square was formed near the guns : the companies with the colours opened a heavy independent fire on every Belooch that could be sighted singled out from amidst the disordered masses in our front, for to have ordered platoon firing would have swept down friend and foe ; the guns from this circumstance could not at this period open with grape, but the fire from the infantry was so searching that none of the enemy could advance within ten yards without being destroyed. The Beloochis notwithstanding persevered with determined valour, ran round our rear flinging in large stones, while with their swords they attempted to gain an opening : the fire from my men was murderous, but I was obliged to order them to cease for a short time as the camels to our rear came under it. The enemy soon emerged from the baggage and made several gallant attempts to close, which were foiled by the steady and unceasing fire of the sepoys, now aided by the guns. The enemy were now on our right flank in crowds and made so impetuous a rush that many were shot within five yards of the guns ;

at this crisis I was myself obliged to run in, seize the trail of one of the howitzers, and turn it on the mass : one or two discharges of grape mowed down fifteen or twenty men close by and disappointed in their endeavour to cut in amongst us they turned and fled down a deep ravine to our right, which led round a bluff point of the mountain in possession of the enemy, and communicating with them by a steep water course.

"Here this desperate encounter with a brave and determined enemy ceased for the present, and the drummers were directed to strike up "The British Grenadiers," the Khyheree guide Abdullah significantly observing that it would strike terror into the hearts of the Murrees, who were looking down from the heights above. Many of them were dragging off the bodies of their killed and wounded, victims of the encounter with the storming party. Two or three successive shots of grape cleared the face of the heights, and only a few of the enemy, as previous to the attack, showed themselves above the crest of the mountain.

"I now endeavoured to form my men, who from heat and thirst, and the exertions of this desperate battle, were in a considerable state of exhaustion ; but Water, was the cry : still, by much patience and reasoning I managed to get them into divisions, moved them to an open space, a few paces from our position formed square two deep (for they could not bear even the heat of each other's bodies) piled arms, and ordered them to lie down. The dead of the enemy strewed the ground around us, and between 160 and 200 were reported to me. The number killed on the hill could not be ascertained as the Belooches always carry off the bodies of their fallen ; but subsequent enquiry and information leaves no doubt that their total loss was nearly four hundred among the most daring of the Murree tribe, and many of their most influential chiefs. We had not succeeded, it is true, in gaining the heights, and had sustained a heavy loss ourselves, as the official return of killed and wounded will show : but the conduct of my troops was so plucky and the slaughter among the enemy so great, that altho' from the effects of intolerable thirst, and subsequent disasters brought on solely by the treachery of the guide Meer Hussein, my column was obliged at the last possible moment to retire, still the character of the officers and men engaged in this bloody conflict remains untarnished ; and that the honour of the British arms has not suffered in the estimation of the enemy is fully proved by the subsequent conduct of the whole of the Murree and Bhogtie tribes, who from being hostile and murderous foes have now become friends or passive allies, along the whole line of the mountains.

"It was while forming my men that Abdullah the Kyheree guide, accompanied by Meer Hoosein the Notanee chieftain, came up and stated that the latter had discovered water at a nullah about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a coss off. I enquired pointedly why he had not mentioned this nullah in the morning, when I repeatedly asked him regarding the water, and the various spots in which it was usually found : Meer Hoosein stated that he did not then know of it, and had been seeking among the nullahs. I communicated with Abdullah the Kyheree, whose fidelity to the British Government, neither myself, nor I believe any one else ever questioned ; he was decidedly of opinion that there was water : I however told him that as I put no faith in the honesty of Meer Hoosein's professions I would not send a soul to the water unaccompanied by Iteebar Khan, Jan Mahomed, Gunoo Khan and other Kyherees whose interests were opposed to Meer Hoosein's, and depended on their fidelity to the British Government, whose presence would be a check on any treachery intended by Meer Hoosein. Abdullah himself was so convinced of the existence of water at the spot mentioned that he sent his own mare with the party, and any doubts I might previously have entertained were dissipated. I gave orders for every puckaul-camel and bullock to be collected, and the gun horses with such of the officers' horses as chose to send them, and among them four of my own to be taken to the water said to be $\frac{3}{4}$ of a coss off ; the whole under the guard of sixty of the Irregular Horse.

"When this had been done, small parties were sent up the mountain to bring away such of the wounded as were not lying immediately under the fire of the enemy. The heat was excessive and the men continually crying out for water : some rising and moving from place to place ; others begging to be led to the water which could not be done without sacrificing the wounded, and my object was to pacify them till the water party should return. In this emergency, the cries of the wounded for something to drink induced me to offer them the beer, which the officers had with them ; and the rush of all hands with their brass kutorahs to catch a drop even of the water (sic) was more like the rush of voracious animals than men ; some of the strong men, and in particular I noticed a Seadie bugler of the Irregular Horse, on withdrawing his cup and finding it empty, fell senseless to the ground : among so many of all classes the supply with us was soon exhausted and mute despair or resignation to any fate that may (sic) befall them, kept them quiet :—fortunately the fierce heat of the day was now subsiding and I hoped that their thirst would be mitigated to a degree, so long as they could be kept quiet.

"About sunset, however, stragglers from the water party came in and reported that Meer Hoosein was drawing off the water party to Surtoff; that the enemy was hanging on the rear of the party, etc., all of which Abdullah steadily affirmed could not be the case, and reiterated his firm conviction that the horses and party would certainly make their appearance shortly—'there was strong guard of horsemen, his own mare was with the party and Iteebbar Khan, Jan Mohomad, Gunnoo Khan and the other Kyherees would never suffer Meer Hoosein to lead them off beyond the distance mentioned—however, my doubts were excited by the time which had already elapsed, and I pondered on the fate of my convoy, already so heavily crippled. I should have mentioned that during the action, bodies of Boogie or other enemies, whom he had seen partially collected on the heights behind us during the day, crept in on our rear and with yells dispersed great part of our cattle, particularly the pack bullocks, and many camels; and after the action the country might be seen dotted with animals which these villains were driving off; most of the camel men and dooly bearers, the former principally Scindians and Patans, ran off on seeing our advanced parties thrust back on the mountain. Of the latter only seven could be found at a later period of the day. My men were in no state to storm a second time the pass in our front, which the enemy still occupied; they had no fear of death, but were in that state of exhaustion that had the enemy, who was observing us and all our movements from the heights, made a descent on us in any number, the troops would doubtless have made a defence, but I fear it would have been but a feeble one. In this disheartening situation it behoved me to think of what should be done, should the water party not return, and the latest hour to which I could safely protract the present direful thirst of my people; taking into consideration the contingency of our having to fight our way to the next water with feeble soldiers and without the support of our guns. In our front no water was to be had; even if successful in a second attack we could not possibly get up the guns in the present state of the men; our cutting our way to Kahun without the supplies would but have added to the difficulties of the garrison, even if it could have been effected against an enemy in great and overwhelming numbers, and in possession of all the strong positions leading to the plain of Kahun. The only chance of escape for my troops, unaccompanied by our guns, which could not be moved without the horses, was the possibility of the ravines in our rear, and the mountain of Surtoff and the pass below it being unoccupeid by the enemy; and I calculated that under cover of the darkness I might delay it till 10 o'clock at night, to admit of my people reaching the plains

by day light, (i.e., the comparatively open country below Sartaf).

"I then informed the different departments, and personally saw that no mistake should occur in case of the water party not arriving, and a retreat becoming inevitable; Dr. Kirk was directed to collect kujawahs and empty camels for the wounded; the men were ordered to put several days' flour in their haversacks, which the commissariat was to deliver out; I had the treasure, commissariat and regimental, under their respective havildars, placed with the ammunition, and I directed that as much of the latter should be brought off as possible; but although their lives depended on having some food through the long, difficult and hostile track we should have to traverse, the sepoys were so exhausted that none could be induced to apply for the flour that was to support them.

"My personal feelings and anxiety of mind may be imagined when I contemplated the state of my force and the revolting alternative of being obliged to retire without effecting the relief of Captain Brown's garrison, or being able in any way to succour it, as hour after hour stole away and no water party appeared. In this straight (sic) I wrote a hurried letter to Captain Brown, which I gave to Buchan Shah, a syed who had come up with us to afford any information regarding the Murree country which he professed to know well; with this letter I gave him an order for five hundred rupees if he would go into Kahun, deliver his note, and conduct Captain Brown and his men out to me by any path he might be acquainted with. This he promised to attempt if he could get one of Meer Hoosein's men to guide him; but Meer Hoosein never returning this object failed, and Abdullah himself began to think the return of the water-party a hopeless case. Buchan Shah who had been absent a considerable time came and said he knew of water far down among the valleys behind the bluff point before mentioned as in the possession of the enemy, and at one time I did order the Soobedar Major 1st Grenadier Regiment to tell off a company, but Abdullah the guide, the Soobedar Major and all dissuaded me from the measure, as no faith could be placed on this information coming at such an hour: the sepoys, moreover, suspicious of treachery, had remarked him answering to the calls of the enemy on the heights above us, which when questioned he said was an entreaty on the part of the Murrees that we would not burn the bodies of their dead, on some of whom the clothes were smouldering, ignited by the closeness of our fire. I have no fault to find with Buchan Shah; he may be an honest man and may have intended honesty to the Gov-

ernment; but as a guide he knew nothing of the country, of its water or of its resources, neither did he profess to know it until after reaching Kahun, and I therefore like the rest was suspicious of him.

"I had previously warned Captain Stamford, in the event of the watering party and gun-horses not returning, of the necessity there would be for our retreating on Surtoff, and to be prepared at 10 p.m. to spike the guns, and to do it so effectively that the enemy should not be able in any way to benefit by their possession: my people were so wearied and exhausted that there would have been no use in giving orders to dig holes to sink the muzzles into, and burst them; neither could we fire the ammunition without great danger, and a certainty of betraying our position and intentions to the enemy at once. I therefore contented myself at 10 p.m. or it may be somewhat after that in ordering the guns to be spiked, the wounded to be mounted, and as many camels to be brought off as possible. While this was being effected I ordered the men to fall in as quickly as possible; but it was only by personal effort and expressing my determination not to move from the ground till all had fallen in by companies, and been regularly told off according to custom, that I could succeed; proximity to each other seemed to suffocate and oppress them. It may have been near eleven o'clock p.m. when all were ready to move on; and we crawled away from the battle ground of Nuffoosk, the site of as fierce a strife as our troops, either European or Native, have been engaged in for many years; and, after repulsing a gallant enemy with severe slaughter, to find ourselves vanquished by such direful enemies as heat and thirst—such is the great lottery of War!

"Captain Brown will inform you that not a mile from this memorable spot he found water in abundance on his return to the plains, produced by rain in the mountains (?) a few days previous to his departure from Kahun. I said, we crawled forward, and cleared the ravines and defiled on the open road towards Surtoff, fortunately without any opposition, and we had evidently gained a march on them. I could hardly keep the troops in compact order, the prevailing feeling was for the strong to push on. I was constantly in anxiety about my colours; extreme thirst had made the water at Surtoff a matter of primary consideration to them. I had to make frequent halts to allow the rear to close up, and in this manner we had reached perhaps three miles, when we perceived the flashing of musketry along the sides of the mountain behind us, and commanding the ravines

we had passed. We however moved steadily on, halting every mile to allow the rear to get up ; both sides of our lines of march which was open ground lined with strings of camels which it was the duty of the Irregular Horse to suppress in their endeavours to rush on to the water.

"We arrived at the descent of the mountain about half past four a.m. of the 1st of September ; here the face of the track lying quite open the infantry and all in fact that had the advantage of those on camels, which animal finds great difficulty in a descent, particularly a steep one; about two hundred only of them bearing the wounded and those disabled by stones had descended the steep open part of the face of the mountain in the darkness, when the top was lit up with a blaze of fire arms, and a large body of Belooches lying in ambush started up from the inequalities and ravines at the top, hamstringing many of the leading camels, cut off and massacred many of the followers, took all the baggage, remainder of the commissariat and regimental treasure, and left us with only seven boxes of musket ammunition besides the cartridges in my men's pouches. The day now dawned sufficiently to allow us to perceive parties of the enemy driving back camels up the mountain ; nothing remained but such as we had succeeded in getting down to the water. I sent Abdoulah and a small party to bring down ammunition boxes and camels that were standing midway in the pass, which was effected safely ; but as to detaching any party to the top of the mountain, the idea was preposterous; the whole were dead beaten with fatigue, and repeated draughts of water did not allay their thirst. I could have wished to have allowed them some repose at this spot, but there was a most difficult and dangerous range and defiles to be passed, of some five miles in extent, which if the enemy, already aware of our retreat, should occupy before we could gain the plain on the other side, the loss would be very great both in men and the camels (about 200); we had succeeded in getting down the mountain. As the men came up from the water I formed them in the plain in a large irregular square, and the wounded were brought into it; the camels and followers that had escaped from the strife and massacre on the mountain were huddled together in our rear and we prepared to receive the attack of the enemy, who were reported to be advancing and who had already showed themselves on the summit of Surtoff. However, after waiting patiently for an attack I ordered the covering havildars to the front and directed the irregular square to be broken up and the men to fall in by companies and the rolls to be called: this could not be effected satisfactorily as the Havildar Major and two of the company

officers of the 1st Grenadier Regiment had been killed; but the purpose was answered and discipline was restored.

"The condition of my detachment was now most wretched — not a single tent or particle of food had escaped the last merciless and sweeping attack on the top of Surtoff, and the sun rose above us with its wonted fierceness. We had nearly sixty miles to traverse through the barren defiles of this hostile region, where only in one or two spots a tree could be found to afford a scanty shelter from the scorching heat. The rest that both officers and men required far more than food I was obliged to deny them until we could reach Chikurjee, eight miles off; here are some stunted tamarisk trees and a plentiful supply of water: the Belooches could be distinguished on the tops of the low sand hills on either side of our route; but they kept out of musket range and did not attempt a nearer approach to our now compact body; we were able to complete the march by one o'clock and my exhausted people piled arms and lay down under the trees to sleep.

"Here we fell in with a body of Horse, who proved to be twenty-five of the gun horses, several of the private horses, and the few survivors that escaped from the massacre of the watering party, the particulars of which we now first learnt. It appears that Meer Hoosein had by one excuse or another (led them ?) to wander six coss from Nuffloosk, when at dusk they descended a deep ravine to the water; and while drinking a cry was raised and the unfortunate party was set upon on all sides by Balooches who were till now secreted behind the rocks. Almost all were cut to pieces in that fatal ravine. Abdoulah the Kyheree guide states that in the darkness a number of the loose horses ran up another ravine and were dashed to pieces over a precipice. The few that regained the upper ground again were joined by Meer Hoosein and guided by him descended by a circuitous route to the plains instead of joining us at Nuffloosk. Abdoulah who had recovered his mare had a violent altercation with the Notanee chief, accusing him of having acted treacherously, and he subsequently came and begged that I would move the troops on so that we might clear the strong mountain country between this ground and the northern road to Phoolajee as we had reason to know that the Balooches were collecting in numbers to oppose us. We therefore formed the troops and advanced by a road through a labyrinth of ravines not practicable for guns, though of much advantage to us as it saved us some six miles; the men were quite knocked up when at midnight we reached a

pool of green stagnant water, where I sounded the halt and the whole lay down to sleep till day light.

"At this hour we again fell in and a short (march ?) ahead emerged into the high road, some few miles from Murrowra ; on turning the angle of a rock we came on the murdered bodies of eight of the deserting camel men lying in a heap, and a short way further on another lying in the agony of death. These were part of the large body of camel men who absconded during the action, 150 of whom reached Phoolajee fifteen hours before my column. We passed our old ground at Murrowra and struck off to the right by an open route through the mountain, on the upper road leading to the plain and Phoolajee, till at about half past nine A.M. we halted under some wild looking overhanging rocks, where we found a plentiful supply of sweet but muddy water sufficient for the troops and cattle. We here discovered some of the public camel men with plundered bags of the Government flour, which enabled the sepoys by mixing it in water to obtain some sustenance. I wrote a hurried account of our disaster to the Assistant Political Agent, Lieutenant Postans ; but we were still eighteen miles distant from Phoolajee, and altho' any further anxiety, lest the route in our front should be occupied, had ceased ; yet the mountains receding on either side the heat was oppressive in the extreme. We were annoyed by some firing opened on us under cover of the rocks above us which my men were in no state to scale, and to save them from further loss of life I ordered the march at about 2-30 P.M.; but we had not reached one mile when so many fell down from the excessive heat that I was obliged to draw the whole up as well as I could manage it under the shade of some high rocks. At this place the sepoys and followers dug eagerly in the sandy bottom for water, and obtained a scanty supply ; but a havildar, a naique and three sepoys had reached their last resting place; the exposure to the sun of the last mile and the previous fatigue bringing on apoplexy. Ensign Grant was also much exhausted but rallied as the heat of the day subsided.

"From this spot till we reached Phoolajee at midnight on the morning of the 3rd September with the exception of one pool of a thick muddy constituency the poor fellows had nothing to quench their thirst, and I may say tottered to the wells in a most exhausted state. On the eve of the 3rd September Captain Heighington, 1st Grenadier Regiment, died of apoplexy brought on by excessive fatigue and exposure to the sun, and the closing scene of this unhappy expedition was the mourning assemblage of the surviving European officers round the grave of its last victim.

"Of myself or my exertions as the commander of this attempt to reach a fort situated in the heart of the mountains, by a route intercepted by ravines, watercourses, steep ascents and precipitous descents, where in any one day's march an army could have been annihilated by an active and daring enemy I have said little, leaving it to the Court's better judgment to gather information on all points connected with my command of the convoy, and to satisfy itself from the testimony of those lately under my orders, not merely whether I did my duty, but whether, during the whole course of my onerous command, either by example sharing in the labours, exposures and dangers I on any occasion did *not* do my duty.

"In concluding this account of an unsuccessful expedition (a rare occurrence in late years with a British column) I must impress on the Court that in my official despatch reporting it this circumstance influenced me to be niggard in the praises due to the officers and men under me. For if unwearied perseverance, patient endurance of privations and exposures in their endeavour to carry out the object of their march, and a gallant and determined bravery in a sanguinary conflict with the fiercest of the mountain tribes, by which the power of the tribe has been crushed and its most daring leaders destroyed—if such contributes to ensure the furtherance of important duties, the smoothing of difficulties, and a successful result, these men deserved success."

The above account is the written statement submitted by Clibborn to the Court of Inquiry which he himself had urged in his demi-official to Postans, and his official despatch, should be held. News of the disaster travelled fast. Many of the camelmen who had when they saw the storming party repulsed reached Phulaji in safety: but Rumour, who in India at least must possess more feet than the quota assigned to her by Virgil, was quicker still. Eastwick was at Janidero when his munshi came to him "with a face like that of him who 'drew Priam's curtain in the dead of night.' 'Saheb' said he 'there are marvellous reports abroad here. 'Tis said that the sound of cannon was heard all yesterday: that Clibborn saheb had fought a battle with the Marris in the hills; that the star of the Company was dim; that the Biluchi villages are full of ears cut from dead Faringhis'. "Eastwick ridiculed the report, seeing that Janidero was 100 miles from the Marri hills; but it was confirmed next day. He passed the news on to Shikarpur, and received in reply directions to order Clibborn to halt at Phulaji or Lahri until he could be reinforced or relieved. But the

force was in no condition to stop ; it returned with many wounded, and had lost all its baggage ; Clibborn pushed on for Shikarpur. To conceal the defeat was impossible.

The officers who dined with Eastwick bore testimony to the wonderful gallantry displayed by the Marris. "They had charged with a large stone in one hand and a sword in the other up to the muzzles of the guns. They hurled the stones in the faces of our men, who declared that this mode of attack was more formidable than it was possible to express. One most distinguished chief of the Marris actually thrust his shield against the mouth of a gun as it was about to be fired, and was blown away from it. Others seized the muskets of the sipahis and threw themselves on the bayonets. They fought like madmen, or wild beasts, and so great was the peril of our troops that Major Clibborn himself wrote that ' nothing but a fortunate discharge of grape saved the regiment, at the last moment, from complete destruction ! ' ". Eastwick adds "In spite of the late disaster we had a hearty laugh at the doctor of the Regiment, who, when some of the artillery men were killed at Nafusk, gallantly assisted in serving one of the guns. He rammed down the charge with great vigour, but for the life of him could not get the rammer out again. Time was precious ; the Bilachis were making another charge and were almost up to the gun. The doctor's efforts became superhuman ; still the rammer was immovable. 'Wriggle it about, man,' roared the officer, who was just going to fire. 'I can't stir it !' 'Then mind yourself' — and the doctor had scarce time to tumble on one side when bang went the rammer and all, close to him."

The British losses in the action at Naffusk and the subsequent ambush were very heavy. Four British and five Native officers were killed, and one British and three Native officers wounded. The totals, excluding horse-keepers, servants, camel-men and other camp followers, were 179 killed and 92 wounded ; and no more telling indication of the severity of the struggle could be found than in these proportions. Captain Raitt, Lieutenants Moore and Franklin, and Ensign Williams, were killed with the storming party. Eastwick records Raitt's gallantry : "the officer who led was badly wounded ; still he pressed on. He and one private were the only men who almost reached the top ; for, when the detachment were little more than half-way up, down rushed the Marris ; with the fury of a mountain torrent they swept all before them." The spot where Raitt fell is marked by a cairn erected by the Marris : it is some distance

below the summit. No description could give a better idea of the tremendous onset of the tribesmen than this inspired line from the Bugti '*Dom's*' poem :—

"Then like a precipice fell the Tigers of the Hills."

Lieutenant Loch was the only officer with the storming party who survived the counter-attack—but not unscathed. His narrow escape is thus described by Eastwick. "He it was who, a few days before, had slain two of the enemy in single combat. It was now his turn to bleed. He was cut down, and his life only saved by his native A.D.C., who parried the next blow and shot the assailant, at the same time assisting L—to regain his feet. His danger, however, was not over, a huge Biluch pursued him, desperately wounded as he was, down to where the regiment had formed square, at the foot of the hill. His strength was but sufficient to carry him to one of the guns, close to which he fell senseless. One of the gunners, thinking him dead, stood on his body as he fired the gun. Of the storming party not twenty were left....."

Another feature of the fight mentioned by Eastwick, was the well sustained fire of the enemy in the earlier stages, and he opines that in such positions the matchlock is more deadly than the musket. The author of the "Historical Record of the 2nd Grenadier Regiment", on the other hand, observes, in writing of the advance of the storming-party. "The enemy's fire never ceased, and there is little doubt that it was rendered far more deadly and accurate by the fact that they had the use of the muskets which they had taken from Clarke's force." The present writer has discovered no authority for this statement ; but the Marris certainly used bullets so acquired for another purpose. Brown was informed by Sher Beg Bugti that "their Syud had persuaded them that our leaden bullets will not kill ; in proof of which he had a bullock placed 100 yards off, and had 300 bullets (taken from Clarke's party) fired at it, without effect!"

Estimates of the Marris' losses in the battle are very conflicting. Clibborn thought they might amount to 400 killed and wounded. Jacob says that they left "240 of their best men dead on the ground." The Marris acknowledged eighty killed, and the same number wounded ; but Baluch tradition, preserved in the poem referred to above, records that eighty men fell at one discharge of the guns. On the whole one is inclined to believe that there was not much difference between the casualties on each side. **Abdoulah Khan and Itbah Khan Kyberis,**

if they can be believed, give some indication of the Marris' losses. Eastwick says "they themselves told me that after the battle of Nafushk they went over the field and cut the throats of all the Marris they could find. They said, that on a rough calculation, they did this benevolent office for one hundred and thirty three Biluchis of that tribe. They gloried in the deed, and Itibar, in fact became quite graphic when he spoke of his finding an old enemy among the wounded—a man with whom he had long been at deadly feud. This was Haibat Khan, a celebrated Marri chief who, after fighting desperately, had fallen by the fire of our guns. With eyes sparkling with ferocious triumph, Itibar approached the dying warrior. 'Haibat Khan' he said 'do you know me? The last time we met was in the gate of Phulaji, when your foot was on the body of my brother; you did to him then what I am about to do to you'."

So passed Brown's old acquaintance. Clibborn had too much to do himself to know of his guides summary proceedings. Revolting as they seem, the coup-de-grace must have given merciful relief to many tribesmen who lay horribly mangled by the grape, or their clothes ignited by the troops' fire at point-blank range. The chief who was blown bodily away from one of the guns was Karam Khan. The Baluch version of this mad piece of heroism is that he cried to his men that he would stop the mouth of the "*toj*" that spoke so loudly, and thrust his pagri into the muzzle.

The Marris still show a gnarled *khabar* tree, under which Sardar Doda Khan sat to watch the fight: it is protected by a spur of the hill from direct fire up the pass, but is not many yards from the place where Raitt fell.

Brown's first impression was that the relief column, having found Nafushk too strongly held, had fallen back on the longer route *via* Dera Bugti. For the next week various indications that all was not well appeared; loaded camels being driven across the plain; riders watering strings of spare horses; Government tents being pitched in a sort of camp a mile and a half away (five sepoy's and one officer's tent were the number taken from Clarke—were these they?) On the 4th and 5th September messengers approached the fort to say that the Marris had destroyed the convoy, and renewing the offer to let the garrison depart unmolested. Brown sent a bullet after these people for all reply; but at the same time he was very perplexed. Finally on the 7th he saw to his horror the three guns belonging to the column drawn up near the Baluch camp. Luckily, the sepoy's

could not make them out with the naked eye, owing to some jungle in front of them. On the 10th old Sher Beg came into the fort and confirmed the Marri report of having destroyed the convoy, with details of the losses they acknowledged, including Haibat Khan, and Karim Khan, who had superintended the slaughter of the bullock-drivers early in the siege. Brown sent off Sher Beg with a letter to Clibborn; he still hoped that the relief column, though severely handled, might be advancing by the Dera route.

"Kahun, September, 14th 6 p.m.

ALL'S WELL.

My Dear Clibborn,

I hope all we hear is not true, although for the last twelve days three guns, or something very like them, have been pointed slap at our gateway, backed by a whole tribe of these rascals, pitched in a camp (our Sepoys' tents, too!) in an order that even old Willshire would admire. They have tried hard to bully me out of the fort, but 'that cock would not fight.' On the morning of the 12th we saw them taking the culverins to pieces, and on the 13th at daylight every soul had bolted! And not a man have we seen since. Still got a little rice left, with some damaged flour and gun-bullocks, and can rub on until the latter end of the month by hook or by crook. I am safe from these cowardly Murrees as if I were in Sukkur—this is the truth, for by the blessing of God I *intend* to hold the fort, altho' these outlaws are so cock-a-hoop; fully expecting you, to see you crown the hill by the 20th or 25th.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

LOVIS BROWN.

P.S.—Send me some intelligence if an opportunity offers; out of everything save Doombahs and flour. We saw all your fight on the 31st, some of your shrapnell came over on this side—you must (have) killed a great many of the fellows: also some of their chiefs, for they have never (held) up their heads since:—we hear 160 were killed and wounded. I'll leave you to guess what our feelings were when we saw you not, on the 1st September. I *believe* the bearer of this, *Sheer Beg*, to be honest; be civil to him, he is an old friend of *mine* and was very useful in the former campaign on these hills. *On guard night and day.*

The bearer is to receive (30) thirty rupees for taking this chit. I will be answerable for the money. He is rather an old man, a good deal, and not more than 5 feet 2 inches in height. Send him back to me sharp."

Three days later a kosid arrived with letters from Postans and the Brigade Major, dated ten days before. They told the sorry tale of Naffusk; that all attempts to relieve him had failed, and there were no means to renew them; that his post had become untenable; and that he was at liberty to make the best terms he could for his detachment, authorising any agreement he might make to get it down to the plains in safety: and failing terms, suggesting a rapid night march.

Brown wrote back to Postans at once, at 1 a.m.

"This minute received yours of the 8th—none of your other letters reached me, the date of your last being 8th August. The cossid is seated outside, and I again despatch him on his return without admitting him inside. A few lines are sufficient under the present desperate circumstances. When I saw the disaster (sic) on the hill I immediately concluded that all was not right, and at once (again) made a further reduction in the men's rations, so that with the damaged flour, gun bullocks, a large flock of doombas and a little rice and dall left I can, with the greatest care, eke out my provisions a month longer from this date. Be certain of one thing, that I will not desert my post until the last minute, or until I have obtained such terms as I can depend upon. The retreat to the plains will of course be a 'neck or nothing' affair, but I will make the best of it; it will not be the first time that a few desperate men have cut their way through better fellows than these." He refers to the effect of the battle on the Marris in the same terms as to Clibborn, and proceeds: "I have had two or three messages that say that if I would leave the fort I should be allowed to go down with safety; of course not knowing the desperate state of affairs and not placing the *slightest* faith in these fellows I treated the offer with contempt, and even now would not think of accepting it if again offered. I am told by Sheer Bheg, who paid me a visit two days ago (whether for good or bad I cannot exactly learn) that after the fight on the hill, so severely had the enemy suffered from our shot that they *retreated* down to the bottom on this side; that after some time not seeing our troops ascending the hill they went up again, and then saw that the detachment had retreated, leaving all their kit on the ground; and from

what he further says, it appears that the Murrees only suppose that our troops retreated from the want of water, and not from the severe loss that they had suffered.

"Be sure and let me know what I may expect from the *Boogies*, whether I can trust Meer Hussein any longer : I do not think these fellows will make terms until they see *another* force assembling at Poohlajee. Whether they can come up or not, still their being there will have *every* effect on these fellows, who will suppose they are coming up daily—*Make a show*. Should an ambassador come from Dodah, I intend to show him at least six months' supplies. A whole go of bags filled with earth will be all ready piled up in a room by 12 to morrow.

"This letter is intended as much for Major Forbes as yourself, as I want to get the cossid off before day-break and have now to write another : so please forward with my official, which open and read."

The 'official' referred to is similar, and ends with a P. S. "My men are much more healthy than they were, and in the best of spirits."

But Brown's soundly reasoned demand for a demonstration at Phullaji was not implemented : on the contrary, an alarmist report of an intended attack on the place resulted in the officer commanding at Lahri withdrawing the troops from it ! Postans writes in indignation to Ross Bell that the fort should be strengthened rather than abandoned, being on the line of communications between Shahpur and Lahri, and easily held ; and that there was not reason to expect an attack as the Horse were patrolling under the hills. Brown seems to have been able to send a second kosid with a letter to Clibborn on the 18th. He discusses the situation and his chance of extricating himself ; and without the gun, which he thought he would be obliged to leave behind, even his invincible optimism found them slender. He continues "Exceedingly sorry and grieved I shall be to lower my old flag, but there appears no help for it. I would have given worlds to hold out only until another force could have been collected..... but now Postans has written to Dodah Khan *entreating* him to permit me to vacate"—the effect of which might well prove the reverse of what was intended. He sends copies of his former letters : "I also wrote a few lines to Postans and a chit to my wife, but the fellow who came was, I fancy, a spy ; so no doubt Dodah has the packet. However, this fellow went

away persuaded that I had three months' supplies left. Now the Murrees think I have only three days' and are wondering why the deuce I still remain here." He asks for more details of the fight at Naffusk; "I feel very much for all your misfortunes for which there appears to have been no help: that hill is a place that 100 determined men could hold against thousands. On the 31st we saw the *whole* top covered, the *whole* tribe must have been there. The only consolation is your having destroyed so many of the rascals: the other morning I went after some horsemen who came rather too close to graze their mares; they immediately called out 'Spread! Spread! the Feringees are going to fire the gun'—they must have felt *your* grape.

"As they might not yet have heard of our safety in Sukkur the best plan would be to cut off this part and send it in—if you are sending up a cossid, try the shoe, like I have now: he must also have a chit in his hand. My kind regards to all at Phoolajee.

"P.S.—If opportunity offers, please send me a few cherroots. Most fortunately we have had plenty of rain which has given us grass all round the fort, and enabled us to keep alive our bullocks and horses."

On the 23rd Sher Beg returned from the plains, but without any letter, having had it taken from him. He now disclosed the fact that the Marri Chief had twice sent for him after the fight, knowing him to have access to the fort, to say he would be happy to make any terms with Brown as long as he would evacuate it; but that Brown would not listen to those he had sent, firing on them and driving them away. This gave Brown an opportunity for which he could hardly have dared to hope; negotiations being suggested by the stronger party! He at once sent off Sher Beg and his naib (a Baluch) with a curt letter to the Chief.

"Dodah Murree,—I'll give you back your fort on condition that you give me personal security for my safe arrival in the plains: if not, I will remain here two months longer, having provisions for that time."

His ambassador returned next day with the news that a tribal jirga had been held, the upshot of which had been that the chiefs swore on the Quran that they would observe the terms if he left the fort within three days. A letter from Doda Khan followed, quoting a passage from the Quran as to the inviolability of such engagements, and continuing "from this you may

let your mind be at rest : I swear by the word of God I am answerable for the conduct of the Marris." Brown quoted the same passage in reply : "be satisfied from this that I have sworn to you by the Quran. I give you all my private property : send a man of your order to-day that I may place it in his hands."

Brown was still in suspense as to the result when writing that day to Major Smee, commanding at Lahri. He acknowledges receipt of a letter by the hand of a bania, who had arrived very late with the excuse that he had been compelled to hide in the hills, living on the flour of the convoy which was lying scattered about : "the long and short of it is he has, I suppose, been sitting safely in Dodah's camp. I cannot say how grieved I am to have to lower my bit of dungarce, after having held the place so long, or how disgusting it is to my feelings to have to make terms with such wretches as these. But it is no use talking big or swaggering now." Favourable terms were likely to be granted, as the Marris were so anxious to get rid of him. He continues "bad flour playing the deuce with my poor fellows, but they are in excellent spirits."

Then follows his skeleton plan for the retreat. All kit, officers' and men's, was to be left behind, as his fifty camels would only just carry the sick, the musket and gun ammunition, a tent for the sick, and two days' food and water : hence his generous offer to the Chief ! He was trying to obtain more camels, as he was "sadly afraid many will break down : if so, away goes the musket ammunition ; however, each man will carry 70 rounds and each follower 40 rounds, so if I have to throw away *every* box, still I'll have enough for one good fight : We have picked out 30 bullocks that are rather decent and intend to make every endeavour to bring down the gun : anything rather than leaving it in these fellows' hands. Besides, it will be such a stand-bye in case of treachery—again, should the Boogties show their teeth perhaps a little grape will satisfy them." He returns thanks to God for having preserved them in the midst of their enemies, and states his intention of firing the gun off immediately on reaching the plains, which would be a blessed day. Then once more the homely note "Send out spare bullocks and camels to meet us ; also three or four bottles of beer with a trifle of tea and sugar, will be very acceptable. Tell what I have said to dear Gregory (his wife) keep up her spirits in every way, and make her believe I am quite safe.

"If I cannot make terms I shall hold out till the last minute, if the *food is camels' flesh* if I can only persuade my men

to eat bullock's meat (I mean the Hindoos) I will keep the fellows out until 1st November ; but I am thinking they would sooner die first."

The last sentence may recall to many the circumstances of the fall of Kut-el-Amara. Fortune was more kind to the Commander at Kahan. The story may be told in his own words. "This evening Guamaul Khan came near the fort, and sent a message to say that he feared to venture inside : but that if I would meet him outside, without my troops, he would ratify the agreement. Wishing at once to see whether it was 'treachery or no treachery' I agreed, and, with Erskine and four Native Officers, met him about a mile from the fort. I never saw a man in such a fright in my life. Although he had 30 horsemen, armed to the teeth, and there were only six of us, he retreated twice before he would venture near us ! He thought from our coming alone there must be treachery ; that some men were hidden somewhere ; even after we had met, he had his horse already close by for a start. Down we all sat in a circle—a wild scene ; his followers appeared to be exceedingly well-armed, and all fine stout-built men. After compliments, &c. the nephew began to talk very reasonably. He expressed a hope that 'there would now be a lasting peace between his tribe and the British ; that they had only fought at the Nuffoosk Pass to save their country and their lives ; that it was the least they could do, when they had the fate of Beejar Khan staring them in the face. That they had never killed any of our people after the fight, and that all the prisoners had been fed, clothed, and set free. "He concluded by saying that 'he should remain near the fort until we left, to prevent any disturbance between his people and mine ; and that he would furnish us with trustworthy guides down.' There was not the slightest appearance of treachery. Thus ended this most interesting conference. It will not, I think, be easily forgotten by either Erskine or myself, so much depended on it,—the fate of ourselves and the whole of the detachment. We found these Baloochees the most civil and polite of men ! The confidence we placed in their word, by meeting them in the way we did, seemed to please them much, and from having been deadly enemies for five long months, became in one hour the best of friends ; no doubt their joy was just as great in getting rid of us, as ours was in obtaining our freedom."

No one who is acquainted with the history of the first Afghan war will fail to contrast the conduct of the Baluchis at Kahan with that of the Afghans in similar circumstances at Kabul, in

December 1841. Mecnaghton and Trevor* took the same risk as Brown and Erskine, but paid for it with their lives.

The 26th and 27th were joyously occupied by the garrison with preparation for the march, on the lines suggested by Brown in his letter to Major Since. The sepoys were as anxious as their commander to take the gun with them ; but the waggon and forge-cart were burnt, and all the tents save one, and the whole of the bedding, officers' and men's, were left behind. Brown's diary for the 28th reads as follows : "Turned our backs on Kahum this morning at 2 o'clock. Much trouble in getting off, in consequence of the number of sick ; obliged to tie some of the poor fellows on the camels. Commenced the ascent of the big hill at 6 a. m., and after immense fatigue and labour, got the gun to the top by 2 p.m. The sepoys were regularly overpowered with fatigue halfway up. The call for water now was dreadful, all that I had in the Mussuks being expended. About 9 o'clock about 300 Beloochees had assembled in our front, rear and right flank, perched on the top of the hills ; they seemed highly amused at our getting the gun up ; but when they saw the sepoys completely done up with thirst and fatigue, they called out 'Ah ! you will never get the gun down to the plains—you had better give it to old Dodah !' I offered them money to show us some water they said they would for Rs. 1,000 ! After some talk they agreed to show us some for Rs. 100, which was immediately given them : there was just enough to give each man a handful or so, and then they set to, and got the gun up. I really thought at one time we must have left it behind. At the very top of the pass were about 50 of Hybut Khan's followers. These men swore we should not go any further, until we had paid for the flock of sheep we captured on the 13th August. However, when it came to the point, and seeing the gun too close to be pleasant, they thought better of it, and begged a few rupees for Hybut Khan's family who, they said, were very poor. It was as much as I could do to restrain myself from giving this party a round of grape. It is well I did not, perhaps, as it would most likely have embroiled me with the rest of the tribe, and my detachment was not in much of a fighting condition !

"It was now 4 p.m. and we had still to descend the Nuffloosk Pass to some water, which our Murree guide reported was in abundance three miles from the bottom, in consequence of much rain having fallen. Commenced descending ; when a spectacle, the most horrible to be conceived, met our sight : the bodies of all our poor fellows, both officers and men, who fell on the 31st

*Great-grand-father of the author of this memoir.

August, lying unburied, with all their clothes on !—having been merely dragged off the road. Raitt's body was the first being almost on the top of the pass. Through this dreadful scene we had to lower our gun down the hill, inch by inch. I would have given worlds to have buried the poor fellows, but this was out of the question : we had then been fourteen hours under arms, and had still to seek for water ; besides which, we had no intrenching tools. The bodies were lying in heaps, which shows what a bitter fight it must have been. The Murrees spoke highly of poor Raitt's bravery, in being at the head of all: they had buried all their own dead at the bottom of the hill ; but although I offered them any money they chose to ask, they refused to bury ours, in consequence of the state of decomposition they were then in.

“After much labour, got the gun down the hill, and proceeded along the table-land until 7 o'clock, when we found water in abundance in a deep water-course, on the bank of which we bivouacked for the night. Although the men had no food all day they, all (save the pickets) immediately fell asleep, without tasting a bit they had been nineteen hours under arms, the first bugle having been sounded at 12 last night. Had this water been found when the fight of the 31st took place, what a different tale would have been told !” Brown subsequently succeeded in getting the dead buried through the agency of Bija Khan's nephew Mundu Khan, who was assisted by some of the Marris who had engaged in the fight. And so “their remains now lie in one large grave, in the ground on which they fought so gallantly.”

The remainder of the journey to Phulaji was accomplished in three days of unremitting exertion. Double marches were inevitable, as the detachment only had food for two days. The gun wheels broke down, but were mended somehow: all the gun ammunition save a few rounds of grape was thrown away to provide more carriage for the sick : and when after losing the way they halted where no water was, utter fatigue conquered even thirst. One man died, tied on the back of a camel : another, left behind for want of carriage, was brought down by the Marri guide, who mounted him on his own horse. Fourteen miles from Phulaji they were met by some of the Scinde horse, with spare camels and gun bullocks, and proceeded in better order to the plains. Here the howitzer was fired to convey the glad news of the detachment's escape to the Headquarters of the regiment in Lahri, and at the same time sound a last note of defiance.

Eastwick met them at Lahri a few days later, and Brown spoke highly of the conduct of the Marris. It is pleasant at length to find him giving credit where it was due, after so many references to "these rascals", "such wretches as these", "these cowardly Murrees". How the last phrase must have stung Clibborn, to whom it was addressed, after the specimen of their wild valour experienced at Naffusk ! These cant expressions, much in vogue among British Officers at this period, might be appropriate to a Baluch engaged in looting camel convoys in the plains, cutting up unarmed camp followers and the like ; but what of him when standing on the defence against an invader, in his own country which by a piece of political jugglery was to be rendered subject to an alien overlord ? Brown, and many other officers, were surprised that a robber Baluch was capable of true bravery, let alone chivalry : they held to the fallacy, exploded by 'Elia' that a bully is always a coward.

There was, in fact, no inconsistency between the two sides of the Baluch character. The soldiers and political officers—also soldiers for the most part—who came into contact with the tribes in 1839-40 knew with very few exceptions, little or nothing of their history and customs, and still less of their traditions and philosophy of life. Their first impressions were formed from seeing the rapine and slaughter continually perpetrated by them : cold blooded murders of camelmen, dak sowars, private servants and other harmless people, from which they came to look on the Baluchis as dangerous vermin, to be hunted down and exterminated whenever possible, with a fiercer zest than the chase of wild-boar or man-eating tiger ever roused—with the righteous indignation of civilized man against the deeds of the uncivilized. There must have been with the army descendants of our own predatory clans : English and Scots gentlemen who were not ashamed of forbears who led cattle lifting forays across the Cheviots, and kept up blood-feuds in which the murder of unarmed men was not unknown. Did any scion of Douglas or Percy sojourning in Upper Sind understand the Marris and Bugtis, or find some mitigation for their atrocities, from a reflection on his own family history ? The cry was still "these rascals", "these blood hounds", "these cowardly brutes", because our people measured them by a moral standard alien to the country ; and, conscious of living in the nineteenth century themselves, could not pardon behaviour appropriate to the seventeenth.

The normal in England or Europe was and is peace, until you declare yourself at war : in Baluchistan the tribes were at

war with one another and all the world until they declared themselves at peace. Expedience might restrain the Marris from fighting the Bugtis for a year or two : but whenever cattle of one tribe offered an opportunity for a "chapao" by the other, with a probability that reprisals would not be effective, they were carried off and their guardians killed. As to common people Jats, Kyheris, Sindhis, and foreigners—all were fair game that had something worth robbing ; the lives of Hindus, women, minstrels and boys who had not assumed trousers (the Baluch equivalent of the '*loga virilis*') alone being held immune. The principle 'Might is Right', was never carried to such logical lengths as among the Baluch tribes. The exposition of that law by King Melvas in "The Misfortunes of Elphin" might have been given by Bijar Khan Dombki or Turkali Jakhrani, save that the abduction of the wife of a rival tribal sardar (the analogy of Queen Guinever) would be considered disgraceful by a Baluch. He has his '*mayar*,' his nine rules of honour, which are not lightly broken ; still less is his plighted word.

The acquiescence of the Chiefs in the terms presented by Postans on the point of Billamore's bayonets did not constitute the giving of their "*sukhan*", nor did the breach of such an informal and conditional treaty by the Bugtis, involve a violation of the Code of Baluch honour. They gave hostages : they counted the odds ; they tried their strength ; they were punished. Nothing could be fairer. The Marris we have seen apart from trifling ebullitions of discontent natural in a tribe the sardar of which was beginning to lose something of his influence, actually implemented the terms. The vakil sent by Doda Khan was security for the safe conduct of Raitt's detachment to Kahan : it reached the place without opposition. The Chief and his people declined to have anything to do with the invaders : the troops left the country, and the tribesmen resumed their depredations in the plains. Fabian tactics, passive resistance, dissimulation, but in the whole of these proceedings nothing amounting to a breach of faith. It was a result as annoying for the politicals as it was unexpected : Billamore's field force was debarred under their orders from taking coercive measures against those who offered no active resistance ; it could not stay in the hills for ever ; and relieved of its presence, the most sanguine of Ross Bell's assistants could not have been surprised when Doda persisted in refusing to give the required security for his tribe's behaviour. The Politicals felt unable to resile from the position already adopted, and eagerly embraced the support of the military authorities in the plan to occupy Kahan. They could now take

shelter behind the sanction of Willshire and Stevenson, whom they had cajoled into believing that the establishment of the post would protect Northern Kachhi from Marri raids, and so relieve them from the employment of cavalry in the plains. But the political motive was undisguised : and when we find Postans, prior to the occupation, remarking that " The Marris..... have always considered themselves independent, and do not understand why they should now be called upon to become tributaries " we are reminded of the clause in the infamous Treaty of 1839 by which the Mirs of Sind were compelled to finance Shah Shuja's expedition by the payment of arrears of tribute to which as an exile for years, he could have no claim in equity or law. Similarly the rights, of the Khan of Kelat, extinguished by long non-usage, were to be made good from the Marris as soon as their subjection to the Durani Empire gave the British specious excuse for interference on its behalf. When we turn from this revolting mixture of special pleading and naked force, and compare Doda Khan's noble words when his captial was restored to him, that he hoped that there might now be peace between his tribe and the British Government, and that although they had opposed the troops at the hill of Naffusk it was only in defence of their country—which side shall we declare drew the sword with a righteous Cause ?

"But" says the devils advocate "in their raids on Kachhi the Marris harassed not only the local inhabitants, but British convoys." And what were the British doing in this galley ? Merely on the march to attack a king of Afghanistan who had never done them any harm, and was in fact their— friend ; and to replace him on the throne by a ruler long discarded by his people, whose own attempts to regain his kingdom had failed continuously for thirty years, because his country did not want him. The End was bad : but the Means infinitely worse. Even if it were argued that the Government of India found it necessary, as a measure of self-defence, to force their nominee on a neighbouring state as king—a more than generous assumption— what right did this give the British over Sind and Kalat ? Was there the slightest justification for interference with these states, or for carrying out such a policy by a systematic breach of treaties with independent sovereigns not at all concerned ?

The shortest line of march from British territory on the Sutlej to Kabul was through the Sikh territories and the Khyber: and under the Tripartite treaty Ranjit Singh was our active ally. But the present of horses sent to him in 1831 had gone up the

Indus ; British eyes had spied out the land of less formidable princes than the Lion of the Punjab. The Secret Committee—at this period as Machiavellian a body as could well be imagined in any state or century—thought it safer to adopt a line of advance 1,200 miles long, passing through territories the rulers of which could easily be bullied into acquiescence in any terms, rather than a line one quarter its length, through the country of an ally of the British Government who happened to have an efficient army. If this plan was safer, it was more expedient ; if more expedient, than the existence of prohibitive articles in solemn treaties must be ignored. Here was a notable British essay on the theme of *jus fortioris*. It is painful to review the correspondence between the Government of India and its unwilling instrument, Colonel Henry Pottinger, the Resident in Sind, in the year 1838. One example is enough, in the cynical direction of Lord Auckland, through his secretary, W. H. Macnaghton, to Pottinger that “while the present exigency lasts, you may apprise the Ameers, that the Article of the Treaty with them, prohibitory of using the Indus for the conveyance of military stores, must necessarily be suspended during the course of operations for the permanent establishment of security to all those who are parties to that treaty.” This, not to mention what followed, helps us to relish the unconscious irony of Postans’ observations during his negotiations with the Bugti and other chiefs before Billamore’s campaign :—“the distrust and apprehension of these men is so great, that I find it most difficult to induce them to believe that we do not practise the same treachery which distinguishes their mutual intercourse on all occasions.”

Doda Khan Marri, in fact, was warned by our treatment of the Mirs at Hyderabad and Khairpur, and his fears received confirmation when Bibrak and Bija Khan were put in irons, and their horses sold. Nothing would induce him to incur the risk of such disgrace : and if he stedfastly declined the Political Agent’s invitations to walk into his parlour, was he to be blamed ?

We turn from high policy to vulgar crime, and find ourselves in the same atmosphere of violence. The Government of India blazed their trail of Might is Right from Vikkar at the mouth of the Indus to Kabul. The Marris left the same words written in burning villages from Lahri to Sibi. Lord Keane could hector the Mirs of Sind because they were unable to offer armed resistance. A Marri could kill a camel-driver because he was unarmed. The difference is in method and degree, not in principle.

Something has been said to explain, though nothing can justify, the Baluch view of the right to kill. In respect of the unarmed there is some reason to believe that the Marris were less atrocious than their neighbours. Doda Khan, as we have seen, attributed the massacre of Clibborn's camp—followers to the Bugtis, and was anxious to clear his own tribe from an imputation so dishonourable. This was almost certainly, the truth, as Clibborn's narrative shows. Naffusk divides the Marri from the Bugti country, and the Marris stood on their defence at this, their frontier. They were in no condition to follow up the retreating column, and the ambush at Sartaf was not an attack on the troops, but on the remains of the convoy, which the Bugtis had harassed before and during the battle. It is noteworthy that Wazir Khan, son of Bija Khan Dombki, told Eastwick at Khea that "all the Biluchis from that quarter had gone up to assist the Marris and had taken part in the battle." It is much more probable that they joined their old friend the Bugtis in taking part in the spoil.

However, the Marris' conduct at Naffusk is not sufficient ground for clearing them of the charge, which may safely be made against them in common with the other tribes, of habitually slaughtering unarmed men on their plundering expeditions in the plains. They can merely plead that all started fair, and that in such a country to go unarmed was an offence against the code of commonsense, punishable with death. Ensign Newnham records an incident which illustrates this philosophy. "These Beloochees are very cool fellows. One was hung the other day at Shikarpore. He answered with the greatest sang-froid 'I am innocent :I have committed no crime: I only cut a man down with my sword !' He had not broken the inviolable law of hospitality ; no Syed or woman had intervened to beg the life of his victim : the man was not on holy ground. There was, therefore, no reason why he should not be killed. From a practical point of view , too, would it have been foolish for men who subsisted largely on plunder not to act on the principle that dead men tell no tales. Eastwick overheard Turk Ali's men talking and laughing with one another about the way in which they had plundered Lord Keane's army. 'After all' said one of them 'the Feringis are liberal fellows, they buy of you to-day the camels you have stolen from them yesterday : what customers can be better than these ?' Now the safe working of this simple system, in which it is regrettable to record that Seth Jethsing of Snikarpur was a go-between, involved the silencing of the '*sur-wans*' from whom the camels were stolen. Similarly, when the hill-tribes carried off crops or grain from Kachhi, it was inex-

pedient to leave alive men who might lay information with the Khan's naib of the identity of those who had injured his master's revenues.

Such reasoning may appear brutal, but was perfectly appropriate in a country where, as Jacob says, a man's life was of no more value than that of a sparrow or a fly. Nor were the Baluchis alone in pursuing the principle to its logical conclusion. We have already noticed the behaviour of the Kyheri guides after Naffusk. More painful reading still is the evidence of those who survived the slaughter by the 6th Irregular Cavalry of a number of harmless peasants, who had started on the same errand as the troops, to recover their cattle carried off by Baluch free-hooters. Captain Mackenzie who commanded, may not have realised the mistake; but his men undoubtedly did, and continued the massacre without pity or remorse. This was in August, 1844, when the disorder in Kachhi and Upper Sind was infinitely worse than in 1840. Savagery on both sides had become the rule, and there was then no Jacob on the frontier to prove that the authority of moral force could successfully take the place of physical violence. In illustrating at such length the general relations between the British and the Baluchis in those early days, the writer's object is to place the Marri rising in its proper perspective. It was the collision of two forces, widely different at a superficial glance, yet actuated by complementary principles. The British, in attempting, to coerce the Marris, had a bad political cause but a good moral one. They had no business to hand the tribe over to their protege Shah Shuja : but the punishment of raiders who were a menace to all mankind in their vicinity was in the public interest, whatever the status in the country of the Power that would inflict it.

The Marris, in harassing the British, had a good political cause but a bad moral one. The British had no right to march through the territories of the Khan ; but this could not justify the Marris' indiscriminate slaughter of unarmed men engaged in the performance of duties that could in no way affect the tribe adversely. Henry Lushington, in "A great country's little wars" written in 1843 and based mainly on Dr. Buist's articles in the Bombay Times, goes a little beyond the work in his condemnations of British policy, and uncompromising advocacy of the tribesmen's cause. He ascribes the objects of our original interference in 1839 as somewhat indefinite, but centring in this; to exact tribute not shown to be due, and to establish a supremacy never definitely acknowledged ; probably also to punish some alleged depredations. "Now but for the intolerable harass-

ment of our columns and communications by the Marris no attempt would ever have been made to coerce them." Lushington's conclusions on the episode are however worth quoting in full.

"We had now had enough of the Murrees, perhaps their generous and honest behaviour may have had its share in awakening our authorities to a sense of their wickedness and folly. We released the Chiefs we had captured, treacherously as they said, and made peace with the hillmen, on the simple terms of henceforth mutually letting each other alone, of tribute we need hardly say, no more was heard. And so the war between England and the Murrees being over, the latter disappear from history where they have however, played a part not unlike that which made the early glory of Greece and Switzerland. In some mosque in their hills stand the guns taken in fair battle from an English commander—trophies which are not to be seen in every European capital.

Our share from the transaction between us, is, the reproach of unprovoked aggression ; theirs, the sympathy which all men feel for simple and generous manhood. A braver people never maintained their freedom with the sword."

And now the aftermath.

Rewards and punishments had to be dealt out by the Government of India to those who had tried to execute its policy. Brown was directed to furnish an account of the circumstances of the evacuation of Kahan, the Governor General at the same time conveying his high approval of his proceedings. The Government of Bombay later issued a notification on the subject of the Defence, the material part of which reads.

"In order to testify his admiration of the gallantry, prudence and perseverance which distinguished the conduct of Captain Brown in the defence of Kahun, and the fidelity and bravery of the officers and men under his command, the Governor in Council, with the sanction of the Governor General in Council, is pleased to direct.

First:—that in consideration of the honour conferred on the 5th Regiment Native Infantry, by the conduct of the detachment of that Corps in the defence of Kahun, this Regiment shall be permitted to have "Kahun" inscribed on their colours, and borne on their appointments.

Second.—that in consideration of the losses of the detachment, arising from want of carriage, and other causes, a donation of six months' batta shall be granted to the survivors of the garrison of Kahun, and the heirs of those who fell in its defence.

Third.—that this Order be read at the head of every Regiment of this Presidency, at a special parade to be held for this purpose.

"The Honourable the Governor in Council will likewise have great satisfaction in bringing the distinguished services of Captain Brown, and the officers and men who composed the garrison of Kahun; to the favourable notice of the Honourable the Court of Directors."

Official recognition of Brown's services came in his removal to staff employ. He was made Brigade Major to the forces in Sind.—"an appointment which, however inadequate it may be considered, as the result of your meritorious conduct will, His Excellency hopes, be viewed by you as a testimony of his approbation." Subsequently, on April 5th, 1841, he became Brigade Major at Poona, where many who now pass every day down 'Kahun road' may wonder idly what was the origin of its strange name. We last hear of him as Political Agent, Palanpur, in 1842-43.

Like Eldred Pottinger, the hero of Herat, he did not live to fulfil all the promise shown in his tenacious defence; but it gained him something better than promotion or honours or wrath: the immortal cognomen by which he was known throughout India in his life time as after his death, as 'Kahun' Brown.

Clibborn had urged the holding of an inquiry into the circumstances of his defeat when first reporting it in his hurried letter to Postans; and a Military Court was appointed. The dreadful incidence of casualties, nearly one-third of the troops engaged; the complete loss of the convoy, with government and regimental treasure; above all, the abandonment of the guns of the detachment—such a disaster had not for many years overtaken a British expedition.

The Court met on the 10th November 1840, and Clibborn was first examined, There is no need to treat his evidence in

detail; we have already mentioned the reasons for his preference of the Naffusk route in the face of the probability of resistance, and his written statement, already given at length in this memoir, explains almost all his difficulties.

One fact emerged from his oral evidence which shows why the column ran out of water in a single march, from Sartaf to Naffusk. The water-carriage arrangements provided by the commissariat department in Sukkur, already referred to as being in a chronic state of inefficiency, consisted of twenty camel pakals (double water-skins): and Clibborn says their hides were so rotten that they scarcely retained water from a single march. When the supply ran out before Naffusk it was useless to send them back so far for water—involving the descent and ascent of Sartaf—and the state of the transport was so bad that the whole detachment could not have been moved back to it without abandoning guns and baggage. The water which Mir Hassan alleged he had found was believed to be much nearer.

Sir John Fortescue in his "History of the British Army" by following implicitly Durand's account in "the First Afghan War," gives a most erroneous picture of the position. He says "*The distress of the troops from thirst was such that Clibborn was fain to send parties in search of water, which was found within a mile and a half of his position. But instead of marching to it with all his force, Clibborn sent only his water-carriers and the gun teams, with an escort of irregular horse. Having with them no infantry, these were easily disposed by the Baluchis, and thus all the water vessels were lost. The news reached Clibborn at sunset, but he still hesitated to march to the water.....*" (the italics are the present writer's)—these and many other misrepresentations of fact throughout Fortescue's account afford a melancholy example of the danger of writing history with adequate materials, which he himself admitted in his preface to this volume.

Clibborn was also asked by the Court whether he considered his force sufficient in strength for the work in hand, and he replied that two thousand men would not be sufficient in such a country—a very different tune from that he had sung to Eastwick at Shikarpur on his way up.

His reply to the important question whether he had fully considered the possibility of turning the pass was that a suitable place was found and examined by him, but that to effect it

four hundred men would have been required, and to have detached such a large proportion of his force would have endangered the convoy.

His officers all bore testimony to the courage and good judgment displayed on all occasions by their commander, and Brown declared that the pass, as he saw it on his return, could have been held by 100 men against 1000. His evidence also was valuable to Clibborn's case in the account he gave of his own difficulties on the return march.

Loch mentioned the fact that at every turn of the path up the pass "bassies" had been erected, of stone and thorns: and it was at the fifth and last of these that the Marrs had launched their counter-attack.

Postans was questioned in considerable detail; he made out a tolerably good case for himself on every point, except that unfortunate demi-official to Major Forbes.

The Court's findings were as follows:

The original cause of the disaster lay in Lord Keane's crippling the commissariat and denuding the country of troops, which precluded the possibility of offensive operations and strong supports. The result was that Brown was established only in May, with half the troops Brigadier Willshire had intended.

Brigadier Stevenson committed an error of judgment in sending Brown at all when he could not expect to feed the detachment for the whole of the hot weather.

Stevenson and his successor as Brigade Commander, Major Forbes, ought to have ordered Brown to put his troops on half or quarter rations in August. (This ignores the fact that Brown on his own initiative had put them on half rations in May).

There had been a lack of proper understanding between Postans and Stevenson, the latter having determined on throwing in supplies with an escort of 1,200 bayonets, six guns, and a strong body of the Irregular Horse, without consulting the Politicals.

Orders sent to Brown to put his troops on half or quarter rations would have answered the purpose, as he could then

have held out till October 15th. The Court condemned the sending of such an enormous convoy; 200 camel would have been enough (a note in the margin of this document, apparently in Jacob's handwriting, observes with reference to the first animadversion, 'unjust.')

Postans was highly culpable for not having accompanied the convoy. His letter to Major Forbes that 400 men and two guns could beat off 10,000 Baluchis was most improper.

Clibborn's statement that he had really thought 2,000 men necessary was not satisfactory; the convoy with such a force to supply would have been hopelessly unwieldy.

The Court also differed from Clibborn as to the most suitable route, observing "accurate surveys of the three routes, from Phoolajee and Lahree to Kahun, were made last year by Lieutenant Jacob of the Artillery and Doctor Kirk. In addition to these the latter officer had made careful drawings of the three passes and gorges which presented the chief obstructions to the advance of troops: a reference to Captain Jacob's report will show that the road over the Nuffoosk pass was made by him, and until he constructed it the pass was impracticable except for foot-passengers." When Clibborn heard of the holding and breaking up of the Naffusk route he should have gone by Dera; the only difficulty was a narrow gorge a mile and a half beyond that place: there was abundance of water and forage: in the event of resistance he might have halted any length of time there and later turned the pass.

With regard to the engagement, Clibborn apparently had held the enemy in contempt: his plan of attack was injudicious, and his reasons for not turning the pass invalid: for if the two flank companies were enough to make a direct attack, they could have turned the position if he had made a false attack in face, later to be converted into a real attack in conjunction with the outflanking movement, if successful. As to water, the commander had trusted too much to the reports of others. There were trees and herbage, indicating the presence of water within three hundred yards of his position, which should have attracted notice. (The authority for this statement is not given).

The Court finally commends the fortitude and gallantry of the troops. They had suffered a reverse, but their honour remained untarnished.

These proceedings were submitted to the Government of Bombay and on further reference were followed up by a statement in which the Court explained the reasons which led to their findings on Major Clibborn's conduct : they adhered to them, though making a handsome reference to his courage in unparalleled difficulties.

The Government of Bombay recorded their final opinion in Orders dated 26th May 1841.

"On a final review of the whole of these proceedings, the Hon. the Governor in Council has the highest gratification in thus publicly recording his opinion that Major Clibborn and the officers and troops under his command have well performed their duty to Government, and that they are fully entitled to his strong and unqualified acknowledgment for conspicuous gallantry and zealous devotion to the service, under circumstances of almost unparalleled difficulty and suffering, originating in causes beyond human control.

"The views taken by this Government of these proceedings, as now promulgated have met with the full concurrence and approbation of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, and that high authority cordially joins with this Government in the sense which it entertains, as above expressed, of the fortitude and gallantry of Major Clibborn and of the officers and troops under his command in the action of the Nuffoosk."

The Court of Directors also recorded a favourable opinion after reading Clibborn's narrative, which he seems to have submitted to the Court after its conclusions as to the exercise of his judgment had been recorded. The bulk of it has already been given in this memoir.

General Brooks and Brigadier Valiant, President and Member respectively of the Court of Inquiry, were soon afterwards relieved by the Board of Directors of their commands in the field, owing, according to J. H. Wilton, to "some injudicious conduct, contrary to the custom of the service in the eyes of Government." Brooks was the man primarily responsible for the disgraceful failure at Kajak in March 1841 ; but it does not appear that this, or his quarrels with Ross Bell, led to his punishment, but merely the fact that the Supreme Government had their own views as to the apportionment of blame for Naffusk. Eastwick observes "They were called upon to reconsider their opinion yet adhered to it, and consequently fell, all of them,

somewhat unjustly in my opinion, into—*mais laissons cela*. I shall only say it was lucky no Political accompanied the force. Poor devil ! What Atlantean shoulders he would have required to bear the weight of infamy that would have been hurled upon him."

This, as we have seen, was one of the points on which Postans sustained the Court's censure. Called upon for his explanation, he had written to Ross Bell on January 2nd, 1841, giving his reasons for not accompanying Clibborn :— he had supplied competent guides : he had taken all means to procure information as to the Marri's movements : the Military authorities had maps of the country, and his presence could not have influenced in any way the tribesmen's opposition.

As to his petulant expressions in the private note to Forbes, these were neither intended nor were they in fact taken as serious estimate; and the official correspondence on this point had not been made public. Postans adds that the arrangements made at Sukkur during Brigadier Stevenson's illness and after his death were made without any reference to him as Political Officer in charge, that he was not acquainted with the value of the convoy until after its loss, and that he would never have allowed treasure to be taken had he known it. He had early in the proceedings obtained from Brown an acknowledgment of his able assistance throughout the siege : He had "never let slip any opportunity of furnishing information and good advice," and had been unceasing in his efforts to extricate the force at Kahan after Clibborn's defeat. The only documentary evidence of this last is a letter written by him to Amiel on September 20th 1840, directing him to find out practicable routes in the Marri Hills.

However the Government of India, having made up their minds to exculpate Clibborn, had to find some scape goat : so Postans was censured "for not taking all proper precautions to ensure the success of the expedition" for not accompanying it himself and for not consulting Outram, the Political Agent, Lower Sind, before undertaking a movement of such importance :—all which conclusions seem in a greater or less degree unreasonable. Finally the Government of India expressed themselves as only deterred from removing him from Political duties by "the generally meritorious tenor of his services."

We have already seen Government's opinion on the broad policy of the occupation, and its censures on Ross Bell which how-

ever deserved ought—*pace* Fortescue—to have embraced Sir Thomas Willshire and Stevenson. A further post-mortem examination of policy, liaison and staff-work would be tedious ; but with regard to Clibborn's march and the engagement itself it is necessary to clear up some doubtful points.

In regard to the route Clibborn seems to have made the natural choice, in spite of the Court's findings. The information as to the breaking up of the pass was not and could not be confirmed without serious delay. The route *via* Dera Bugti would have exposed his column to constant harassment by the Bugtis; if not serious opposition, long before the Marri country was reached; and at that season the loss of transport animals would certainly have been very great, the distance being more than doubled. Above all time was a serious consideration. It turned out afterwards that Brown was able to hold out for more than three weeks after Clibborn's defeat but it does not appear that he gave any indication of this in his letter received by Postans on the 21st August and probably previously seen by Clibborn: and the previous information in the Brigade Office had been that he could only hold out for one week in September.

The Court's main criticism of Clibborn's plan of attack appears plausible, but Jacob's map and Dr. Kirk's drawing were not enough to give a true idea of the topography of Naffusk. The table-land extending from the top of Sartaf is bounded on the North or Kahan side, by a ridge lessening in height as it runs from the West to the East where together with the table-land it ends abruptly in an enormous ravine. The "road" climbs the ridge where it is lowest and easiest ; that is, close to the point where it is cut off : it appears to be leading towards this precipice to the East when it suddenly turns North and ascends over the shoulder of the mountain. The place which Clibborn examined with a view to turning the pass is an immense ravine cutting into the ridge where it is far higher, about 3/4 mile to the West. Admittedly the infantry could, with great exertion, have scaled this; and if the artillery had played upon the head of the pass itself it is unlikely that the Marris would have made a counter-attack on the convoy. But they could see what was going on below all along the ridge, and, as soon as a detachment began to climb the ravine, could have easily moved sufficient men to repel it. With their superior mobility, the position they occupied was virtually on the "interior lines" and they had the superiority also in numbers. They probably mustered 2,000 men on the mountain, and Clibborn's first estimate and probably a true one, of the number who attacked his main body in the valley, was only 500. On the

whole it seems doubtful whether any improvement upon his dispositions could have been made.

But even as Clibborn fought his battle, it is possible, if we can trust Sher Beg's statement that there was a moment when he might have succeeded in crowning the pass without more than trifling additional losses. After their repulse in the heroic conflict in the valley, the flight of the survivors of the Marris 'noble 500' down the virtually impassable ravine to the East is said to have followed by a retreat to the bottom of the pass on the Kahan side by the whole tribe. If this is true, the men whom Clibborn still saw on the heights were no longer the outposts of a numerous array, but videttes ready to take to their dispirited comrades the news of a final advance of the British. Then was the time to have renewed the attack! And if Brown's informant is to be believed, the chance was not momentary, as the main body of the Marris did not re-occupy the summit till midnight, when they arrived only to find that the British Force had gone, leaving their kit on the ground. This would explain how Clibborn managed to gain a march on the Marris, though it is also probable that having been so severely handled they were in any case content to let the British retreat unmolested. It is disappointing that the Marris have not clearer traditions of the most glorious days of their history; but Sher Beg Bugti's assertion, that they thought that lack of water alone was the cause of the troop's retreat, is confirmed by the Bugti sardars of to-day, who consider the annihilation of Clarke far more deserving of renown than the drawn battle at Nafusk! Whatever the truth, the 'fog of war' had descended over the field; and while Fortune still held the balance even, no flash of inspiration was afforded to the commander of either side, to snatch decisive victory.

No blame can attach to Clibborn for failing to put his luck to the test in a renewed attack. The storming-party had been so fiercely repulsed that the boldest commander might well have hesitated before risking a repetition of that furious counter-attack. Above all, the men were prostrated by thirst and exhaustion, and even without the slightest opposition the climb was in the circumstances a painfully laborious undertaking. It was conceivable too that the infinitely more mobile Marris might have made a flank attack on the baggage and convoy by the 'blind' ravine by which they had retreated. There were no means of discovering where they were.

Jacob, in his Memoir of Billamore's campaign, speaks of Cliborn's "signal victory over, and with so much loss to, the Murree tribe," which was unfortunately followed up with all the consequences of a disastrous defeat. But this memoir was written in the heat of his indignation against the gross mis-statements and glaring omissions in Sir Williams Napier's "Administration of Scinde": Jacob's cooler judgment later put the affair in a true light, in his able 'Report on the States and tribes bordering on the frontier of Upper Scinde.' The battle itself was inconclusive: but the Marrs reaped all the fruits of victory. Less than two months later the Political Agent wrote to Amiel, ordering him to try to repurchase the gun-horses captured by the enemy for Rs. 150 each!—sufficient evidence of the lowering of British prestige. Postans mentions, in his account of the events of 1839-1841 in Upper Scinde and Kutchee, that Captain Lewis Brown was also detached in December 1840 to negotiate with the Marrs, "through the strenuous efforts of Captain Brown, who proceeded into the hills to meet them and give them confidence, a few of the inferior chiefs visited the Political Agent at Lehree. Under what guarantee or understanding they deposited I know not, but lately (June 1841) the Khujuck country and Bolan puss were infested by them." There is no doubt that the two reverses in the Marri Hills had a serious and lasting effect on the sepoys' morale. Eastwick says that after Clarke's disaster they looked upon an order for service in the 'takar' (hills) as leading them literally 'es Kopdkds. Clibborn's defeat produced a still worse impression, as was proved in the disgraceful failure to storm the weak town of Kajak in March 1841. Unfortunately the light company of the 2nd Grenadiers was chosen to lead the attack—possibly in order to restore their confidence, being the same company which had suffered so heavily at Naffusk. But, writes Jacob in a letter to his father "such terror had they been struck with on that occasion that nothing would now induce them fairly to face the Beloches swordsmen. The sepoys of the 21st kept calling to them either to advance or retire, and let them come on. But to no purpose". One of the officers tried to pull them forward by their belts: failing in this he went on alone into the gate and was instantly killed, not a man following him.

Two years later, at Miani, Clibborn commanded the 1st Grenadiers; and his strange hesitation in the attack, generously slurred over by Sir Charles Napier in his despatch, can only be ascribed to the same cause: the oppression of Naffusk. Jacob with the Sind Horse was close to the regiment, and in

his letter describing the battle writes "the victory was worse than doubtful for many minutes, and the Grenadiers sounded *the retreat* (Clibborn declares he only took up the *sound from someone else*!)"

It is satisfactory to record that the individual mainly responsible for the full measure of disaster at Naffusk, Mir Hassan Notani, did not escape the due punishment for his treachery. He was caught by Napier during the hill campaign of 1845, and condemned to transportation for life. He served his sentence in Ahmednagar and Poona jails. In 1857 the Khan of Kelat was induced to press for his release, but met with a refusal. It was apparently believed that he had previously betrayed Clarke, though nothing in Abdullah Kyheri's account of the affair at Sartaf goes to show that he broke faith on that occasion. At least there can be no doubt of his treachery to Clibborn. After twenty-four years imprisonment he was released and returned to his country, where he found himself of no consequence in the tribe. A new generation had grown up: his only son had been killed in the fight at Shams: and his name had long been forgotten.

Sir Charles Napier in a letter to the Government of India dated March 20th 1846 speaks of the "celebrated passes of Nuffoosk and Surtoff, disastrous and dishonourable to British Arms." Disastrous certainly; but in what lay the dishonour? The abandonment of the three guns and their continued possession by the enemy? Government after Clibborn's defeat accepted, as a principle of policy, the desirability of punishing the Marris, provided that the Officer Commanding in Upper Sind could make certain of adequate carriage. Nothing was, or could be attempted in the hills until Sir Charles' own campaign of 1845, in which the chastisement of the Marris could easily have been undertaken with the large force at his disposal; nearly ten times greater than any that had preceded it. The General however, rightly wished to make an example of the tribes which were there causing most annoyance to Upper Sind: he had to make sure of the Dombkis, Jakhranis and Bugtis, and in order to do so was obliged not only to forgo any punitive operations against the Marris, but to obtain, through Jacob, their co-operation in his blockade of the other tribes! This was well enough, the Conqueror's method of wiping out the memories of British dishonour was disclosed. Says Jacob, "The Murrees were treated with favour by Sir C. Napier, who made them handsome presents. The General also commenced

negotiating with them for the surrender of three guns abandoned by Major Clibborn, which they had in their possession at Kahun. The discussion took place in the presence of Captain Jacob: the Murree Chiefs proposed, at Sir C. Napier's request, to give up one of these guns, and to send it to Poolajee: but knowing the bad effect of such proceedings on the minds of these barbarians, and that they had neither the intention of giving up the gun, nor the power of transporting it to the plains, Captain Jacob expressed a strong opinion as to the impolicy of the negotiation, and told Sir C. Napier that the Murrees thought we were afraid of them. On this His Excellency abruptly broke off the negotiation, and the matter was never again agitated."

The price of these trophies was not fully paid by the Marris in their losses in the battle: losses to which the guns' grape had contributed so greatly. The famous Chief Lal Khan was helping to get them up the pass when one slipped back and crushed him, so that he died soon afterwards. On his death bed the old warrior called his people round him, warning them never to go near the British Guns, as 'sleeping or waking, they would always be their destruction!' Two of them were recovered in 1859, after Jacob's death, by Major Henry Green, his successor on the frontier of Upper Sind, who, in conjunction with the Khan of Kelat, made a successful expedition in to the Marri Hills. The third was not then found: but it was seized by the British after the Marri Rebellion of 1918; the sword cuts that it bears are honourable testimony to the fierceness of the struggle at Nuffusk.

The kettle-drums captured by the Bugtis from a Sikh army still hang in the shrine of Sori Khushtak, but the Marris can now show no trophies of the most memorable day in their history. The small-arms and equipment stripped from the dead of Clibborn's force were stored in a cave on the Kodi plateau to the North-West of the battlefield, together with much gunpowder. Tradition says that the '*chokidar*' died without passing on the secret of the entrance. It is more probable that the earthquake which on the 24th January 1852 laid Brown's Kahan in ruins blocked up the cave. And successive Sardars of the tribe have searched for it in vain.

No dishonour attaches to British Arms, in their defeat by the Marri tribe: it was the British Policy that was disgraceful and disgraced. The errors of Ross Bell, Postans, Stevenson, Clarke and Clibborn, serious in themselves, pale in to insignificance besides the criminal folly, "notorious as the sun at noon-

day", of Lord Auckland's Government. And the Marri rising was the beginning of the end. The tribe proved to their brother hillmen that the Company's troops were not invincible. They fired the train that led directly to the explosion at Kabul—the Brahuis passed on the torch to the Kajaks, and they to the Ghilzais, till all the hill country was aflame. For the British, the rising anticipated in a curious way the impending disasters in Afghanistan, and the solitary ray of success that lightened their gloom. For while Sartaf and Naffusk were forgotten in the deeper tragedy of Tizi and Jagdallak, nothing in the defence of Jelalabad can be held to surpass the manly fortitude and resolution of "Kahun" Brown.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SIND

PART I.—A Preliminary Survey.

By

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Relation of History with Geography

It is now a recognised fact that natural geographical factors influence man's character and his actions and that the history of a country is to a certain extent related to its geography. The direction taken by movements of population, the establishment of capital and other cities, the marches of armies along certain routes, and giving battle at convenient points, the growth and decay of an empire, the obstacles or facilities afforded by a province in its political, economic or social advancement in different directions, and above all, the destruction, supersession or assimilation of one culture or civilisation by another, have much to do with the geographical features existing. The histories of ancient Iran and its world-wide empire, of Crete and of Sparta, of the Greek city states, of the Egyptian, Roman, and Byzantine civilisations, and, most recently, of the Abyssinian Empire and the British Commonwealth, are all dependent on the geographical conditions of the lands. Not only this, but the trend of the history of one country is similar to that of another in this respect. Thus, in the birth of a new pattern of state, in its growth through the highways or waterways, inland or open sea routes, and in its death due to over expansion or moral deterioration, the physical factor invariably counts. World power at any time in the history of mankind can be resolved into (1) the *place*, which must mean the geographical factor, (2) the *time*, which must be ripe and opportune, and (3) the *man*, who must be ready to utilise the opportunities.

This is more true of India than of any other country in the world, inasmuch as its civilisation is exceedingly old, and its geography or build is in many respects unique. The physical features of the Peninsular and Extra-peninsular areas, the roaring bill torrents, the snow-fed or rain-fed rivers and placid streams, the variety of surface contours, climatic conditions, soils and vegetation, forests, desert lands and deltaic swamps, the work of external geological agencies on rocks, and, above all, the most

convenient open fields of the Indo-gangetic plain, which is not only the most populated region, but also the most contested battle ground in the Indian Empire, have all had a marked influence on its history. In fact, the whole growth of the Indian Empire has been gravely influenced by its geographical conditions. There was never a political upheaval nor a social or economic collapse recorded in India, which had no connection with the natural conditions of the land.

India as a whole.

To repeat, in India from the earliest times, all historical movements have been conditioned by its peculiar geographical conditions. The following historical factors *i.e.* factors contributed by its history, have been well marked:—

1. The first and foremost historical factor of India is "passivity within and activity without". Foreign invaders have had the largest share in its history, and it appears as though India was destined to be ruled over by foreigners. The chief reason is that the country, though in itself self-sufficient, yet through its few sea ports in the south and its fewer mountain passes in the north attracted greedy or needy foreigners. While the impenetrable wall of the Himalayas and the N.—S. strike of the Burmese Yomas have entirely prevented foreign aggressions from these directions, the Khaibar and the Bolan passes have influenced the past history of India most and have facilitated ingress.

2. The neighbourhood of the dry plateau of Iran has placed India always in a critical situation. Dearth of food and water, and scanty habitable land have driven the highlanders periodically into the fertile valleys of Hindustan. This was also possible, because the lower slopes of the intervening mountains, striking east and west, fall gently into the plains of Hindustan.

3. The sea coast, though uninviting owing to the scarcity of natural harbours, has afforded convenient landing places to daring European sailors. Calcutta being its most attractive port on account of the fertile hinterland and having a navigable river, it was here that the British opened their first political innings in India against the hordes of untrained Indian soldiers. With only country crafts the natives could not venture on the open sea, and hence the development of Indian harbours and trade could commence only after the British took possession of the land.

4. The geographical position of the ancient capital of India, Delhi, is the most significant in the country. It lies within the very gateway of Hindustan, between the high Himalayas on one side and the Aravallis on the other, and across the two important valleys. A battle on the threshold of the city *viz.* Panipat, must be fought before a conqueror could march successfully onwards. Whoever was the conqueror of the city of Delhi automatically became the conqueror of Hindustan.

5. The climatic conditions of India are varied. They have made or marred the fortunes of many conquerors and conquering races. Few battles were fought in hot summer or rainy months and winter was the more convenient marching season.

6. The people of India are heterogeneous in character, because the different local physical conditions, *e.g.*, uneven distribution of food and water, have made them so. Foreigners came but they went back, leaving a sprinkling of aliens behind. Conversion played a great part in the life of Hindu India. Changes in dynasties meant no change in the life of the people or the system of government. There are castes and sub-castes differentiated by local peculiarities of structure, soil, and climate. They are, besides, a people contented with the products of the land, soft people of the soft soil, having sufficient solar energy, unambitious, leisurely and, therefore, absorbed in religious practices and philosophy.

7. Such a mixture of races, different castes and creeds, speaking different languages, and having peculiar customs and manners of their own, has not been successful in internal administration. Because there was difficulty of communication in a land of such a heterogeneous character, even the government took its form from its geography. Each clan or district became autonomous and governors who were deputed by the sovereign to distant parts became independent of the central government in no time. Only a strong *federal* government uniting them all, could be a success in India. A weak central power at home stimulated suction of foreign aggression through the valves of the mountain passes, and often the different native states became despotic and therefore ephemeral.

This lack of unity has been the root cause of India's political bankruptcy in the past. Its physical conditions have much to do with this. Says H. B. George: "India has been through a long history a geographical expansion having no

political unity to correspond. It has become a political whole though with limits not coinciding very closely with the physical boundaries. In spite of its mountain defences, it has been invaded through the passes by many various peoples, before and during recorded history, and its inhabitants are by no means alike in race."* This statement is corroborated by another student of historical geography: "India from the second century before the Christian Era to the date of the first European settlements, had been subjected to successive waves of invasion. Each of these invading armies entered from the north-west into the Indus basin and gradually penetrated into the heart of India, but all of them lost something of their *first impetus* before they completed their object. This fact accounts largely for the many races that make up the population, each with its own distinctive character, and yet each stamped with a common seal. Not one of these peoples was sufficiently strong to conquer the preceding invaders and impose their own form of civilisation on the country."† It may be that with the advance of India in national education and in scientific achievements, natural obstacles will, to some extent, be overcome and a new chapter in Indian history, with man in ascendancy, will open in the present century.

The Indus Basin

Unlike the Ganges valley, the valley of Sind, though a "good starting point for an invasion of India," was some time in being conquered by the British, as it lay in the dry region and its river and coast were not so attractive. But it was among the earliest to be invaded by the people from across the Persian Gulf and the N.W. Frontier, and has become a most important factor in the birth and growth of the Indian nation. Here the mountain passes placed the resources of the Indus valley at once at their disposal. The interaction of different races in the province, though restricted, has made its history possible. To the Persian and Vedic Aryans from the North it owes its language and other institutions, while to the Sumerian and Semitic peoples from across the Sea, it owes its civilisation and mode of life. There was also the spirit of religion in Sind conquests, conversion and assimilation of culture being very freely practised. The attacks on the land being periodic, the various kingdoms that were formed, were not lasting. They were for the benefit of the rulers and not the native farmers. The system of Government

* George H. B. "A Historical Geography of the British Empire," 1924. P. 207.

† Franklin T. "Historical Geography of Britain and the British Empire" Book I Pages 180-191.

was not changed, but was left in the hands of the natives, the defence of the Province only being taken over by the conquerors. As the ground was level, there was no prolonged war required, but a single battle was enough for the British to annex the province and to establish law and order. The battle of Miani, like that of Panipat, opened the Indus to peaceful commerce through the port of Karachi, while at the same time, the way was clear for them to approach Ranjit Singh.

Throughout the long course of its history Sind has had its vicissitudes : Its control of the Indus Darya, its conquests, governments, trades, all have undergone changes; its prosperity, eclipsed for a time, was revived again and again; and its peoples, a mixture of races, have gone through different stages of civilisation, but its system of agriculture, on which its very existence depends, has remained practically constant. Even the dress of the Haris and the shape of the bullock carts are as of old. Yet, change is the order of the day even in the scope and extent of agriculture. If neglected, even the river is liable to change its very course, and tracts of land, if not properly irrigated, become barren. In view of all these factors, it is necessary to study the outstanding geographical features of Sind and to establish a relationship between them and the history of the land.

OUTSTANDING GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

Position and Topography

Sind is at a crossroad of cultural movements by land as well as by sea. In size only about a thirty third part of India, it has been an antechamber for its thirty three crores of people and a stepping stone to the main land. It is between the arid plateau of the S. W. and the flood plains of the S. E. of Asia. It lies largely in the delta of the Lower Indus Basin, with three of its sides essentially connected with areas of marked geographical contrasts. On the west, it rests against the slopes of the barren and monotonous Khirthar mountains bordering on the Iranian table-land, down which descended many thirsty marauders, tribes and races, escaping from the climatic, social or political pressure of their lands. Towards the East, it gradually passes into the great Indian desert, the Thar, beyond which lie the further barriers of the Aravalli Range and the chains and forests of the Vindhya and Satpuras. As the base of the deltaic triangle, it has the Arabian sea board, receiving from it what it can offer, while its narrow apex penetrates into the plains of the Five Rivers in the north. It is about 360 miles long from North to

South (between Lat. $23^{\circ}35'$ and Lat. $28^{\circ}30' N.$) and nearly 275 miles in its extreme breadth (175 miles average), thus covering nearly 52,994 sq. miles.

It has a flat low-level country topography with hills in the distance. Its soils are deltaic valley soils, with sands more and more in prominence as we go down to the sea board. Its rocks are marine, with plenty of proofs of the presence of a sea which once lay between the two hilly regions of geologically different formations and age, *viz.* the Khirthar and the Aravallis.

Passage Ways and Trade Routes

This low and very fertile valley was sought by people living in comparative poverty in the surrounding dry regions. Immigration and settlement have been common in this Basin, from the very beginning of human history.

The complex foldings of the Hindu Kush mountains have afforded few openings between Central or Western Asia and India. Being nearest to the Asiatic centres of civilisation, the Khaibar Pass, however, has been frequently utilised by travellers and invaders; but a much less difficult route lies through another notch in the Highlands, the Bolan pass, situated within the simpler folds of the Suleiman-Hala range and leading through Kandahar and up the Hari Rud to Merv and Turkistan. This is the old Quetta-Seistan trade route, which was also followed by Alexander's troops on their return journey. There are other notches in the Khirthar mountain, leading across the longitudinal valleys of Makran into the historic trade routes of the Central Persian, Bampur-Kalat-Gandava route, through the Mula Pass, and the Arab trade route *viz.* Tiz-Las-Bela-Debal route. Besides these, the sea route to Sind was open to those who traded with the East through the Persian Gulf, and with South India.

Critical Position

This combination of the mountain passes in the West and the inlets of the southern coastal corridor has incidentally placed the whole province in a very critical position. With the political rise and fall of the Iran plateau, has risen and fallen the whole of the Indus Basin. As there are no natural harbours, the sea coast being shallow and unbroken, there was no great sea trade in historic times. Yet the numerous inlets of the Arabian Sea, which coincided with the outlets of the Indus river, helped

to admit into Sind sea-faring people from far-off countries such as Europe and Mesopotamia, as well as the neighbouring lands of Gujarat, and Cutch and the Deccan. Many of these immigrants came, settled for the time being, and, then, as time went on, their influence passed further inland.

Sind is devoid of any useful minerals except salts, and so metals of all kinds have had to be imported from the hilly regions of Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Makran and Iran on the west and the Aravallis and other mountains in the east. Thus the intercourse between the neighbouring parts of Asia has always been maintained.

Sind A Gift of the Indus.

Sind, indeed, is a gift of the Indus river. This age-old stream is the very life of the land. It is like an enormous oasis in the desert region. It almost bisects the province, and throwing its waters on either side, embraces as much of the cultivable land as possible. Its length in Sind with all its windings is 580 miles, about a third of its total length, and nearly 380 miles, as the crow flies. Lying, as Sind does, outside the influence of both the monsoons, this rolling river has been the sole means of support, and to some extent also, of communication for the people, until the introduction of the N. W. Railways in the 19th century. All the defects and irregularities of rainfall are made good by it, while it, in its turn, depends for its wealth of waters, upon the snows of the Himalayas, which melt early in summer, and the rains which fall in its upper reaches during the year. Floods, too, are caused by occasional glacial disturbances, as the Shyok, or by cyclonic storms, and the waters of the river often break through the protective embankments or *Bunds* into the surrounding lowlands.

The two unproductive lands on its sides, *viz.* the barren hills of the Western Highlands, and the sandy sea of the Thar desert, have accentuated the geographical features of the rich valley. They have emphasised its singular character, so much so that the river has not only given its own name to the province of Sind but also to the whole country of Hindustan (or Sindhustan). Sind's perennial water supply, rich productive soil, and geographical boundaries attracted many a people, who made their homes, highways and agricultural farms within the area. Even sacred hymns were dedicated to the Indus waters by the Rig Vedic poets, who lived in the upper parts of the valley. On the west side, the piedmont zone of the hill slopes has formed an

ethnic frontier between the plundering hillmen and the peaceful agricultural races, who dwelt along its banks. The Thar desert, on the other side, is not altogether arid, as it receives a small fraction of the monsoon rainfall now and again. It is not an insurmountable barrier, therefore, between the cultivated fields of the Indus valley and the semi-arid Rajputana hill tracts, while the passage of the Indus waters through the Punjab has enabled the two provinces, the upper and the lower Indus basins, to preserve their intercourse throughout all times. The Indus, again, has a fall of over 10,000 feet at Gilgit and so with this added energy, it carries rich silt, sand and gravel to an enormous extent. These are deposited in the valley and the deltaic region, as the speed of the stream is reduced. Alluviation is more or less complete in the valley under consideration. Consequently, the river does not flow north and south directly but takes a deep S-shaped curve here within the limits of Sind and thus adds more and more to its cultivable lands. The rocks of Sind again are Tertiary limestones, sandstones and shales. They are soft and get easily eroded in flood times and by weathering, adding considerably to the soils of the region. The river Indus has its rapids and giratory currents, shifting sandbanks and violent swells in the monsoon season. It is, therefore, as destructive as it is productive. The great compensation is its exceptionally rich silt, which renews the fertility of the soil every flood season, and the granaries of Sind have always been a loadstar for the semi-starved nomadic tribes of Asia.

Many-sided Onslaughts

Lying on the fringe of old civilisations, with their centre of gravity in Central Asia, Sind has experienced frequent onslaughts of invasion. These again were periodic owing to climatic changes, accumulation of sand, failures of rains and crops, congestion of habitable areas and the rising of leaders of genius on the central plateau.

Streams of Movements

The earliest settlement, discovered so far on the Indus, was on its right bank in the Larkana district *viz.* Mohan-jo-Daro. The leaders of the Indus valley culture appear to have much in common with those of Mesopotamia and Sumer. Further, the aspiring Vedic, and Persian Aryans, Greeks, Scythians, Arabs, Moghuls, Afghans, and Baluchees from the west and the Rajputs, Cutchis, Kathiawaris and Gujaratis from the east and the south-east, all took their chance and contributed their share

in a virtual mingling of races that has gone on for many long centuries in the province. (See Sketch Map).

Land of Unstable Drainage

And yet the land of Sind is unstable, because its natural drainage is such. The people in the region always preferred to settle down where there was a plentiful supply of water for sustenance and crops. But unfortunately for them, the Hakra got dried up and the Indus never kept its channel in the same position for long. Its courses throughout all times are numerous, alterable and unstable. For this reason Sind could not have one definite capital throughout the ages, but several chief towns which rose and fell, till ultimately the British Government established its headquarters at the comparatively good harbour at Keamari. (See Table at end). Even here the fate of Karachi hangs on the problem of its water supply, as its population increases year by year. This uncertainty of water supply has been the cause of great troubles in Sind; it led to uncertainty of crops, which in its turn led to uncertainty of life or luck, until it formed part of the very nature of the Sindhis.

Growth of the Delta

Another physical fact worth noting is that the Indus delta has been continuously growing. Though the navigability of the river is diminished thereby, it has made more cultivable land in Sind, while at the same time it has thrown many a prosperous port into the background. This delta shows a distinct south-westward tendency in its growth and the small sea ports at the numerous mouths of the Indus also drift westwards. Today, Karachi, though not actually on this great river itself, has come into the limelight after the British conquest of Sind; due to its accessibility to the high sea and the hinterland of the Punjab. This, coupled with the fact that a whole river has been lost in the desert region on the east, made the population of Sind drift from the left to the right side and from the north to the south even in historic times. The advancing delta also enhanced the value of habitable and cultivable land in the valley proper. Downstream, the river navigation could easily pass into sea navigation and the first geographical survey of the Indus was actually made by Skylax under Darius the Great, in whose footsteps, the Macedonian conqueror Alexander followed. The latter, sent his own navy under Nearchus, down the river to the Persian Gulf. It was only the S. W. monsoon trade-winds later in the season,

that prevented his followers for some weeks from returning home by sea and even caused a mutiny among them.

A Sea of Sand

Though the mainstay of Sind is its water supply, the nature of the country has tended to shift its water channels from side to side. The dry areas are, therefore, strewn over with sand. The sandhills have played their part in covering up cultivable soils, flowing streams and flourishing cities, and even an occasional earthquake, or the river's own silting up, has helped the stream to turn a corner, so to speak, at times during the course of centuries. The result is that though the river, like the Nile, is classical, there are few classical towns left on its banks to-day, e.g. Bukkur and Sehvan, in the course of nearly 400 miles. Beneath the desert sands and barren soil they lie buried and Indian archæology has done but little to uncover them and their golden treasures of prehistoric days.

Sind as a Separate Province

Owing to the continuation of the Indus valley northwards, any political or social upheaval in the Punjab was shared also by the Lower Indus region. Unlike Rajputana with all its intricate mountain fastnesses, flat Sind lay exposed to the conquerors of the Punjab, Persians, Greeks, Afghans, Aryans, Moghuls and others, Akbar having actually annexed it to his Indian empire in 1591 A. D. It was due to the difficulties of moving upstream that the sea-faring winners of Sind, such as the Arabs, could not go beyond Multan into the interior and their rule did not endure for more than three centuries or so. So also the physical peculiarities of the growing delta proved an obstacle to other conquerors. Moreover, this aloofness of the province made it a place of refuge for persons of royal families, such as Humayun, Shah Jehan and Shah Beg Arghun. This unique geographical situation of Sind proved a stumbling block to other settlers, Rajputs, Buddhists, Kuchhis, Makranis, Sakas, etc., and sooner or later, and often during the long course of its history, *it burst into a separate province*. It is noteworthy that while at one time the ancient Hindu Kingdom of Sind was extended far up to the happy valley of Kashmir, it often shrank into its own in later times.

Autonomy

No rulers from far-off Sumer, Baghdad, Kandahar or Delhi could keep it long under its control for the same reasons ; its

natural features invariably exposed the whole of its interior to foreign attacks and aggressions. Even within the limits of the province itself, factions and autonomous districts were common, while sub-kingdoms, rose and fell in turn. The physical isolation of Sind is also responsible for its non-participation in the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, except through the intrigue of one man called Daryakhan, though it had, then, been newly conquered by the British on account of its key position on the borders of the growing British Indian Empire.

A Clearing House

Sind, then, can be called a clearing house of cultures for thousands of years, which it helped to pass on to the country of Hindustan. Perforce, there were religious conversions, inter-communal marriages, mixtures of ideals and even of religious doctrines. The Aryans were the first to come into clash with the Indus valley dwellers. The language, Sindhi, is itself a proof of an intercourse between the different tribes. Sikhism and Sufism are its other peculiar products. The Sindhi soil is a common bond of union, and the majority of the population are farmers, Hindus as well as Moslems. Even among the Harijans of Sind there are Moslem and Hindu sections, both belonging to the backward classes of India. So also the Arab governors, in the eighth and ninth centuries A. D. were no better than farmers-general of their days. The village community of cultivators is the human unit in the province even today.

Prosperity and Adversity

Prosperity made the people of the province physically weak and lazy. They always yielded to invaders, and soon succumbed to foreign rule and influence as a matter of course. Even the rigorous climate, with its excessive heat in summer and equally great cold in winter left its marks upon the physique of the natives. Fresh blood following on fresh onslaughts, helped to restore the balance for a time. Not quite truly can we say it is an "Unhappy Valley," as it has itself, while under pain, given to the main-land the best that it can give, open always to fresh reception and impetus to settlement and renewed mingling of cultural and civilising forces.

Nature also helped the land at one time to become prosperous, and settlements grew where cultivation was plentiful ; but because of the uncertainty of water supply, if there is any

part of India, which gives us an idea of a futile human life on earth, it is here.

As early as 1843, Postans drew a similar picture :—"The geographical features of such a country are very peculiar. Towns, once of commercial importance, are now no longer valuable for the objects of traffic ; the facilities lost, ports which were resorted to for the whole trade of the Indus are ruined and abandoned ; and portions, at some periods cultivated and productive, are, in the course of a short space of time, often converted into desert tracts. The natural sloth of the natives of Sind induces them always to choose their localities near the river, where subsistence is easily obtained, and in this way they often suffer; for whole villages are in the course of a season swept away by its torrent. The noise of the falling banks of the Indus when heard upon the stream during the calm night, resembles the constant discharge of distant artillery."*

A Land of Contrasts

What, then, has contributed to the prosperity or otherwise of such a province directly and of India indirectly ? The answer is, it is a land of contrasts:

(1) *Partial exclusiveness :*

It is excluded from all neighbouring lands, on account of the Khirthars, the sea and the desert, and yet all these barriers have provided narrow and restricted passages for conquest, commerce and culture. This has prevented stagnation and given stimulus for growth within the province from the eastern and western countries.

(2) *Severity of climate.*

The weather charts of Sind afford a most interesting study to meteorologists. The extremes of temperature in summer and in winter, in north and in south Sind, and even in the day and the night are very great. The rainfall is unstable and variable, and winds change their directions in every season. Cyclonic storms of rain are not uncommon. It is also an open question whether there has been any real climatic change in the region, and Sind experienced wetter years in the past or not.

* Postans T. " Personal Observations on Sindh ", London 1843 P. 18.

(3) *Awkwardness of the Indus :*

The only hope of the people in their struggle for water today is the river. But this stream is a very awkward one. There is not an inch of ground perhaps in the valley, which has not at one time or another been flooded by the Indus and then discarded by it. Then again, a whole river—the Hakra, the parent of the Eastern Nara—has been lost in the eastern part of Sind which is now turned into a desert. The only hope, therefore, is the Barrage at Sukkur.

(4) *Fertile but thirsty soil.*

The soil of Sind is so fertile that it has been a great inducement for people to settle in the land, to attack, possess or plunder it, now and then. The history of the province shows that many of those who came to fight were induced to settle down, at least for the time being, to till the soil as Haris. Irrigation is as old as man and the balance of power between environment and man is in favour of the former in the hilly and desert areas, while it is in favour of man in the region of the valley proper.

(5) *On the highways of the world.*

Another relieving feature of Sind,—itself being unstable—is its position in relation to the civilised parts of Asia and Europe. It has been a precious link in the Afrasian belt of civilisation all along. It is on the high trade routes including air routes : a stepping stone to the Far and Near East. Though loosely attached to Hindustan, it is a most desirable connecting link with its neighbours. Hence its annexation required by the British towards the middle of the last century and its separation from the Bombay Presidency demanded by the majority of its people today. Had it passed earlier into the hands of the British East India Company and had its river good outlets into the Arabian sea, this province would have been used as a more likely base of all British operations in Hindustan from the very beginning of the British History.

Having established this relationship between the geography of Sind and its history in general, I shall next present a historical geography of the whole region, period by period, as drawn up in the Appendix to this Paper.

APPENDIX. A HISTORICAL SETTING OF SIND.

Period and Date.	Changing place (Capital Town)	Dominant race.	Culture Stage, (Nationality, Religion, etc.)	Contemporary Indian events.
PREHISTORIC.				
I Aboriginal	?	Savage tribes	Paleolithic, Neolithic, Druidical?	
II 4000 B.C.-3000 B.C.?	Mohenjo Daro	Mohenjo Daro (Sumerian ?) (Proto-Indian ?)	Chalcolithic	Sargon as Pharaoh in Sind ?
III 2000 B.C.-500 B.C.	?	Proto-Dravidian? Hindus?	Hindu (Aryan and Sumerian)	Aryan settlements in Aryavarta (Punjab)
HISTORIC B.C.				
I 500 B.C.-330 B.C.?	?	Persians	Iranian, Zoroastrian	Lord Buddha died 477 B.C.
II 330 B.C.—?	Patala ?	Greeks	Greek	Mauvyan rule at Pataliputra.
III 130 B.C.—?	?	Indo-Scythians, Parthians, Parthians.	Mixed	Ascendency of Magadha.
HISTORIC A.D.				
I ? -710 A.D.	Alor Bahamanabad	Buddhists and Brahmins	Hindu Buddhist	Revival of Hindu (Sanskrit) learning Vikramaditya.
II 711 A.D.-1025 A.D.	Mansura	Arabs: a. Ommaid Caliphs b. Abbasside Caliphs	Mahommedan Semitic	Visit of Hiuen Tsiang 630 A.D. Dark age of India (250 yrs.)
	Mahfusa			Ujjian, Kanauj, Magadha fell.

III	1028 A.D.-1351 A.D.	Md. Tur	Sumras (under the Gazni rule)	Early Mahomedan converts, Rajputs etc.	Rise of Rajputs. The Gazni dynasty in power at Delhi.
IV	1351 A.D.-1521 A.D.	Samui, Tatta	Sammas (under the Ghori rule)	Do.	The Ghori Dynasty in power at Delhi.
V	1521 A.D.-1554 A.D.	Bakhar, Nesar-pur	Arghuns	Moghul	Babar founded the Moghul Empire 1526 A.D. at Delhi. Portuguese attacked Tatta 1555.
VI	1555 A.D.-1591 A.D.	Tatta	Turkhans	Do.	Akbar conquered Sind 1591.
VII	1605 A.D.-1701 A.D.	Shikarpur	Daudputras (under the Moghul rule)	Mahomedan weavers by profession.	Moghul ascendancy (1605-1707 A.D.)
VIII	1701 A.D.-1783 A.D.	Khudabad	Kalhoras (under the Afghans)	Afghan fakirs	Decline of the Moghuls (1707-1761 A.D.) Nadirshah's invasion 1739 A.D. Battle of Plassey 1757 A.D.
IX	1783 A.D.-1843 A.D.	Hyderabad	Talpurs	Baloochi Mahomedans	East India Co. Factory at Tatta, 1774 A.D.
X	1843 A.D.	Karachi	British	Christians	First Afghan War. 1841-42 A.D. British Empire in India established 1858 A.D.

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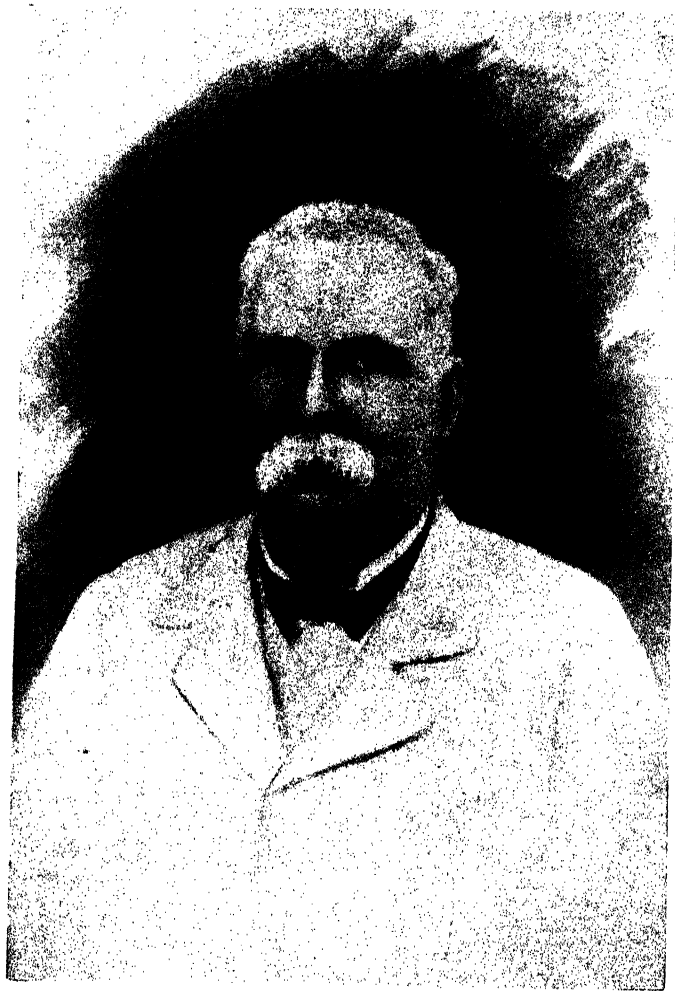
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Major General E. C. Marston.

Born 1821 - Died 1902

MAJOR GENERAL E. C. MARSTON.

By N. M. BILLIMORIA.

(With an Illustration).

(Read 26th April 1936).

General Marston's name remained permanent in the history of Sind, for a road has been named after him ; that road is near the Tramway Offices, on the other side of the Plaza Theatre in Karachi. His bungalow with an extensive compound stands on the Road named after him.

General Marston was born at Chatham, England, on the 19th of April 1821 ; he died at Karachi in 1902.

Edward Charles Marston was the elder son of Major Daniel Marston, H. M. 86th Regiment and his wife Belinda Joyce (who was daughter of Capt. Brudon of the Royal Marines). Edward's younger brother William Henry was an officer in the Indian Navy, and was born on 21st July 1822.

General Marston came to India as an Ensign on the 18th February 1839, and was attached to the 25th Regiment, Native Light Infantry on 10th June 1839 ; afterwards he was posted to the 7th Regiment N. I. ; but was re-posted to his old 25th Regiment on 4th September 1840. During that period he served with the field force sent against the Raja of Satara, and after his dethronement, our hero proceeded with him as far as Mhow, *en route* to Benares. Also he became Staff Officer to a body of 1400 Recruits from Mhow to Poona.

He became Lieutenant in June 1841, and was appointed Acting Quarter Master and Interpreter to his old 25th Regiment. With this Regiment he joined the field service at Dadur and proceeded to Quetta, through Bolan Pass. He accompanied the force that proceeded to the relief of Kandhar under the command of General Sir R. England, G.C.B. he was present at the ~~gent~~ and defeat of the army at Hykulzie on the

He was on duty under arms with two companies of the 25th Regiment N. I. in charge of one of the gates of the citadel of Kandhar, whilst the battle was being fought outside the City walls on the 29th May 1842, on which occasion General Sir W. Nott's army was victorious over the Afghan forces, which was commanded personally by Akhtar Khan. He was engaged in several skirmishes on the return march; he was detached in command of a separate force to crown the heights and secure the safe passage of the baggage of the army in the march through Khajuck Pass. Marston bivouacked in the pass for the night; in the morning in one of the skirmishes with the cavalry under Lt. Crawford Chamberlain, the guard was pressed closely by the enemy, whilst charging down the Pass, Marston's horse fell, and he was severely wounded, his front teeth were knocked out, his skull fractured and a bone broken; he was rescued, while lying senseless, by Capt. A. Woodburn, from the attack of an Afghan.

Marston joined Sir Ch. Napier's forces at Sukkur, and was present at the battle of Mianee, which was fought on the 17th February 1843. Here our Hero became famous for he saved the life of Sir Ch. Napier. He cut down three of the enemy, one being the General's assailant. I will narrate later on how the General appreciated this heroic act. He was mentioned in the Despatches.

He was also present at the battle of Hyderabad on the 24th March 1843, as Staff Officer of the 1st Brigade, and afterwards accompanied the force detached under the command of Col. Woodburn, C.B. and was present at the surrender of Oomerkote. He received a medal for the battles of Mianee and Hyderabad; his claim for the Kandhar medal was not satisfied even upto 1843.

He attained the rank of Captain in June 1852, and was entrusted with the work of raising Karachi Police. In 1846 he was appointed Captain of Police in Sind. In June 1857 he became a Brevet Major, and Commandant of the Sind Police. In 1863 he was raised to the rank of Lt. Colonel and worked as Superintendent of Police, Karachi, till 1864. After completing his further extension of service in civil employ, he was posted as 2nd in command of the 13th N. I. at Malegaon in the Nasik District, and subsequently was placed in command of his Regiment, and on retirement settled in Karachi.

The above is his military and civil service to Government. Marston died in 1902. He left five sons and two daughters, of whom the two youngest sons died in early life. The second son was City Magistrate in Karachi died in 1915. The eldest and third son both entered the Police Department. The 3rd son married and has two sons of whom one, if not both, is studying for the Imperial Police. If successful, he will be the 3rd generation of Policeman in the Marston Family.

Sir Charles Napier was very grateful to Genl. Marston for saving his life at the battle of Mianee; for on the 16th May 1846 he writes to him :

My dear Marston,

Had you not stepped in front of me and engaged the Balooch warrior who was about to charge me, when I had too much to think of to engage in single combat, I should probably have been cut down, and I think so able a swordsman as yourself ought to have a good weapon, and which, like your courage, will never fail in any trial. May you long cut and thrust with it, is the prayer of

Your affectionate and sincere friend,

C. J. NAPIER.

Marston notes that the hilt of the sword presented to him is of gilt steel, not copper.

Again Sir Ch. Napier writes on 23rd September 1852 from Oaklands to Marston's father :

There is one claim, that your son *has*, that no man has, and I should say that is a strong one. He saw a huge Belooch with sword raised to fall upon me, and attacking the man, received a blow upon his shoulder, fortunately his grenadier wings saved him. The same blow falling on me, would have probably killed me, as I had less protection and had but *one* hand. Now had I been slain in the middle of the battle, when the victory had favoured neither side, I may say without disparagement to the second in command that the result might have carried misfortune. Therefore, I must say that, in my opinion, to have saved the life of his Commander in the midst of a battle, or if not, that at all events to have prevented the

Commander from being disabled or unable to direct the troops, is a deed of gallantry which gives a man strong claims on the Government for the extra rank, a claim of no ordinary nature, and one to which this letter testifies. You may make what use you please of it, and any reference to me you please, and should it prove of any service to your excellent son, it will be a source of great pleasure to

My dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,
C. J. NAPIER.

It would be interesting to know how Napier injured his hand; for he writes in his Diary, Dolutpur, February 8th, 1843 "nothing new save my having given a hard-headed native a blow on the forehead with my fist for brutality to a camel, and as my horse sprung forward at the instant my hand was horribly sprained; had it knocked my friend down, it would have been some comfort, but his head was like an anvil. These chaps will, for a bet, butt with their heads like rams, running at full speed sometimes two or three courses before one is stunned. (Napier's Life, Vol. II).

In the Appendix on page 521 in "Conquest of Sind" by Sir William Napier in the list of persons who distinguished themselves in the battle of Mianee, Marston's name does not appear: Sir Charles writes: "The Memorandum is wrong; your son's name is found in my Despatch to Lord Ellenborough naming those who distinguished themselves in the battle of Mianee, dated Hyderabad 2nd of March 1843."

Napier was very anxious that his officers should be well rewarded for their bravery at the battle of Mianee. In his Life by Sir W. Napier, Vol. II, page 441, we find a copy of a letter addressed to Lord Ellenborough, on October 14, 1843 in which Napier writes:

"While the Officers and soldiers received nothing my ribbons sat uncomfortably on my shoulder; now I can meet Corporal Tim Kelly and Delaney, the bugler, without a blush. And Lt. Marston of the 25th N. I. casting himself between me and a big Beloochee; he received on his shoulder a blow intended for his General; it cut nearly through the brass scales on Marston's shoulder; the red ribbon will not grace mine more."

We will now see Genl. Marston's career as a Police Officer. He relinquished regimental duty at a time when he had every reasonable prospect of success in that career, for he was offered in 1843 an appointment in the Sind Horse by Capt. John Jacob ; but he preferred the order of Sir Ch. Napier and proceeded to Karachi and raised the Police of that District. He raised the Karachi Police on the 1st May 1843, and was appointed Acting Captain of the Sind Police in 1846, *vice* Capt. W. Brown. During the time he was Captain of Police, he had charge of three Sudder Jails, in other words, he worked as Inspector General of Prisons. The appointment of Captain of Police was, at that time, equivalent to that of Inspector General of Police. He worked in that capacity for sixteen years. The appointment held creditably for 16 years was abolished and he was placed in charge of the Karachi District with the grade of Superintendent. As compensation for loss of pay and position incurred by Marston, Government granted him a personal allowance of Rs. 200 per month.

In 1855 the 8th Regiment, Bombay Native Infantry, stationed at Karachi had amongst its ranks a number of Afghans, who had been newly enlisted. These men were born thieves, and they commenced a regular system of robbery, as soon as they joined the regiment. General Marston was at that time on tour ; on his return he learnt that they had killed a Memon, whose house two of them had entered, a third stood guard outside. General Marston's bravery was fully shown when he captured two armed men who were committing burglary in the house of Mr. Surtee, Deputy Collector, who lived in a retired and unfrequented part of the station. The robbers had heard that the officer kept a large sum of money in his house. Marston had taken the precaution to secure all the servants of Mr. Surtee, one of whom was implicated in the robbery. Marston though he knew that the Afghans were armed with knives did not take anything but a bludgeon. The man, a particularly fine and powerful young Afghan, as Marston closed, felled him to the ground by dashing in its teeth a large pebble which it appears to be the habit of these men to carry on such expeditions, but unchecked by the fall, and by a most painful wound, the General was on his legs in an instant, picked up a sword which was dropped in the fight, cut down his assailant. The officer followed up the second robber, who had gained a long start, caught hold of him, wounded him, and was engaged with him in a deadly hand to hand fight, when Naik Husseinkhan, who had broken his own sword, threw his arms round the robber, and secured the long

Afghan knife with which he was armed. The ruffian's resistance was so desperate that he was with great difficulty secured with the assistance of other men. The General received high praise from the Commissioner in Sind, Mr. Frere, the Bombay Government, and the Hon. Court of Directors.

The Sind Police rendered great service in 1857 to Government; they assisted in suppressing the mutiny of regular troops at Shikarpur and Hyderabad in Sind. In Karachi when the 21st Native Infantry broke out, General Marston organised the pursuit of those who deserted and accounted for and brought back in killed and prisoners 31 out of 32 men.

Khan Bahadur Khodadkhan writes in his Lab Tarikh Sind or Brief History of Sind that in 1893 "a large meeting was held at Karachi to commemorate the Jubilee of the English conquest over Sind. General Marston, who had taken part in the Sind War presided."

I am indebted to Major H. Bullock and to Mr. Marston (Genl. Marston's son) Retired Police Officer at Nasik for sending me all the information about his late father's life.

THE ENGLISH MISSIONS OF 1808, 1809 & 1820 TO SIND

By A. B. ADVANI, M.A., LL.B.

(Read on 31st May, 1936).

After overthrowing the Kalhora dynasty in 1783, the Talpur Chiefs became the rulers of Sind. By mutual agreement Sind came to be divided into three divisions among three chief Talpur families. The Hyderabad family with Mir Fateh Ali Khan as the head, took charge of lower Sind with Hyderabad as their capital. Mir Suhrab Khan went to Upper Sind and made Khairpur as his capital. Mir Tharah Khan occupied a small territory in the east and Mirpur became the capital of this family. The English Missions of 1808, 1809 and 1820 had their dealings with the Hyderabad family which was considered as the most important and most powerful family of Talpurs in Sind. The head of this family Mir Fateh Ali Khan, very wisely associated with himself, in the government of the country, his three brothers, Mir Ghulam Ali Khan, Mir Karam Ali Khan and Mir Murad Ali Khan. These four brothers owing to great attachment for one another came to be known as *Char Yar* or "Four Friends." Thus there arose in Sind, the extraordinary scheme of a joint rule. It was however a joint rule only in name, for during the life time of Mir Fateh Ali Khan, all the *sanads* and *purwanas* bore his single seal. It was during the rule of Mir Fateh Ali Khan that the English trade with Sind which had languished and then ceased during the rule of Mian Sarafrash Khan Kalhora, came to be renewed, at the desire of Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General of India, [1] Mr. Nathan Crowe, of the Bombay Civil Service, was accordingly sent to Sind in 1798, to establish English factories in Sind, [2] Mr. Crowe's stay in Sind was most unhappy, though very promisingly begun. Trade affairs went on well up to August 1800, when suddenly without the slightest hint, a peremptory order was issued, directing Mr. Crowe to leave Sind immediately, without fail or delay. [3] It is believed, the Talpur Mirs got alarmed at the growing power of the British Government in India. Persian and French spies were also responsible for

[1] Cox, *A Short History of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 296.

[2] Hughes, *Gazetteer of Sind*, 2nd. Edi., p. 35.

[3] Burnes, A.—*Navigation of the Hindus*, p. 2.

arousing the fears of these Chiefs against the British agents in Sind. The Honourable East India Company suffered in addition to this insult, a loss of about one lac of rupees worth of property [4]. Serious notice was not however taken of this affair in Sind at that time, as the East India Company had sufficient trouble with the Mahrattas to engage all its attention. But the matter was neither forgotten nor forgiven.

Napoleon Bonaparte's phenomenal rise to power and his professed hostile schemes to conquer India gave no peace of mind to the English statesmen in India and England, in the beginning of 19th Century. Mir Fateh Ali Khan had died in 1802, and when his brother Mir Ghulam Ali Khan, soon after his accession to the *Gadi*, sent an agent to the Bombay Government, apologizing for the expulsion of Mr. Nathan Crowe from Sind by his late brother and desiring the renewal of friendly connections with the British Government, the British Government readily agreed. The Hyderabad Mirs sought this alliance with the British as they hoped thereby to so strengthen their position, that they could defy Shah Shujah of Kabul, an unwelcome visitor to Sind in 1803, whose nominal sovereignty the Talpur Mirs acknowledged. On the other hand the British Government deemed it expedient to renew friendly connections with Sind and thus check the intended invasion of India by the French and the Persian, by way of Afghanistan.

In July 1808, Captain David Seton was despatched by the Bombay Government to the Court of the Mirs at Hyderabad. At the time of Captain Seton's coming to Sind, there was actually a Persian ambassador at the Hyderabad Court, inducing the Talpur Mirs, to form a close alliance with Persia, [5] "the bait being, military aid, to throw off the yoke of the King of Cabul, and the possession of the Afghan fortress of Candhar" [6].

The Mirs willingly entered into an agreement with Captain David Seton, on 18th July 1808. The Deed of Agreement reads thus :—

This Agreement has been drawn up in consequence of Captain David Seton, on the part of the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, Esqr., Governor of Bombay, having arrived at Hyderabad, and having formed

[4] Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sindh*, p. 402, l.n. 2.

[5] Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan*, Vol. I, p. 93.

Basu, *Rise of the Christian Power in India*, Vol. IV, p. 53, l.n.

a firm alliance between the Government of Sind and the Honourable Company and Honourable Governor aforesaid.

ARTICLE 1.

That a firm alliance shall exist between the two States, and the friends of one the friends of the other, and the enemies of one the enemies of the other; and this shall remain for ever.

ARTICLE 2.

When the assistance of troops is required by either of the parties, it shall be granted when asked.

ARTICLE 3.

That the disaffected of one Government shall not be protected by the other.

ARTICLE 4.

That when the servants of the Sind Government shall wish to purchase warlike stores in any of the ports belonging to the Honourable Company, they shall be permitted to do so, and be assisted in their purchases, and on paying their value be allowed to depart.

ARTICLE 5.

That an Agent on the part of the Honourable Company, for the increase of friendship and goodwill, shall reside at the Court of the Mir of Sind.

ARTICLE 6.

The claims on account of former loss in the time of Mr. Crowe shall be dropped.

ARTICLE 7.

That a British factory in the town of Tatta only, on the same footing as in the time of the Kalhoras, shall, after the full satisfaction, perfect confidence, and with the leave of this government, be established.

AND through the blessing of God there shall be no deviation from this firm alliance.

Dated 1st Jamadi-us-sani 1223 or 24th July 1808 [7].

The agreement was both political and commercial in nature. Through misconception of his instructions from the Bombay Government, Captain David Seton had bound the British Government, according to Article 2 of the above agreement, to render assistance of troops whenever required. The Mirs were overjoyed. They believed that according to the agreement they were entitled to seek military assistance from the British Government against the State of Cabul. Captain Seton now realized his folly. How could the British Government assist the tributary State of Sind against the King of Cabul, "whose good offices," the British Government "were so anxious to conciliate?" This agreement therefore was not ratified and Captain David Seton was officially recalled [8].

To annul Captain Seton's offensive and defensive alliance, to debar the agents of the French from admission into Sind and to re-establish the proper relative rank of the British and Sindian governments, another Mission was sent to Sind in the following year under the leadership of Mr. Nicholas Hankey Smith. The Mission consisted of seven members namely Mr. H. H. Smith of the Bombay Civil Service as the Envoy, Henry Ellis, Esqr., of the Bengal Civil Service as the first Assistant, Lieutenant Robert Taylor of the Bombay Native Infantry and Lieutenant Henry Pottinger as the second and third assistants, Captain Charles Christie to command the escort, William Hall Esqr., surgeon and Captain William Maxfield of the Bombay Marine to act as marine-surveyor. The Mission left Bombay on 27th April 1808, in *Maria*—a country-ship hired for conveying the Envoy and his suite to Sind, attended by the East India Company's cruiser the *Prince of Wales* under the command of Captain Allen. On 9th May 1809, the Mission reached Karachi harbour and anchored in twelve fathom water. On the next day the ships of the Mission crossed the sandy bar at the entrance of the harbour, the Manora fort garrison saluting them with two guns which salute the *Prince of Wales* returned. The native governor of Karachi soon after came on board and gave the Mission a half-hearted welcome. He seemed anxious to protract while waiting for instructions from the Mirs of Hyder.

[7] Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. VII, 4th Edn., p. 33, l.n.

[8] Kays, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 93-94.

abad. Few days later tents and stores of the Mission were landed on shore and with great eclat the Envoy landed distributing generously money among the poor natives on the shore according to Oriental traditions. The party remained for a month at Karachi and frequently experienced indirect hostility from the governor of Karachi. The native servants who were serving the Mission were for instance expelled from the fortified town of Karachi, some of them were tied to a post and some lascars filling fresh water for the consumption of the crew were beaten. The Envoy sent a letter of remonstrance to the governor of Karachi but received an unconvincing and an unsatisfactory reply. The letters of the Mirs to Mr. Smith were penned in a very arrogant style and Mr. Smith was advised by the native governor to address the Chief Mir in his correspondence as *Hoozoor* (the Royal Presence) which Mr. Smith sturdily declined on the ground that the term *Hoozoor* was only applicable to an independent sovereign and not a tributary government like that of Sind. Before sailing for Sind, Mr. Smith had received pointed instructions from the Governor-general to repress any attempts on the part of the Mir to claim equality with the British Government and to claim from the Sind rulers the respect due to the British power in India. It was apparent to the members of the Mission that the Mirs were apprehensive of the British Government having designs on their territories and that their arrogance and buster were a mask to cover their dread. Political considerations made the Envoy to overlook the affronts to which they were all subjected. On 16th June 1809, the Mission set out for Hyderabad and after five marches reached Tatta where they took up their quarters in the East India Company's factory [9]. Delay in receiving permission to proceed forward, not coming of the state barge which the Mirs wrote was to convey the Envoy and his party to their capital, heavy rains and other reasons caused the Mission to remain at Tatta up to the end of July 1809, affording the party leisure and opportunity to study the surrounding district. The *jumtee* (state barge) sent by the Mirs proving too small to accommodate all the members of the Mission, two parties were made, one to travel by water and the other by land-route. This was indeed welcome as it did not necessitate the fabrication of some plausible excuse for proceeding to Hyderabad by two routes and thus acquiring the utmost geographical knowledge of the country. Both the parties reached Hyderabad safely and pitched their

[9] In spite of my persistent inquiries made at Thatta on several occasions, I have been unable to locate the site of the East India Company's factory at Thatta, of which no traces remain. The local scholars and inhabitants are not only of no help but are even credulous of the existence of such a factory.

tents on the bank of the Phuleli canal, about one mile south-east of the fort of Hyderabad. The second day after Mr. Smith's arrival at Hyderabad, the permission for audience was granted. But here arose a little difficulty. Mr. Smith was given to understand that the *Mirs* would sit on the *Musund* or throne, considerably elevated from the ground. He therefore deemed it proper that he should have a chair to sit upon. He also insisted that the three *Mirs* should rise from their seats on the entrance of the Mission. The stipulation regarding the chair was however withdrawn on learning that the *Mirs* usually sat on a carpet, not more than two inches above the ground. As for the *Mirs* standing up a compromise was effected by Wali Mohamad Khan, one of the trusted ministers of the *Mirs*, by which the *Mirs* were to "stand up on the first appearance of the envoy and remain in that position till he had advanced to the spot at which he was to be seated, on the right hand of the *Umeers*; and that they were to observe an equal token of respect when we took our leave." The next day, escorted by Akhund Mohamad Buka Khan the Mission went to the Hyderabad fort, the roads, the tops of the houses, fortification, etc. all being covered by curious and applauding humanity. Inside the fort, the path was lined on both sides by fierce-looking matchlock men and the residents of the fort. Making their way with difficulty through the vast crowd, Mr. Smith and others entered the place where the audience was to take place. After dismounting and putting off their shoes the Englishmen advanced and the *Mirs* stood up to receive them. The audience hall was soon filled by a mass of attendants, matchlock men and swordsmen who unceremoniously crowded everywhere and some of them placed their feet on the scabbards of the swords and the skirts of the coats of the Englishmen. It is difficult to guess whether this was done designedly or by accident. Pottinger however felt that all this was intentionally done, the *Mirs* fearing treachery. In fact before this meeting they had suggested that the members of the Mission be disarmed before entering the Audience Hall. This, Mr. Smith, flatly refused to do. The first audience was merely an audience of ceremony, where compliments and expressions of politeness were exchanged. The members of the Mission were favourably impressed with the jewels the *Mirs* wore, the costly swords and daggers they carried, the rich carpets, the embroidered pillows, the genial personality of the three *Mirs*. "The general splendour and richness of the scene" wrote one of the members of the Mission, "far surpassed anything we had expected to see at the court of Hyderabad." A few days after this introductory interview, the Mission had another audience

"at which everything was conducted with utmost regularity and comfort." At the end of the second audience, Mr. Smith had a private interview, the Mirs left aside their tone of imperious superiority and listened to Mr. Smith who explained to them that the objects of the Mission were to annul Mr. David Seton's agreement which had been concluded in the previous year and to enter into a new treaty with the Sind Government. The Mirs willingly assented and deputed three of their trusted official namely (1) Wali Mahomed Khan, (2) Akhund Buka Khan and (3) Mushtak Ram, to conduct on their behalf the consideration of the various matters pertaining the proposed treaty. The results of these discussions were quite satisfactory to both the parties and on 22nd August 1809, the following treaty of four articles was concluded with the Sind Government :—

Treaty with the Ameers of Sindh, August 22nd, 1809.

ARTICLE 1.

THERE shall be eternal friendship, between the British Government, namely Meer Gholam Ali, Meer Kureem Ali, and Meer Murad Ali.

ARTICLE 2.

Enmity shall never appear between the two States.

ARTICLE 3.

The mutual despatch of the Vakeels of both Governments, namely the British Government and Sindhian Government, shall always continue.

ARTICLE 4.

The Government of Sindh *will not allow the establishment of the tribe of the French in Sind.*

WRITTEN on the 10th of the month of Rujeeb-ool-Moorjub in the year of the Hegira 1224, corresponding with the 22nd of August 1809.

The Mirs sent Mirza Muzahar, as their Envoy, to Calcutta and the treaty was ratified by the Governor-general at Fort St. George, on the 16th November 1809 [10].

[10] Aitchison, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 351-352.

Mr. N. H. Smith and the other members of the 1809 Mission now took leave of the Mirs of Hyderabad and embarked on the *jumptees* for the return journey and reached Bomby at the end of October 1809 [11].

In 1811, Mir Ghulam Ali Khan died on account of a wound caused by a wounded buck grazing the Mir's foot with its horn. Of the *Char Yar* only two remained—Mir Karam Ali Khan and Mir Murad Ali Khan. Mir Karam Ali Khan was a genial sort of person during whose reign prosody was more popular than politics. Though known as *Rais* or Chief, yet the administration of the country was mainly carried on by his brother Mir Murad Ali Khan.

After concluding a treaty with the Rao of Cutch in 1816, the power of the British Government had been steadily rising in Cutch [12]. As Sind borders Cutch, the British Government deemed it politic to renew the treaty with Sind in 1820. An opportunity came along in 1820 for negotiating a new treaty, when the soldiers of the Mirs of Hyderabad, attacked by way of retaliation, the British force, which while pursuing a band of plunderers of the Khosa tribe on the eastern border of Sind, had fallen on a party of Sindian soldiers, by mistake. Taking advantage of this incident, the Bombay Government demanded satisfaction from the Mirs "for the unwarrantable acts of hostility committed by the rulers of Sind"[13]. A Mission consisting of Captain Sadlier, Mr. W. Simon, Dr. Hall and Major Wood House was despatched to Sind, to conclude a fresh treaty with the Mirs of Sind [14]. These four gentlemen were hospitably received and the following treaty was concluded with Mir Karam Ali Khan and Mir Murad Ali Khan, on 9th November 1820.

Treaty between the Honourable East India Company on the one hand and the Ameers of Sindh on the other, November 9th, 1820.

THE British Government and the Government of Sindh having in view to guard against the occurrence of frontier disputes, and to strengthen the friendship already subsisting between the two States, Mir Ismael Shah invested with full power to treat with

[11] The account of the Mission of 1808 is mainly taken from Pottinger, *Travels to Beloochistan and Sindh*, p. 331 and ff.

[12] Burnes, J., *Visit to the Court of Sindh*, p. 194.

[13] Malcolm, *The Political History of India*, Vol. I, p. 548.

[14] Eastwick, *Speeches on the Sindh Question*, p. 74.

the Honourable the Governor of Bombay, and the following articles were agreed on between the two parties :—

ARTICLE 1.

There shall be perpetual friendship between the British Government on the one hand and Meer Kurreem Ali and Meer Murad Ali on the other.

ARTICLE 2.

Mutual intercourse by means of vakeels shall always continue between the two governments.

ARTICLE 3.

The Ameers of Sindh engage not to permit *any European or American to settle in their dominion*. If any of the subjects of either of the two States should establish their residence in the dominion of the other, and should conduct themselves in an orderly and peaceable manner in the territory to which they may emigrate, they will be allowed to remain in that situation ; but if such fugitives shall be guilty of any disturbance or commotion, it will be incumbent on the local authority to take the offenders into custody and punish or compel them to quit the country.

ARTICLE 4.

The Ameers of Sindh engage to restrain the depredations of the Khoosas and all other tribes and individuals within their limits, and to prevent the occurrence of any inroad into the British dominions.

(Sd.) M. ELPHINSTONE.

Bombay, 9th November, 1820.

IN the name of the Merciful God. This is the Treaty which I, Meer Ismael Shah, Vakeel of Shah Meer Kureem Ali Khan Rookn-ood. Dowla and Meer Shah Murad Ali Khan Ameer-ood-Dowla, concluded with Mr. Elphinstone, Governor of the populous

port of Bombay, in the month of Suffer 1236 He-gira. If it pleases God, there will be no difference to a hairs breadth.

Seal of
Ismael Shah.

This treaty was aproved of by the Supreme Government and ratified on the 10th February 1821 [15].

A study of these three treaties shows that they are all of a political nature and were entered unto with the Sind Government to safeguard the interests of the British Government in India against the French, the Americans and other Western powers. From treaties of political nature to commercial treaties was the next step taken by the British Government—but I am anticipating my next paper.

[The original of the Treaty of 1820 is in the Victoria Museum at Karachi. We are thankful to the Municipal Corporation for allowing us to take a photo of the Treaty.]

TOMBS OF TWO EUROPEANS AT TATTA.

By N. M. BILLIMORIA.

*(Read on 31st May, 1936 Before the Sind
Historical Society.)*

Major Bullock, Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, now stationed at Rawalpindi, and Mr. A. B. Advani, M.A., LL.B., Joint Secretary, are very energetic members of our Society. They visited Tatta on the 9th February 1936 and checked the inscription on the tomb of Edward Cooke. The correct reading is as follows :

Here Lyes the Manes of Edward Cooke who was taken
out of the world in the Flower of his Age ; a person
of great Merit and in Great Esteem and much la-
mented by his Friends, learned in many languages,
of great Humanity, a sound judgment and of a
Generous Disposition, who departed this Life the
8th of May 1743, Aetat, Suae 21.

As Blooming Lillies Grace the field
So for a day they Shine,
Like him to God So they yield
Their Lives, but not their names resign.

To whose Memory his servant erected this tomb.

The above inscription differs slightly from that which is given in the Karachi District Gazetteer, 1919, page 112.

The tomb is of dark grey stone, not locally found ; and not of yellow stone, as stated in the Gazetteer. It has been treated with yellow colour-wash. The tomb is situated about 150 yards west of the District Bungalow on the Makli Hills, two miles west of Tatta.

I find in Murray's Handbook of Bombay for the year 1881 the following reference to this tomb.

No entry of the burial of Edward Cooke is to be found in the Ecclesiastical Records of the India Office, and as he died at some distance from Bombay, no notice was sent to that Presidency.

Major Bullock has written to the Notes and Queries, and I have written to the Literary Supplement of the Times (London) if any of their records can throw some light on Edward Cooke.

The second tomb discovered by these two members of the Society belongs to 2nd Lieut. George Macleod, who died at Tatta on 5th October 1839. The inscription on the tomb at Tatta on the Makli Hills reads only **M. Madrod Officer.**

Major Bullock correctly surmised that it had been recent (or rather copied from an original stone) by some P. W. D. Mistri, who did not know English. He came further to the conclusion that Madrod was most likely to have originally been MacLeod, for the letter D may have been CL, which was read by the Mistri D. Working on this clue Major Bullock made enquiries if any military officer had died at Tatta. He found that 2nd Lieut. George Macleod died at Tatta on 5th October 1839. He was appointed 2nd Lieut. in the Bombay Engineers on 19th June 1836; and transferred to the Bengal Engineers on 25th September 1839, *i.e.* a few days before his death. He was a son of Norman Macleod of the Bengal Civil Service.

We are deeply grateful to Major H. Bullock for the great trouble he has taken in the matter.

Thomas Cooke served the Company in Bengal as writer, factor, and merchant, eventually becoming Chief at Dacca in 1730. On 1st September 1716 he married Avarinha Child, who died in April 1728, having borne him five children. Four of whom survived her. These were, Edward born 21st July 1722 ; Ann baptised 7 February 1724 ; Charles baptised 9 December 1726 ; and John baptized 30 April 1728.

In 1728 Thomas Cooke fell into disgrace with the Bengal Council as his accounts at Dacca were in a very confused state. He was dismissed from service and was for a time placed under restraint, while his estate was sequestered for payment of what was due to the Company. He was able to satisfy the claims against him and was apparently permitted to remain in India and carry on the trade as a free merchant that he had begun in his early days. His sons appear to have followed his example for neither Edward nor Charles entered the Company's service. There are very few references to Thomas Cooke in the Bengal records after his dismissal nor any indication of his trading activities, which must have been extensive, since he amassed a considerable fortune.

No record has been found of Edward Cooke's voyage to Tatta, or the reasons for his journey thither. He does not appear to have been accompanied by any member of his family, nor is it likely that his father was at Calcutta in 1743 and 1744, when the son's estate was administered by John Halsey, a Company's servant, who had married Edward's sister Ann. Beyond the reference in the Mayor's Court Proceedings regarding the winding up of his estate no other allusion to Edward Cooke, beyond the entry of his baptism, has been found.

On 20 April 1747 Thomas Cooke contracted a second marriage with Sarah Corseley Mason and a son Thomas Corsley Cooke was baptised on 30th May 1749. Both father and son died in India in 1770, their wills being proved at Calcutta as was also that of Charles Cooke, the second son of the first marriage, who died in 1751. John the third son must have returned to England prior to the deaths of his father and brothers, as in their wills he is described as " of Rooks Nest, near Godstone, Surrey."

Of the other members of Cooke family mentioned in the records of the E. I. Co. Thomas Cooke's sister Mary married George Mandville a Company's servant, and his daughter Ann contracted a second marriage with Thomas Burrows.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SIND.

Part II:—Prehistoric and Early Historic Periods.

By

PROF. M. B. PITHAWALLA, F.G.S., M.R.A.S.

(Read on 26th July, 1936).

PREHISTORIC PERIOD I. (The Aborigines).

The story of the aborigines of Sind is lost in the mists of antiquity. No information regarding them can be produced from any literature. But in all probability and relying upon indirect sources, we may say that they were nomadic hunters of the Stone Age, and that both in Paleolithic and in the early Neolithic periods agriculture was part of the life of the people and fish one of their important foods. They were very probably driven away from the region at the end of the Stone Age by the Indus Culture people and thereafter lived in neighbouring hills and forests, and became ancestors to the jungle tribes of modern India, *viz.* Bhils, Veddas, etc. Thus they led the earliest exodus of the human race from Sind. They have left a few interesting archæological relics in Sind [1]. A few prehistoric stone monuments, such as dolmens, cairns, stone circles, etc. (as mentioned by Sir B. Frere in J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. V, 1851) have been found near Sukkur and Rohri. Other relics are a few cairns, cromlechs, etc. near Karachi and the Hubb Valley (as described by Col. M. Taylor in his "Tales of Rajasthan"), caves in the Kehru Valley, burials of a Scythic-Druidical race near Waghodar, stone enclosures called "Kaffir Kote" on the right bank of the Gugger river, and neolithic altars etc. in the Mol Valley as far as Unarpur and also at Tharro Gujo (between Gharo and Thatta) [2].

Mr. G. E. L. Carter has made an excellent collection of stone implements, including small end scrapers, blades, small composite tools of flint, ground axes, chisels etc., (now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay), from the following localities:—

(1) Tando Ghulam Husain near Hyderabad, (2) Ganja Takar, Hyderabad District, (3) Guja Takar, near Kali Temple Hyderabad District (4) Karri Plateau near Unarpur Railway Station, Sehvan; (5) Veji Bathi near Unarpur, (6) Ram Pattani,

1. Conens H. "Antiquities of Sind," 1929 P. 41.

2. *Ibid* Pp. 48, 49, 59.

Karachi District, (7) Jangshahi Hill-top, (8) Jhangri Makar, near Kotri, (9) Tharro Hill near Gujo, Karachi District, (10) Budhka Takkar, near Jhermuk, Hyderabad District, (11) Kotri Settlement No. 1, (12) Kotri Settlement No. 2, (13) Bado Pauri Factory, Karachi District, (14) Chota Pauri near Kotri, (15) Bolari Hill-top Karachi District. Mr. Carter considers some of these relics as belonging to the Microlithic age and others to the Neolithic age, ranging from 6000 B.C., to 8000 B.C. These relics show that they were manufactured at certain central prehistoric factories, such as the Rohri flint factory etc.

The earliest recollections of Arab geographers about this period are also very vague. The author of *Beg-Lar Nameh* [3] says: "Sind derives its name from Sind, the son of Ham, the son of Nuh (God's peace be with him) and the province remained in possession of his descendants ; but their names cannot be found in any books of history, nor have I heard them in legendary stories and I am therefore compelled to omit them. That which I have heard from common report is this that in olden time the Province of Sind was held by the tribes of Bina, Tak and Nabumiya ; but the period of their government is not known."

Recent Research.

Stone implements of the neolithic age are now dug out in certain parts of Sind (*e.g.*) those of Kot Diji, Narojo Daro, Tharoo, Aror, etc. Flint and other suitable stones of the limestone class are available plentifully in the neighbouring hills and it is also probable that the Indus flowed beside these sites.

Revision of the Term "Aborigines."

Indian archaeology is as yet in its infancy. In view of the fact that there are chances of discovering relics of the prehistoric strata of human civilization going up to the earliest Stone Age in the Indus Valley, and that immigrations have taken place here from the most ancient human period, it is but fair that we drop the term "aborigines" and use the phrase "early settlers" of the land, upon whom the science of archaeology has just begun to throw some light. Finds are yet to be made and missing links supplied before we are able to say that a particular race was the aborigines.

PREHISTORIC PERIOD II. (Indus Culture People).

The discoveries of Mohenjo Daro have proved very valuable in this respect. Its relics of rare archaeological value and interest have thrown all ancient historical records of India into

the background by a single stroke. They have pushed the boundaries of Indian civilisation further back and "put India on a par with Egypt and Mesopotamia" [4]. Its culture has been proved to be of the early Copper and late Stone Age, which was evidently a very glorious age for our region. They resemble "the early proto-historic culture of Sumer and the second pre-diluvian culture of Elam and Mesopotamia" to a certain extent. Its date is, approximately so far, 2700 B.C., to 2500 B.C., but it is certain that older layers can be discovered, if excavations are resumed in this locality [5]. There are chances also for later layers to be found, connecting this civilisation with the historic period in the valley of Sind.

Geographical Environments.

The geographical situation of Mohenjo Daro is unique in the valley of Sind and the physical conditions are favourable. This locality is considered to be the best and most fertile part of the province. Originally called Chandookah, the whole of this district is known as the "Garden of Upper Sind", and the scene of many a blood conflict, even at the time of the British conquest [6].

This area forms part of the Western Valley Section, which is, in many respects, superior to the land in the Eastern Section. It is covered over with old alluvium and silt deposits of the Indus and also derives the benefit of hill torrents or Nais every monsoon season. Though nearly flat, it has a kind of a gently rolling character on account of the Bhangar mounds or the aggraded parts of the river, which are usually safe from floods. Mohenjo Daro itself was located on one of these mounds in the Doab between the Western Nara on the west and the Indus on the east. The former is a depression between the Western Highlands and the raised bed of the Indus river and forms an intrinsic part of the Manchar-Aral drainage system, which is the most peculiar in the region, inasmuch as the Aral, at one time, admits the Indus waters into the Manchar lake when its level is lower and, at another, it drains the lake itself *e.g.* in the monsoon season, when the area gets flooded.

The physical conditions and environments of the Indus Valley civilisation were very favourable. Mohenjo Daro was

4. Kohli Sita Ram—"Indus Valley Civilisation," 1934, P. 1.

5. Marshall, Sir John—"Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilisation," Vol. I London 1931, P. 102.

Mackay E.—"The Indus Civilisation," 1935 P. 11.

6. James Lt. Hugh—Report on the Purgana of Chandookah in Upper Sind—Sel. Rec. Bom. Govt. No. XVII Pt. 2 P. 711—712.

like an island between the main Indus river and the Western Nara. The arrangement of mountain and plain, of land and water, of cultivated lands and river communications, of tropical heat and periodic summer water supply—all this formed a typical topography for this city. It was the case of a more or less enclosed flood plain, promising continuous prosperity and prolonged peace. Its alluvial soil was rich, and the process of sowing seeds in the ground, which is considered to be a critical step in human civilisation in any part of the world, was evidently practised by these people.

Man had, then, also learnt the lesson of growing cotton and manufacturing cloth. This use of cotton for textiles seems to have been traced to this period in India and was extended to other parts of the country later on.

The river Indus must have flowed close by the City, as the people were mainly dependent on the river waters, though the sea was far away extending perhaps as far as Tatta and about 60 miles less than the present coast. They also lived on fish and were traders by river or sea and by land.

The real geographical value of the Doab lies in the fact that it is surrounded by dry and barren lands *e.g.* the Iran plateau and barren Khirthar mountains on one side, and parts of the Thar desert on another.

Spending some time in the midst of these great ruins of Mohenjo Daro, the present writer thought what a large and flourishing emporium it must have been in those days. What rich fields with plentiful water supply must have belonged to it and what a hive of activities, private and public, it must have looked at so early a period, what good animal friends must have then helped humanity both as domestic animals and beasts of burden across foreign countries, and, above all, what an organised human life it must have been! To-day Mohenjo Daro lies largely buried under dust and sand with its life extinguished, its beauties lost and its glories eclipsed, but its ruins still reminiscent of them amidst the smiling agricultural fields, with which it is now surrounded. The only relieving feature here is the Indus river itself, eternally flowing past the ruins, although even it has moved away from it by a few miles.

The ruins of the City, already excavated, are found in several mounds, about 70 feet high above the surrounding area, covering about 240 acres. But surely there must be large parts of the

metropolis still unearthed! Below 44 feet due to subsoil water these excavations had to be stopped, but there is no doubt that relics of earlier periods can be met with deeper still.

Climatic Conditions.

There are some indications in the excavations of Mohenjo Daro, which point to Sindh having experienced wetter days in that age than at present. That there was a more favourable climate or at least better water supply in the whole of Central Asia, including the Iran plateau, has been proved by Sir A. Stein's researches in Gedrosia, having impenetrable forests. Ellsworth Huntington has also related the history of these parts particularly experiencing pulsatory climatic changes in the past. No doubt there were many flourishing towns, perhaps due to greater rainfall and less aridity or more plentiful streams in the region, which is now largely overstrewn with blown sand. There may have been an annual rainfall of 15 to 20 inches (that is, more than double the present precipitation) in these areas, as is surmised by Sir John Marshall and other archaeologists. This can only be possible, if the northern storm belt was deflected by arctic pressure, further south. At the same time, a deflection of the S. W. Monsoon towards Sind was also possible. Dr. C. W. Normand, Director of Meteorology, has opined that more rain in the summer months was possible in Sindh and Baluchistan at the time of the Indus Valley civilisation, as otherwise "a very much greater change in the meteorological condition is required to explain more copious rainfall in winter, unless a change in the orography of Sind's surroundings is simultaneously postulated." [7]

The presence of an elaborate drainage system with large drains and pipes, comparatively shallow wells dug not very far from one another, burnt bricks and figures cut on the seals and painted on pottery of denizens of forests and moist lands such as elephants, tigers, rhinoceros, buffaloes and of luxuriant vegetation,—these show that there must have been better rainfall in this locality in prehistoric times. The absence of animals, like lions, indicates that the country was not quite dry and open. There was, however, enough water for forests to grow and to harbour other wild animals. Burnt bricks suggest much fuel and water used.

The temperature of the air, however, seems to have been the same, if not higher than at present, because cotton was

7. Marshall Sir John, "Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilisation" Vol. I London 1931 Pp. 2—5.

Also refer Dr. Sven Hedin, Jour. K. R. Cama Orient. Inst. No. 25 Pp. 155-156

grown and cotton clothes were worn. The great bath is also a proof that summer days were hot and the growth of wheat a sign of winter cold sufficient for the corn to thrive. Lastly, the rhinoceros existed always in an almost steamy heat, actually more often under the equator than anywhere else.

But apart from rainfall, one probable source of a more plentiful supply of water not only in the Western Highlands of the Kirthars and Baluchistan, but also in the whole of the Iran plateau was the gradually receding glaciers of the last Ice age in the northern ranges of the Quinlun, the Pamirs, etc. They are now gradually disappearing and great desiccation has already been caused in Central Asia, as can be seen from the depth of the Caspian Sea, which has diminished much during historic times. Such is also the case with the glaciers of the Himalayas, to which attention has already been drawn by Sir Francis Younghusband and other geographers.

Thus, a diminished water supply does not necessarily mean a deficiency of rainfall ; for, it has been noticed by travellers in Gedrosia and other neighbouring lands, that even torrential rains do not leave much water behind, as the water rushes down the barren mountains and gets no chance of being collected in the dry areas without any dams and reservoirs on the hill sides, as was the case in ancient times. Remains of such water works can even now, be found along the trade routes.

No doubt the Indus played a most prominent part in harbouring this great civilisation, for Mohenjo Daro was a port on the river. But what the nature of its flow, affluents, inundations etc. was cannot easily be ascertained beyond the fact that it was remarkable for its floods, which were very destructive at times.

Human Geography.

The greatness of the Mohenjo Daro civilisation can be gauged from the remains which have already been excavated. The burnt bricks, the drains for rain water, the great watertight baths, solid basements and buildings of excellent design and symmetry, wells, fireplaces, roads, roofs,—these are only a few of the evidences of Sind's great prehistoric culture. Among the products of the land may be mentioned wheat and barley, charred specimens of which have been unearthed. This shows that the climate and soil both were favourable to the grains in those days, as they are even to-day. But the best and

indigenous product of Mohenjo Daro was cotton. In fact, it was the original home of cotton (*gossypium*), which was freely exported to Greece and Babylonia and transplanted there, the Babylonian word for cotton being *Sindhu*, while the Greek *Sindon* after *Sind*. Although they also used meat diet, such as mutton and fish, cereals and dates were on the list of their diet.

Thus the products of both dry and wet lands were secured, a rare circumstance possible only in lands with good communications. There were arable lands attached to the city according to a most ancient Indian custom. Agriculture at home was also flourishing, as is shown by the number of large grain jars discovered. The ploughshare had very heavy blades of flint and sickles of copper were made. The bullock carts of to-day even resemble those found in toys at Mohenjo Daro.

Evidently it was an intensive city life. Plentiful crops gave the people not only prosperity and peace but also leisure.

"The organisation of society in cities; the continued use of stone side by side with copper or bronze for the manufacture of weapons, tools and vessels; the invention of the potter's wheel and the production, with its help, of improved kinds of pottery; the invention of wheeled vehicles to take the place of the older sleds; the construction of buildings with kiln-burnt and sunburnt bricks and their elevation on platforms in order to place them beyond the reach of floods; the use of picture signs for writing; the use of maces of stone or metal along with spears, daggers, bows and arrows as weapons of offence, the fashioning of ornaments out of faience and shell and various kinds of stone including amazonite; the development of a high pitch of the minor arts and crafts particularly those of the goldsmith and silversmith,"[8]—these are, indeed, the enviable assets of Mohenjo Daro civilisation. Nothing in the history of India's past can compare to this unique culture. It was a democratic civilisation distinctly favourable to the large majority of human beings. No palaces belonging to any kings or royalty have yet been found. Rather the comforts of the common people were primarily taught, *e.g.* the great central baths, a revelation of the earliest political institution so far discovered in India.

It was, in fact, a civilisation both of opportunity and of necessity. For, the excellent geographical situation and environments, as well as the rich fertile soil gave the occupants of

the valley a golden opportunity; while the lack of metals, dangers of floods and vagaries and variations of streams and weather necessitated constant adjustment or improvement in the mode of life they had to live. The extensive river plains of the Larkana district received the waters not only of the Indus river itself through the Western Nara but also numerous mountain torrents that for a time appeared as lost in the sands. The Indus or at least a branch of it flowed past Mohenjo Daro, as the constant danger of inundation and the consequent raising of levels and foundations of buildings and of drainage, keeping pace with the flood levels clearly show. Thus a garden and a patch of wilderness flourished side by side, phases of inundation and aridity giving a stimulus to this great granary of the Indus Valley.

Age of Mohenjo-Daro.

In the first flash of the discovery, a tentative date was assigned to Mohenjo Daro by Sir John Marshall and his colleagues. It has now been thought that the life of the city ranged from 3100 B.C. to 2700 B.C. Dr. Fabri, Dr. Mackay, Dr. Frankfort and others have further revised this date and put it down to 2500 B.C.—2700 B.C. and not earlier, from a study of the script of Mohenjo Daro and the seals found in dated layers in Mesopotamia. If the level of the oldest line of houses is 30 feet below the surface on an average, a rough idea can be obtained from the rate of silting up of the land. The Indus River Commission records show that during 29 years (1902—1930) the silt lost between Sukkur and Kotri amounts to nearly thirty thousand million cubic feet, which is equivalent to 1300 sq. mile-foot.* If this silt is spread over the whole valley between the two places to the extent of about 6000 sq. miles, the number of years approximately comes to 5000 years, i.e. 3000 B.C.

Contact with Foreign Lands.

A large number of metals and minerals had to be imported from other countries, as Sind is poor in them. Sir E. Pascoe, Geological Survey of India, has suggested the following territorial contacts among others [9]:—

Gold—S. India, Rivers of Afghanistan, Persia, Tibet.

Silver—S. India, Afghanistan, Persia, Armenia, Burma.

Copper—Rajputana, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, S. India.

Lead—Rajputana, Afghanistan, Persia.

**Vide*—The Author's *A Geographical analysis of the Lower Indus Basin (Sind)* Ch. II Proc. Ind. Acad. Sci. 1936 B, Vol. IV No. 5. P. 335.

9. Marshall: *Op. cit.* Pp.31—32. Also *vide* Ch. XXXII.

Lapis Lazuli—Afghanistan.

Turquoise—Persia (Khorasan).

Amazon Stone—Kashmir, Nilgiri hills, Ural mountains.

Rock crystal—Kathiawar S. India.

Stealite—Rajputana.

Alabaster—Sind Kachhi (Baluchistan), Kathiawar.

Hæmatite—Hormuzd Island, Persian Coast.

Amethyst—Deccan (Trap area).

Slate—Rajputana, Afghanistan, Persia.

Agate, Carnelian, Onyx, Chalcedony—Rajputana, Kathiawar, Kashmir, Deccan (Trap area).

Jasper, Agate, Bloodstone—Rajpipla, Rajputana.

Plasma (Chalcedony)—Rajputana, the Kishna, Godavery, and Bhima rivers.

Tin—Burma, Malay Peninsula, Dharwar.

Bitumen (Asphalt)—Isa Khel (N. W. F. Province), Marri hills (Baluchistan), Sauni (Sibi), Mesopotamia?

Red Ochre—Hormuzd Island, Bu Musa, Halvi, Lakhpat, Padvania.

Basalt—W. Sind, (Ranikot to Jakhmari), Kathiawar.

Tachylite—Deccan trap (Kathiawar).

Nepheline Sodalite—Kishangarh (Rajputana).

Jadeite—Nui kyina (N. Burma), Pamirs, and E. Turkistan, Tibet.

Lollingite (FeAs_2)—Persia, Herat, Kashmir, Chitral, Punjab, Asia Minor, Caucasus.

Green Earth (Glauconite)—N. E. & E. Baluchistan, Deccan.

It may be noted herein that marble is very rare among the relics of Mohenjo Daro, indicating at least the great difficulty of communication between the Aravallis and Sind with the intervening Thar desert. (See Sketch Map)

Definitely a Commercial People.

The pictographic legends depicted on the coins, the business communications, bills of lading, etc., discovered at Mohenjo Daro definitely show that the people inhabiting the valley were a commercial people, living in large houses, well constructed and furnished with the necessities of life. The list of foreign countries, with which it came in contact, indicates that this city was a great centre of international trade.

The people were not content with the pastoral life of the Aryans and lived on agriculture alone, and did not give

precious gifts to gods and to the priests. They were essentially traders and their trade was extended to distant lands, like Eastern Islands in the Pacific Ocean.

Recent Explorations.

But the civilisation of the lower Indus valley was not restricted to Mohenjo Daro only. It did decidedly extend northwards and along and up the same Indus river as far as Harappa, on the old river Ravi. The neolithic artifacts were first evolved from the palæolithic in the Indus basin in relation to that great combination of circumstances we have already noticed, *viz.* vast fertile plains, abundance of game, variable seasons and the Indus. Such a culture could not be, therefore, restricted to a single locality. A considerable number of prehistoric sites have been discovered in Sind itself:—

- Vijnot (5 miles E. of Reti).
- Alor.—(3 miles S. E. of Rohri.)
- Budhke Takar (opp. Jerruck).
- Limō Junejo (40 miles W. of Shikarpur).
- Badah (5 miles W. of Mohenjo Daro).
- Lohumjo-daro (15 miles west of Tharushah).
- Karri—(2 miles N. E. of Kotri.)
- Bhambor—(20 miles W. of Tatta.)
- Gujo—(10 miles W. of Tatta.)

Besides, these, Mr. Hargreaves and Sir Aurel Stein [10] have also discovered a number of sites in N. and S. Baluchistan, suggesting a westward diffusion of the Indus valley culture. *e.g.*, Nal (Kalat State), Mehi, Kulli etc.

In later years, other archæologists have endeavoured to search for more such sites in Sind itself. One prominent among them is Mr. N. G. Majumdar, who actually toured Sind for about 2000 miles during the years 1927-1931 and visited no less than 70 places in various districts. (See Map). His colleague, Dr. Mackay writes: "This latter work proved most successful, for settlements of the Indus valley civilisation were discovered in many places in that province from the modern city of Hyderabad in the south nearly to Jacobabad in the north; they form a long chain of mounds between the present course of the Indus and the foothills of the Khirthar Range in Baluchistan and include a very large city built of unburnt bricks close to the

10. Stein Sir A.: "Alexander's Track to the Indus," "Explorations in Warhistan and N. Baluchistan," "Indo-Iranian Borderland," (Jour. Roy. Arch. Soc. Vol. LXXIX 1934.)

eastern bank of the river. Only a brief examination of those mounds has yielded evidence of a yet earlier culture in some of them, lying beneath the remains left by the Indus valley people when they deserted these sites, which it should be mentioned, were not occupied again in later times." [11]

Among the most prominent prehistoric sites discovered by Majumdar are the following :—

(1) Tharro near Gujo in the deltaic region, already marked by Cousens as a wonderful neolithic city from the number of symbols on rocksides.

(2) Chanhudaro, where the ibex seal was found.

(3) Jhukar, 6 miles W. of Larkana, where two mounds were opened out, in one of which were noticed sunburnt bricks, pottery of Indo-Sassanian period, while, in the other, burnt bricks (10/11" long) with pictographic characters and pottery were found.

(4) Lohumjodaro, Ghazi Shah, Ali Murad, Jhangar, Pokhran Arabjo-Thana and Orangi.

(5) But the best of all was Amri on the Manchar lake, 18 miles south of Sehwan. It appeared to be a most flourishing city at first but was destroyed by the river floods. Chipped flakes of flint and bichrome ware were found in some mounds. The trenches in them showed two distinct levels (i) 1' to 4' deep and (ii) 6' to 7' deep.

From most of these ruins the following were discovered :—

Pots painted black and red with thick walls similar to those from Mohenjo Daro, Jhukar and Harappa motifs showing fish, flowers, biconical leaves, birds, etc.; also potsherds, coins, beads, vases, toys, pottery with their walls and plain reddish brown band in the neck, chocolate band on the lips and geometrical patterns on the body in black, chocolate, pink and cream colour. They appeared to be at least as old as Mohenjo Daro.

Geographical Value of these Finds.

Majumdar's discoveries are of far reaching consequences in the domain of pre-historical geography of Sind :

11. Mackay E. "The Indus Civilisation," 1935 Pp. 3—4.

Majumdar N. G.—"Explorations in Sind" Mem. Arch. Sur. Ind. No. 48, 1934, Pp. 143—154.

(1) There was a possibility of linking up this zone of Chalcolithic civilisation of Sind with the chain surveyed by A. Stein in S. Baluchistan.

(2) There were three distinct kinds of settlements in the region *viz.* (a) those established near hill torrents, springs and their channels in the mountainous area, with houses partly made of stone and rubble and perched on eminences and therefore better protected, but for want of sufficient food harbouring a poorer class of people; (b) those in the neighbourhood of the Manchar Lake with their pile dwellings and harbouring a fishing folk; and (c) those established along the banks of the Indus as it flowed in those days and hence richer and more prosperous. The houses in this group were built of burnt bricks all throughout.

(3) There was greater rainfall and better agriculture in the Indus Culture age than in subsequent times, in this valley, as is indicated by the numerous street drains and rain water pipes, burnt bricks, and vegetation motifs and animal figures such as tigers, rhinoceros, elephants etc., on painted pottery found in these sites.

(4) The chain of prehistoric sites within a narrow compass was found parallel to the Kirthar mountain and hence the sites were thought to have been deserted after the drier climate had set in and the people moved on towards the second and third groups of sites in the fertile plain and valley of the Indus. This theory is supported by A. Stein by a similar chain of prehistoric ruins found in the Jhalawan and Makran districts of Baluchistan.

(5) Lastly, there was an actual cultural and racial intercourse established between Sind and Western Asia through Iran, Makran and the Las Bela State across the Habb river, through the Mula Pass to the Manchar Lake; and also through other minor passes, such as Lak Phusi and Lak Rohel, down the Baran and Mol valleys to Karachi.

Chanhu-Daro Excavations.

Under the auspices of the American School of Indic and Iranian Studies (Boston Museum of Fine Arts), Dr. E. J. H. Mackay* has made very successful excavations this year at Chanhu-Daro, near the village of Jamal Kirior, about 1½ mile from Sukhpur on the Feeder Line in the Nawabshah district.

* *Vide*, Illustrated London News. Nov. 14, 1926 Pp. 860—864.

There are two large Daroes, about 50 feet high and occupying some 29 acres of land. This is another good locality of archæological value in Sindh, and Dr. Mackay considers that the history of this site "runs through a longer period of time than did that of Mohenjo Daro." This civilisation seems also to have ended later, and is styled Harappa culture by the archaeologist.

Excavations have been carried to a depth of about 17 feet in one place and 26 feet in another, even down to the subsoil water level. There is evidence in the walls of these human settlements that they were destroyed by floods again and again and were renewed at higher levels.

Among the important relics discovered are : (1) elaborate methods of town drainage as at Mohenjo Daro, (2) wells constructed on similar lines, (3) plenty of bead-making apparatus, indicating that it must have been an important export centre for beads, (4) painted pottery similar to that discovered at other sites in Sind and Baluchistan and (5) seals of great archæological interest and value, (6) copper and bronze models, *e.g.* bullock cart, (7) Pottery and other prehistoric toys.

That there was a strong influence of the Minoan Culture of Crete in this Indus valley side is also shown by Dr. Mackay from the finds at Chanhudaro—the mother goddess, the bull sports, the cults of dove and serpent and the double axe and the other Cretan devices. This influence is possible through trade connections between the two regions by sea, and the Indus valley might be the pioneer of the two. This discovery has also been simultaneously made and corroborated by Dr. Fabri, the Hungarian scholar and archæologist.

Several interesting prehistoric relics such as glazed vases, dishes, terra cotta cakes and seals, have been dug up in Kathiawar, *e.g.* Rampur in the Limbdi State and are considered to be fugitive traces of the Indus Valley culture.

Similar pottery of "hybrid wares" was discovered by Sir A. Stein in S. Baluchistan.

In Sind itself, there are chains of such mounds parallel to the Kirthar and the Indus in its recent course and also in the earlier course of the river on the east beside the Khairpur State and the Nawabshah district, now lying buried under the alluvium. They need intensive excavation. How far the Manchar lake was serviceable to this great civilisation also remains to be seen.

Destruction of the Sites.

It may be asked: how were these prehistoric sites destroyed? The excellent state of their preservation denotes that the city of Mohenjo Daro was not destroyed by an earthquake. But it is possible that the Indus changed its course and threw this emporium of trade quite out of its influence. Politically, there seems to be no destruction by enemy hands. Dr. Mackay has surmised that it was the floods of the Indus that from time to time inundated the low levels and when the floods subsided, the people again endeavoured to rebuild their cities. Three such floods at least have been noticed in the case of Mohenjo Daro[12]. Desiccation or climatic change may be another cause. At any rate, it seems that the sites were slowly vacated and were not re-occupied after the Metal Age, till the 1st or 2nd century B. C., when Buddhism spread in this region.

Defects of Indian Archaeology.

Among the earliest Indian archæologists to throw light on the Indus Valley culture should be mentioned Dr. R. D. Bannerji, the discoverer of Mohenjo Daro and Mr. K. N. Dikshit, who found Limb Lunejo (Upper Sind Frontier). Had it not been for these Indian Archæologists, the world would not have known much of it.

A defect of Indian archaeology, however, was that excavations were all done vertically in a restricted area and not spread over a reasonably wide area, to enable students of history to correlate or compare relics and to draw some definite conclusions. The intensive, albeit interesting excavations at Mohenjo Daro could throw little light on the prehistoric culture of the *whole* valley. The conclusions drawn by Sir John Marshall and his colleagues are but premature, and under the present financial condition of the Government it is not likely that sufficient and satisfactory materials will, in the near future, be dug out in all the suspected sites, buried long under sand and silt. Even the only native state of Khairpur in Sind is not in a position to establish a survey at present, though valuable relics have also been discovered near Kot Diji. We must, however, give due credit to all the pioneers.

Extent of this Civilisation.

It is not possible to ascertain exactly the whole extent of this civilisation. But there is no doubt that there were

connections, commercial and social, between Egypt, Greece, Crete, Sumer, Elam, Iran, Makran and Baluchistan in the west (the Ibex on the pottery came from the western dry plateau) and parts of India, upto Harappa in the north and even the Ganges Valley in the east. [13]

The Makran trade route (afterwards known as the Arab Trade route) was used by the people in all probability and the usual beasts of burden *viz.*, the bullock and the camel, helped humanity even in those early times.

The Originators.

Who, then, were the originators of such a culture, whence they really came and what ultimately became of it, are problems, which await strenuous research and decision. That there is a marked resemblance between this and the Sumerian culture of Mesopotamia cannot be denied. But that the original inhabitants were the Dravidians, who were driven away towards Southern India and the Sumerian immigrants, occupying the valley, transplanted their eastern civilisation in it, and, again, the Indo-Aryan culture never preceded anything like it in Northern India and had nothing to do with this Indus Valley culture, are open questions presenting doubts and difficulties to Indian scholars in the absence of sufficient data. The researches of Sir A. Stein and Sir Leonard Woolley have something in common with those of Sir John Marshall but this is not enough. To assign definite dates to the two rival civilisations, so far as the Indus Valley is concerned, *viz.* 2700 B.C. to Mohenjo Daro and 1800 B.C. to Vedic India, is mere rash scholarship in the eyes of the natives, who on the other hand boast of the Aryan civilisation to be thousands, not centuries, older than any other civilisation in the east of the west. [14] Fr. H. Heras considers the Mohenjo Daro civilisation to be proto-Indian or proto-Dravidian, and contends, on the interpretation of the seal inscriptions, that the migration must have taken place from S. India into Sind. His theory thus upsets the old belief that the earliest centre of Asiatic culture was Central Asia and the culture stage was Aryan. (15) Taking a consensus of opinions expressed by scholars both of the west and of the east, we can throw herein a suggestion that there can be no water-tight compartment of cultures in different parts of the world—geographical circumstances never could allow such a thing as this,—

13. *Ibid.* Pp. 191—202.

14. Das. A. C. "Rig Vedic India", Calcutta 1927 Pp. 590—591.

15. Fr. Heras; Lecture delivered at Bombay, March 1936.

that the numerous migrations of races have ultimately resulted in mixtures of their cultures, modified to a certain extent by local conditions. Earlier or later, one section of the civilised and yet civilising races came in contact with another and established their control and authority in various parts of the globe. This was the parent community, out of which sprang the so-called Sumerians, Aryans, Semites, Asuras, Daevas, and a horde of others as time went on. The Indus Valley harboured these peoples and helped them to mingle together and then their influence passed further inland.

Such a reconciliation was already suggested by L. A. Waddell,[16], though not with sufficient evidence, even before the discovery of Mohenjo Daro. He studied the Sumerian seals, compared them with those lately discovered in the Indus Valley, compared also the lists of kings of the early Aryan period, with those of Sumer, Babylonia and Hittite lands and discovered a substantial identity between them. Waddell's method of arbitrarily deciding details of dates and comparing proper names is of no scientific value, but the general conclusion of showing a real contact between Mesopotamia and the Valley of Sind cannot easily be refuted. His is a most daring hypothesis, but if further reliable data could be secured in support of it, it would solve the problem of Aryan and Sumerian antiquity or superiority once for all.

So also V. Gordon Childe [17] considered the Sumerian culture, in which industry and trade were highly developed to be "in direct touch with the Indus Valley" and "the transition from paleolithic to neolithic industry to have taken place in India." [18] Trade between Sind and Mesopotamia in those days was firmly established and profited both of them, and in this connection Childe remarks :

"Surely that world is romantic and exciting enough. Here reaching back into the fourth millenium before our era we find on the now impoverished banks of the distant Indus, a brilliant civilisation in touch at once with the prediluvian villages of the Iranian plateau and the nascent states of Babylonia. That discovery completes the graphic picture of the ancient Oriental world that the treasures of Ur disclosed. Already the laden caravans were crossing the wilderness of Iran that the merchandise of the Mysterious East might be bartered for the raw

16. Waddell L. A., "Makers of Civilisation in Race and History," London 1929 P. 27 ff.

17. Gordon Childe V. "The Most Ancient East," London, 1929, Pp. 173 ff.

18. *Ibid.* Pp. 210 ff.

products of the young barbaric west in the marts of Kish. Already the Arabian Sea was ploughed by dhows, freighted with the stuffs of Sind consigned to Babylonian river towns." [19]

Conflict of Upper and Lower Indus Valley Cultures.

Rao Bahadur R. Chanda in a most thoughtful dissertation, on the "Survival of the Prehistoric Civilisation of the Indus Valley" [20] suggests a similar solution. Did the Aryan invaders of the upper Indus valley sweep away the chalcolithic civilisation of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa or did they produce, with congenial and intimate contact, a mixed Hindu population in the entire valley? In all probability the latter and not the former was the case. The Dasas (non-Aryan) were the early settlers of the region, who were already reconciled to the Aryan immigrants from the north. Sind was known to the poets of Ramayana as a land of "Horses of noblest breed like Indra's for their form and speed," and also where the Sindhu mingles with the deep." [21]

Whatever wars were waged in the past were those between "the ambitious Indra-worshipping kings themselves and the rival Rishi clans." The greatest war known to the Rishis of the Reg Veda is "the Dasarajna or King Sudas" battle with the ten kings against the warrior tribes, who held sway in the upper Indus valley and the kings of the tribes were defeated on the Parushi (Ravi) by Sudas." [22]

Knowledge of the Aryans about the Sindhu (Indus).

That the Rig Vedic Aryans were well acquainted with the Indus and its valley can be gathered from the following passage in the Rig Veda (X : 75).

"The Sindhu is the best of all rivers. O Sindhu, when thou first didst rush towards the region that supplies food, Varuna cut various paths for thee. Thou flowest through elevated regions and holdest the highest place over all running streams.

"The roar of the Sindhu rises up from the earth and fills the heaven. She is flowing with great speed and her appearance is refulgent.

19. *Ibid.* P. 211.

20. *Mem. Arch. Sur. Ind.* No. 41, 1929.

21. Griffith's *Ramayana*, Bk. I, Ch. 6, Bk. IV, Ch. 42.

22. Chanda R. "Survival of the Pre-Historic Civilisation of the Indus Valley," *Mem. Arch. Sur. Ind.* No. 41, P.

"The sound of her waters gives one the impression of rain falling in thundering torrents. Here comes the Sindhu like a bellowing bull.

"O Sindhu, as milch cows run to their calves with udders full of milk, so the other rivers are coming to thee with loving sounds, carrying waters from all sides. As a king starts on a military expedition followed by his army so thou art advancing accompanied by two different sets of streams. Thou art wending thy way with these rivers riding in the same chariot.

"The unconquerable Sindhu is running straight. Her colour is white and bright and she is great. Her waters are flowing with great velocity and flooding all the four directions. Of all moving objects, none possesses such speed as she. She is an object of admiration like a mare and her shape is symmetrical like that of a robust woman.

"The Sindhu has perpetual youth and is beautiful. She has horses of the very best breed, excellent chariots and excellent cloths. She has been nicely decorated and has vast stores of food and very large quantities of wool. Her banks are covered with Silama grass and sweet smelling flowers, full of honey."

Portions of this description are suitable to the passage of the Indus through Sind.

The Vedic Aryans are supposed to have settled in the region, through which the Ambala streams even now flow and lose themselves in the desert sands. The sacred Sarasvati, now almost lost, harboured the race. This Sarasvati once joined the Gaggar and the Hakra and flowed through the desert into the Eastern Nara. A large number of buried towns has been recently discovered in the path of this once prosperous river system. As ultimately all Punjab rivers joined the Indus (or Sindhu) and there is no physical barrier between the upper Indus and the lower Indus basins, it is probable that there was intercourse between the settlers in the whole valley. That intercourse might be political, social or commercial, for there is no doubt that the river proved immensely profitable to both the classes of people.

The people living in the lower reaches and the delta were not akin to the Aryans, as the ruins have shown. But they had a contact with the Aryans, living further up the stream even in the days of the Mahabharata, which says that Jayadatha, the Aryan king of Sind, fought against Krishna on the side of the

Kauravas. But afterwards he turned against the Pandavas and even attempted to take away Draupadi by force, but failed in the end. The fame of Sind for its horses has been recorded also in the Upanishads.[23].

While the Aryans were a sort of nomadic race, living a kind of adventurous life, the Indus Valley people were settled in crowded cities, with well-marked occupations, such as trade involving communication and contact with foreigners. While abundant archæological relics have been hitherto discovered in the lower Indus valley and at Harappa, few authentic remains of the Aryan civilisation have been dug out in the Valley of the Sarasvati, their very home.

Mingling of Religions.

In Chanda's opinion[24] the Indo-Aryan, Iranian and Mitanian cultures had a common home, from which they migrated to India, Persia and Syria respectively. This is also the accepted opinion of other scholars. This common Aryan home was outside India and somewhere towards the north-west. The mutual relations of the different sections of the peoples of the upper Indus valley were likewise good, and the descendants of both were thoroughly reconciled. The wars and feuds, referred to in the Rig Veda, were only internal and not foreign. From a number of stone statuettes in a mutilated condition and belonging to the Jats who grew to be outcaste during the Vedic regime, and also seals depicting tree worship and pillars crowned by animal standards, this Hindu scholar came to the conclusion that, "If the hymns of the Rig Veda enable us to reconstruct the protohistoric civilisation unearthed at Harappa on the Ravi and Mohenjo Daro in Sind they warrant us in taking a further step and recognising in the warrior clans—the Bharatas, Purus, Yadus, Turvasas, Anus, Druhyans and others celebrated in the Rig Veda the representatives of the ruling class of the indigenous Chalcolithic population." [25] Again, "Diversity of Indian castes, based to some extent on the diversity of cultures, render it probable, almost certain on *a priori* grounds, that the Indus religion of the Chalcolithic period survived the Aryan invasion and was merged in Buddhism and Hinduism that include so many non-Vedic elements." [26]

One of the greatest difficulties of Oriental scholars is in connection with the *age* of the Avesta (Ancient Persian lore).

23. Jethmul P. Gulraj—"Sind and Its Sufis," Pp. 6—7.

24. Mem. Arch. Sur. Ind. No. 41. P. 8.

25. *Ibid.* P. 35.

26. *Ibid.* P. 36.

and the Vedas (sacred Hindu scriptures). Chanda has, therefore utilised these archæological discoveries for ascertaining these dates. The Vedic people were aware of the sea (*samudra*) pearls, and other ocean treasures and also conversant with marine navigation. This would not possibly be the case, unless the people of Rig Vedic India, *i.e.* the territory once occupied by the Sarasvati, popularly understood to be in the Ludhiana district now, had a close intercourse with the deltaic lands of the Indus and the Arabian Sea. Before the discoveries, 'samudra' meant merely territorial waters.[27]

The Panis—Probable Inhabitants of Sind.

But even if the Rig Vedic Rishis did not know the sea themselves, they must have secured all information regarding it from their pre-Vedic predecessors. A question is asked: Did the Rig Vedic Indra-worshipping Aryans come in contact with an older civilisation of a non-Aryan character? There are clear references to immigration by sea in the Rig Veda Samhita (6, 20, 12=1, 174, 9). The Jadus, Turvasas, descendants of sea immigrants lived in the south of the Punjab and had a recognised home of civilisation of their own. Only they did not worship Indra like the northern provincial Aryans and were not settled tillers of the soil, but "wealthy merchants who did not offer Soma and other sacrifices and did not give gifts to priests", and who lived in Puras or fortified towns. Chanda has conjectured that these merchants must be the Panis ('pana'—price), from the Mohenjo Daro coins with pictographical legends on them. During the second millenium B.C., there were many Aryan invasions from the north against these early people of "material" culture and their cities and civilisation were destroyed. So strong was the hatred against "the sinful inhabitants of Sind who were of mixed origin"[28] that even visitors to that province had to perform the cleansing ceremony before mixing with the population again.[29] If now the age of the Mohenjo Daro civilisation and therefore of the Panis can be fixed at 3000 B.C.—2500 B.C., the age of the Rig Veda and of the Indo-Aryan settlement in the Punjab cannot be much earlier. According to the views of Dr. Fabri, it is certain that the Indus Culture continued to the time the Aryans arrived in the valley, *i.e.*, about 800 years longer than Mohenjo Daro. The destruction of a previous civilisation does not take long and so the probable date of the Rig Veda comes to be 1800 B.C.

27. Macdonald & Keith, "Vedic Index", London 1912 P. 432.

28. Bandhayana Dharmasutra (1, 1, 32—33).

29. Mahabharata Bk. 8; 40—46.

In the later Vedic period when the Yajur Vedas were composed and when the Sarasvati disappeared in the desert sands, the earlier tribes migrated eastwards towards the Jumna and the Ganges and other Aryan invasions from the north followed.

"As the Aryans destroyed," says Chanda, "the great fabric of the prehistoric civilisation of Panis of the Indus Valley, later immigrants all but overthrew the Aryan Culture in turn in the same region and the modern Hinduism of the Punjab and Sind still bears a *deep heterodox stamp*, as compared to the Hinduism of the Punjab and the modern representatives of the ancient Kwa-Panchalas in the Delhi and Agra provinces." [30]

Thus there was a certain amount of mingling of northern and southern races in the Indus Valley in this prehistoric period, even though we cannot actually prove that one or the other race was destroyed in the contest for power and supremacy. "The most reasonable view," says another Indian scholar, "seems to be that they (the people of Mohenjo Daro), were the pre-Aryan (probably Dravidian) people of India known in the Vedas as the Dasyus or Asūras, whose culture was largely destroyed in the second or third millenium B.C. by the invading Aryans from the north, just as the older ægean culture of the Mediterranean, (which in some respects bears a striking resemblance to this culture of the Indus), was largely overwhelmed by the invading Achæans." [31]

A Mixed Population.

This view is also endorsed by another Indian writer :—

"The only conclusion one is, perhaps, justified to draw is that the population of Mohenjo Daro was a mixed population. Considering the geographical position of Sind with easy access by sea and land to the southern coasts of Western India, it might have served, like Mesopotamia itself, as the meeting ground of the people of various races, though we should expect the indigenous type to predominate." [32]

A prehistoric town is yet to be discovered within the territories of Sind, in which some Aryan skulls lie on top layers and relics of people are buried in the Indus Valley layers underneath. That would easily give a clue to the territorial limits reached by the Aryans in Sind.

30. Mem. Arch. Sur. India. No. 31 P. 8.

31. Mitra P. "Prehistoric India," Calcutta 1927 P. 272.

32. Kohli Sita Ram "The Indus Civilization" 1934 P. 35.

Migration of Races and the Indus Valley.

The question of migration of tribes and races cannot be easily solved. From a comparative study of the Mohenjo Daro script with those of other sixteen ancient scripts, Fr. Heras imagines that "the Mohenjo Daro civilisation is not only non-Aryan but pre-Aryan and that, as S. India is mentioned in the geographical inscription twice, the Sumerian tradition points to the south as the place from where their civilisation came. Buddhist tradition recorded in the *Jatakas* shows the Indian arriving at Mesopotamia for the first time and the seals with inscription similar to those of Mohenjo Daro discovered in Ur, Kish, Susa and other ancient cities of those countries confirm the truthfulness of these traditions. The Indian script is the parent of the Sumerian script and therefore the Cuneiform script that succeeded the Sumerian. With this script the so-called Dravidian civilisation was propagated through Sumer, Babylon, and Assyria, as the Zodiac proves."

The animals depicted on the seals show totemic signs of ancient Indian tribes, whose names are recorded in the Sanskrit literature, such as Mahishis, Nagas, Garudas, Vanars, Matsyas, etc. The seals refer to the deities like Siva and Parvati (Minaks), also typical of S. India.

On the other hand, from the occurrence of the ibex, an inhabitant of the northern regions in some of the pottery designs, Mr. Majumdar contends that the migration occurred into Sind from beyond the western borderland and thus supports the Central Asian Culture theory.

The researches of Sir A. Stein point to the same theory of the Asian culture travelling from Asia Minor, through the Central Asian deserts to Baluchistan, Gedrosia and to the Helmand and the Indus basins. He is definitely of opinion that the long lines of ruins discovered along the Sind-Baluchistan frontier coincides with a great cultural frontier, the old caravan route across the continent crossing Baluchistan to Elam and extending far northwards and westwards into Iran and Iraq. Thus his discoveries "point to a vast orbit of cultural unity realised in the affinities of a common Chalcolithic civilisation."

Dr. Hunter's contribution to Indology is also helpful to us in this connection. He has suggested that the sailors of Mohenjo Daro had their meeting ground in the Isthmus of Suez and in the mines of Sinai.

So, on the whole, the migration from the Indus Valley seems to have taken place not in one direction but in several directions and not at one time in the history of human civilisation but several times. There is not one single stratum of culture or human settlement in the Indus valley. Successive waves of human civilisation seem to have moved perhaps from the Central Asian tableland, at first as the pre-Aryan and then as Aryan and passed through the Indus valley downwards by land or by river route to the open sea both to the east and to the west. There is not the least doubt that Sind has been, to all the races, Sumerian or pre-Aryan and Aryan, a kind of meeting place for a time.

How the Valley of Sind has Functioned.

As hinted above, the valley has functioned as an antechamber for the various races affording opportunities for a mingling of their cultures. To-day there are few vestiges left in Sind itself of the ancient Indus Valley or Aryan civilisation. Of the latter no archæological but literary traces are found in sacred books and of the former we have only (1) the script surviving in the Brahui alphabet, (2) a few religious symbols and (3) some pottery designs. Neither the non-Aryans nor the Aryans have left here their own exclusive marks on the religious, social or even political life of the people of Sind. In Stein's words; "The Sanskrit literature of the post-Veda age, the development of the Indo-Aryan culture and of the religious cult are sufficient to show that the Aryan victors, by forcing their language and rule on the indigenous population, had taken over from this more civilised people many of their religious and cultural institutions. Hinduism provides many ancient illustrations of this phenomena. Even to-day it merges the foreign conqueror in itself. It digests its conquerors, so to say." [33]

Mohenjo Daro has revealed another great archæological truth, *viz.*, the history of human art and achievement is *cyclical*, *i.e.*, it shows a series of curves, of excellence and decadence alternating, an excellent urban civilisation, as at Mohenjo Daro, showing an art full of vigour, virility, symbolism and originality, followed by an age of decay, weakness and sentimentality, fundamentally different from the former after its contact with Aryan invaders from the north. This young human race brought into the Indus valley a new civilisation, a nomadic, warlike and to a great extent religious type, with no artistic or solid monuments as those of Mohenjo Daro in any part of the valley.

Even at Mohenjo Daro itself, the civilization had a *double phase*, with the top of the crest moving in one direction of highly symbolic art and the bottom of it in another direction, pointing out the great social differences between the civilised rulers and the barbaric subjects, between the art of the upper strata of a metal age and that of the lower strata of society with stone implements persisting still.

PREHISTORIC PERIOD III.—(A Dark Age).

Centuries passed after the conflict of the old Indus Valley culture with the Aryan civilisation. But the influx of peoples continued from the Iran plateau into the Indus valley, so that when Darius the Great of Persia entered this land, he actually found it to be in the possession of a tribe of Sakas (Scythians)—Para-Sugdian, distinguishable from the pre-historic peoples, who occupied the valley before.

The period between the Mohenjo Daro civilisation and the first historical contact of Persia with the Indus Valley falls into the sea of obscurity, there being no monuments or other archaeological and literary evidence, to rely upon. The Iran plateau was also getting drier and drier.

As hinted above, tradition [34] believes the race called "Tak" (*Variants* "Bina," "Mina" or "Baniya") to have migrated into Sind at a very early period. They seem to have emigrated from Scythia. "Tod exalts the Taks to a high and important rank among the tribes which emigrated from Scythia to India making them the same as the Takshak, Nagabansi or Serpent race, who acted a conspicuous part in the legendary annals of ancient India." [35] Mr. E. Pococke admires them still more: "The 'Tag' is a renowned Rajput race." [36] Later on, this tribe appears to have lost its individuality but "there are Taks among the Bhangis, who, though of spurious descent, have evidently preserved the name."

The Jats and the Meds.

Among other tribes, which have left their mark in Sind may be mentioned the Jats and the Meds, the two rival tribes as "the oldest occupants of that province." [37] The *Mujmalu-l-Tawarikh* says, "The Jats and the Meds are reputed to be

34. Elliot and Dawson "History of India" London 1867 P. 503.

35. Tod "Annals of Rajasthan," I, Pp. 53 ff.

36. Pococke E. "India in Greece," P. 172.

37. Elliot & Dawson "History of India," 1867 Pp. 519—520.

descendants of Ham the son of Noah, and they occupied the banks of the Indus, in the province of Sind. The Meds, who devoted themselves to a pastoral life, used to invade the territories of the Jats, putting them to great distress, and compelling them to take up their abode on the opposite side of the river ; but subsequently, the Jats being accustomed to the use of boats, crossed over and defeated the Meds, taking several prisoners and plundering their country.

" At last these two tribes, seeing the inutility of protracting their contacts any longer, agreed to send a deputation to Duryodhana, the King of Hastinapur, begging him to nominate a King to rule over them. Duryodhana, accordingly nominated his sister Dassal (Duhsala), the wife of Jaradratha, who exercised the functions of government with great wisdom and moderation. The families and adherents of 30,000 Brahmans, who were collected from all parts of Industan, were sent by Duryodhana to her court, and from that time Sind became flourishing and populous and many cities were formed. The Jats and the Meds had separate tracts of land assigned to them and were governed by chiefs of their own election.

"The queen and Jayadratha made [38] the city of 'Askaland' their capital, the same place apparently, which is called in a subsequent passage Askaland-usa, perhaps the Uchh of later times.

"Jayadratha was killed in the fatal field of Thanesar, and his faithful wife ascended the funeral pile, after their reign had continued for more than twenty years. On the same field was extinguished the dynasty called after the name of Bharata, he being the most celebrated ancestor of Dhritarashtra, the father of Duryodhana and Kurus. On the transfer of the empire to the Pandavas, Yudhishtira conferred Sind upon Sanjwara, the son of Jayadratha and Dassal (Duhsala) and from him Hal was descended. As the Great War, in which these heroes enacted a conspicuous part, has been supposed, on astronomical grounds, to have taken place during the twelfth century B.C., we must assign an equal antiquity to their contemporaries, the Meds of Sind."

Their Original Home.

What the original homes of the Jats and the Meds were it is difficult to ascertain. Many are the speculations advanced

by students of history regarding both the tribes. It is, however, certain that the Meds followed the Jats in their occupation of the valley. Here is one from Elliot and Dawson, again, regarding the Meds: "They may either have been transplanted to the banks of the Indus, when the Medo-Persian empire extended so far to the eastward; or they may have immigrated thither at some indefinitely early period; or they may have sought an asylum there upon the occupation of their country by the Scythians; or during the persecution of the Magi, who constituted one of the six tribes of Medas, just as the Parsis did in Guzerat, at a later period and on similar occasion." [39]

HISTORIC PERIOD B.C. I.--(Persian Conquest 515 B.C.—330 B.C.)

Early Persian Contact.

As we approach the historic period of Sind before the Christian era, and consider the contact and influences of ancient Iran on the province, we gradually come upon solid ground. Even so, nothing can be said with certainty about the state of things before the conquest of the Punjab and Sind by Darius the Great in the 6th century B.C. The oldest source of information regarding this pre-Achæmenian age is the Zend-Avesta, the sacred books of the Parsees. Beyond this literary evidence, there is little help from archaeology, etc. to prove our statements. Prof. A. V. W. Jackson [40] of the Columbia University, has tried to show in the "*Cambridge History of India*" how old Iran influenced Hindustan. Just as Kabul, Kurran, Gomai (Pomati) are referred to in the Rig Veda, Sarasvati (Av. & O. P. Harahvaiti), Sindhu (Av. Hindu, A. P. Hi(n)du), and Sapta Sindhu (Av. Hapta Hindu) are mentioned in Parsee scriptures. The very names of the river "Indus" and the province of "Sind" have been derived from Avesta. One of the 16 regions and world geographical units, referred to in the *Vendidad*, is this Hapta Hindu, created by the Zoroastrian deity Ahura Mazda (*Vendidad* Ch. I). In the same book there are shown the extreme ends of the Iranian world thus: "From the eastern Indus (India) to the Western Indus (India)" [41] or "An India in the west and an India in the east," as translated by Spiegel (Ref. Vend. I.18. Meher Yasht X, 104 Yasna LVII, 29

39. *Ibid.* Pp. 525—528.

40. *Cambridge History of India* Bk. I, Pp. 321 ff.

41. Macdonell & Keith "*Vedic India*," II, P. 424.

(Sarosh Yasht). Hindu Kush* (Av. Us Hindava) is also remembered (Yt. VIII, 32, Bund. XII 6, XIII 5, Zatsparam XXII 3); and a whole hymn is devoted to the breaking of the monsoon or its failure in the locality (Ref. Tishtar Yasht. Yasht VIII). Another Avestic reference to India and neighbouring countries is found in the Yasht XIX, wherein Bayana (Mt. Range) Seistan (Av. Zrayah Kâsaoya) and the Helmund (Av. Haetumant) are given. All these show the close intimacy of the Avestan people with the Indus valley and its neighbourhood.

Imbued with the pure Zoroastrian principles of life, the Iranian nation had already become the most dominant Asiatic race. They were a plateau people—struggling for food and water to be secured in fresh fields and for new pasture for their growing race. They were an intensely practical and truthful people. In search for wealth and power they sought the Indus valley no doubt.

As time passed and the plateau of Iran came into greater prominence after the fall of Assyria, Babylonia and Chaldea, the limits of the great Persian empire of uplands were extended further towards the east, covering the lower riverain tracts. Cyrus the Great (558 B.C. to 530 B.C.) and after him Cambysia are said to have held "dominions between the Jaxartes and the Indus." (Ref. Commentary on Herodotus Vol. I. 1912 by How and Wells). But the credit of conquering and annexing the valley goes to Darius the Great, who also organised expeditions to investigate the navigability of the river and feasibility of connecting India with Iran by sea. To Darius also the world owes the first-hand knowledge of the geographical, ethnological and political conditions of Hindustan, available through Herodotus. His own words recorded on the rock of Behistan are (*Herodotus*, Translated by A. D. Godley Vol. II, Bk. 4, pg. 44.):

Exploration of the Indus.

"But as to Asia, most of it was discovered by Darius. There is a river Indus, in which so many crocodiles are found that only one river in the world has more. Darius, desiring to know where this Indus issues into the sea, sent ships manned by Scylax, a man of Caryanda, and others in whose word he trusted in 512 B.C.; these set out from the City Caspatyrus (Gandhara ?) and the Pactyic country, and sailed down the river towards the

* If Hindu Kush is identified as Us Hindavo, then there is in this Yasht, a pointed reference to the pre-Tertiary Tethys Sea or at least a portion of it covering this land (vide the *Author's Geological References in Oriental Literature Journal*, Kama Oriental Institute No. 23 P. 11).

east and the sunrise till they came to the sea ; and voyaging over the sea westwards, they came in the *thirtieth* month to that place whence the Egyptian King sent the Phœnicians, afore mentioned, to send round Libya. After this circumnavigation Darius subdued the Indians and *made use of this sea*. Thus was it discovered that Asia, saving the parts towards the rising sun was in other respects like Libya." The great King thus secured the control of the whole river from the upper reaches to the sea.

Condition in the East.

"As far as India, Asia is an uninhabited land ; but thereafter all the east is desert, nor can any man say what kind of land is there." [42] There is also a mention made of the Indians themselves : "The Indians wore garments of Tree-wool (cotton) and carried bows of reed and iron tipped arrows of the same. Such was their equipment : they were appointed to march under the command of Pharnazathres, son of Artabates." [43]

Oriental Wealth and Splendour.

These were very great indeed.—"The Indians made up the twentieth province. These are more in number than any nation known to me, and they paid a greater tribute than any other province, namely three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust." [44]

"Now if these Babylonian talents be reckoned in Euboic money, the sum is seen to be nine thousand eight hundred and eighty Euboic talents ; and the gold coin being counted as thirteen times the value of the silver, the gold dust is found to be of the worth of four thousand six hundred and eighty Euboic talents. Therefore it is seen by adding together that Darius collected a yearly tribute of fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty talents. I take no account of figures less than ten [45]. This was Darius' revenue from Asia and a few parts of Libya. But as time went on we drew tribute also from the islands and the dwellers in Europe as far as Thessaly. The tribute is stored by the King in this fashion : he melts it down and pours it into earthen vessels ; when the vessel is full, he breaks the earthenware away, and when he needs money, cuts off as much as will serve his purpose. [46]

42. Herodotus (Translated by A. D. Godley), Vol. II, Bk. IV, §40.

43. *Ibid.* Bk. VII §65.

44. *Ibid.* Bk. III §95 (Ref. Raverty "Mihran of Sind," P. 311)

45. *Ibid.* Bk. III §94. Also

46. *Ibid.* Bk. III §95.

"All this abundance of alluvial gold, whence the Indians send the aforesaid gold-dust to the King they win in such manner as I will show. All to the east of the Indian country is sand ; among all men of whom hearsay gives us any clear knowledge the Indians dwell farthest to the east and the sunrise of all the nations of Asia; for on the eastern side of India all is desert by reason of the sand. There are many Indian nations none speaking the same language ; some of them are nomads, some not, some dwell in the river marshes and live on raw fish, which they catch from reed boats. Each boat is made of one single length between the joints of a reed. These Indians wear clothes of rushes ; they mow and cut these from the river, then plait them crosswise like a mat, and put it on like a brassplate." [47]

Life of other Indians.

" Other Indians, to the east of these, are nomads and eat raw flesh, they are called Padooi. It is said to be their custom that when any of their countryfolk, male or female, are sick, the man's closest friends kill him, saying that they tore his flesh by the wasting of the disease: though he denies that he is sick, yet they will not believe him, but kill and eat him. When a woman is sick she is put to death like the men by the women who most consort with her. As for one that has come to old age, they sacrifice him and feast as his flesh ; but there are not many who come thereto, for all who fall sick are killed ere that." [48]

" There are other Indians ; again, who kill no living creature, nor sow, nor are wont to have houses ; they eat grass and they have a grain growing naturally from the earth in its clay about the size of a miller-seed, which they gather with the clay and roast and eat. When any one of them falls sick he goes into the desert and lies there, none regarding whether he be sick or die." [49]

" These Indians of whom I speak have intercourse openly like cattle ; they are all black skinned like the Ethiopians. Their genital seed too is not whitelike other men's, but like the Ethiopians black. These Indians dwell far away from the Persians sothwards and were no subject of King Darius." [50]

47. *Ibid.* Bk. III §98.

48. *Ibid.* Bk. III §99.

49. *Ibid.* Bk. III §100.

50. *Ibid.* Bk. III §101.

Atlavial Gold.

" Other Indians dwell near the town of Caspatyrus and northward of the rest of India ; these live like Bactriaris ; they are of all Indians the most warlike, and it is they who are charged with the getting of the gold ; for in these parts all is desert by reason of the sand. There are found in this sandy deserts, ants not so big as dogs but bigger than foxes ; the Persian king has some of these, which have been caught there. These ants make their dwellings underground, digging out the sand in the same manner as do the ants in Greece, to which they are very like in shape, and the sand which they carry forth from the holes is full of gold. It is for this sand that the Indians set forth into the desert. They harness three camels apiece, a male led camel on either side to help in draught, and a female in the middle of the man himself rides on the female, careful that when harnessed she has been taken away from as young an offspring as may be. Their camels are as swift as horses, as much better able to bear burdens besides." [51]

" Thus and with teams so harnessed the Indians ride after the gold using all diligence that they shall be about the business of taking it when the heat is greatest, for the ants are then out of sight underground.

" Now in these parts the sun is hottest in the morning, not as midday as elsewhere, but from sunrise to the hour of market closing. Through these hours it is hotter by much than in Hellas at noon. So that men are said to sprinkle themselves with water at this time. At midday the sun's heat is well nigh the same in India and elsewhere, As it grows to afternoon, the sun of India has the power of the morning sun in other lands ; with its sinking the day becomes ever cooler, till at sunset, it is exceednigly cold." [52]

" So when the Indians came to the place with their sacks, they fill these with the sand and ride away back with all the speed ; for, as the Persians say, the ants forthwith scent them out and give chase, being it would seem, so much swifter than all other creatures that if the Indians made not haste on their way while the ants are mustering, not one of them would escape. So they loose the male trace-camels that they lead, one at a time (these being slower than the females) the males never tire, for they remember the young that they have left, such is the

51. *Ibid.* Bk. III §102.

52. *Ibid.* Bk. III §104.

tale. Most of the gold (say the Persians) is got in this way by the Indians ; there is some besides that they dig from mines in their country, but it is less abundant.”[53]

Much of the description given above suits the Lower Indus valley, its surroundings, its climate, its peoples etc.

Conquest of Sind by Darius.

Prof. E. Herzfeld's discovery in 1928 of a "New Inscription from Hamadan " gives solid support to this literary evidence we have brought forth. He found a gold and a silver tablet (both identical) of Darius the Great, inscribed in his usual trilingual style—the old Persian, Elam and Babylonian and dated 520 B.C.—515 B.C. The words as translated are : [54]

“ Darius the great King, the king of kings, the king of countries, the son of Vishtaspa the King : Thus saith Darius the King : This is the empire that I possess from the Saka, who are beyond Sugd as far as the Kush, *from the Hindu* as far as Sparda, which Ahura Mazda has granted unto me, who is the greatest of Gods. May Ahura Mazda protect me and my house”! The utmost limits of the Empire are herein recorded by Darius in this one of his latest inscriptions : “ From the N. E. the Saka (Scythia) to S. W. the Kush or Ethiopia and from S. E. the Hindu or Sind to N. W. Sparda, the satrapy of Sardis.” In the Behistan inscription referred to above and dated 519 B.C. there were only two Indian nations mentioned *viz.*, Gandara and Thatagush, but the Hindu (Sindhi) was missing. The foundation inscription of the terrace of Persepolis also gives “Hindu” but not yet the European Scyths, and so, if the conquest of Sind and the expedition of Egypt are linked together, it could only be possible *after* the exploration of the Indus by Skylax and the opening of the Suez canal by Darius that this Hamadan inscription was recorded between 518 B.C. to 515 B.C. The sculptures of Indians on the rocks show that “ they are naked, but for a loin cloth and a sort of turban on their heads and their weapon is a long, broad sword hanging by a strap from the shoulder,”—quite a suitable picture of natives of tropical lowlands of India and not of the Punjab or the Iran plateau.*

After Darius the Great, Xerxes his son (486 B.C.—465 B.C.) continued his interest in this Sind satrapy. Xerxes is said to

53. *Ibid.* Bk. III §105.

54. Mem. Arch. Soc. Ind. No. 34 P. 1—3. (Translated by Dr. J. M. Unwala).

* Ref. Dr. J. M. Unwala's paper in the *Journal of the K. R. Cama Institute* 1926.

have sent an Indian contingent, consisting of infantry and cavalry for the invasion of Greece, under the leadership of Pharnazathres, son of Artabates. "The Indians wore garments of three wool (cotton) and carried bows of reed and iron tipped arrows of the same." [55].

They "were armed in like manner as their foot: they rode swift horses and they drove chariots drawn by horses and wild asses." [56]

There is mention made of this satrapy in the new stone tablets, discovered early this year in a room of Xerxes' army garrison east of the Great Palace Terrace of Persepolis, by Dr. Erich Schmidt, Field Director of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. The inscription says [57] that 'Xerxes' empire, the greatest the world had then seen, extended north-east to the region north east of modern Afghanistan, south-west through ancient Kush to the borders of modern Ethiopia; south-east to the River Indus in North-Western India, and north-west through most of Asia Minor. The probable period of the inscription is, therefore, 485 B.C. to 480 B.C.

The Iranian power in Sind lasted for over a hundred years. Indian troops consisting of elephants were called for at Arbela by Darius III. That was the last the historians have heard about the great Achæmenian Kings of Ancient Persia so far as the Indus valley is concerned. It was the time when Asia dominated Europe.

HISTORIC PERIOD B.C. II. (The Greeks. 325 B.C. to 180 B.C.)

The Greeks soon followed in the footsteps of the Persians. As it was for the first time that an organised European attack was made on the valley of Sind, it would be well to digress a little and ascertain the geographical factors, which made such an invasion a success, which it was.

During the previous century great struggle was going on for supremacy in the east and the west between the Greeks and the Persians. A vast empire extending from the *Ægæan sea*, including Egypt, to the Indus river as a natural boundary, had been steadily built up by Darius and his successors. By land as well as by sea—thanks to the exploration of Darius's geograph-

55. Herodotus (Translated by Godley) Vol. II, Bk. VII §65.

56. *Ibid.* §86, §187.

57. *Illustrated London News*, 22-2-1936 P, 328.

ers,—their power had grown, they had amassed untold wealth from abroad, called for tributes from no less than 25 satrapies, both in gold and grain, and above all, organised a system of government, which won the praise of even their enemies in Greece. Peace and prosperity led them to do constructive works of art, architecture, etc. Even the gold coin—Daric—was first struck by the Great King. That was the *time element* in the development of history before Alexander. But what were the geographical circumstances which gave victory and control of territories at one time to the Persians and at another to the Greeks? In other words what were the specific Persian and Greek circumstances for their rise and fall?

So far as the Persians were concerned, they were a race of the uplands of the Iran plateau, a large part of which was a semi-desert grassland. Although all the people of the Persian empire were not of one class, they had all a superior and single Iranian culture, under which they came ever since the birth of the Prophet Zoroaster. To them all, his religion was a religion of righteousness and hope, of good thought, word and deed; work was its own reward in this world and the next, and *cultivation* was only next to godliness. Such a religion could but produce a virile race, and as the food resources of their land were limited, they always were in search of lowlands for grain. Hence the conquest by Persia of the Indus valley on the one side and Iraq and Asia Minor on the other. The desert land of the Thar in the east and of the Sahara in the west only put a stop to Persia's progress, but the genius of Cyrus and his son, Darius the Great, sought other means. The Persians excelled in horsemanship and herds of horses of good breed descended the plateau from time to time in search of new territories, fresh resources and opportunities and alien battlefields.

The Greeks, on the other hand, were a maritime race. Masters of the many mining territories in their own hilly country, of the large number of city states, of the islands of the Asiatic fringe inhabited as colonies, and of the Mediterranean waters, the Greeks came into direct conflict with the Persians. As the Persians were once aggressive and sought the mastery of the Nile Valley as well as the Ionian islands, an opportunity presented itself to Alexander to follow in the footsteps of the Persians and conquer the whole empire which they once possessed. They had gained much geographical knowledge from the Persian pioneers. They were a sturdy race of culture and good physique, exhibiting loyalty to their Head and possessing a fighting spirit all their own. When the Empire of Persia be-

came unwieldly and difficult to rule from the central place owing to various geographical obstacles, the control passed on to their Greek rivals. They pushed the Greek frontiers forward into Asia Minor, Egypt, Mesopotamia and Iran and were ready to pass through the Khaibar Pass into the valley of the Indus, even as far as Darius had penetrated. Alexander's course lay along the Indus and the Punjab rivers and he established new military stations at convenient points, such as the confluences of the rivers. His plan was "to take the most easterly waters of the Indus as far as the ocean and return by sea to Babylon." Alexander always kept separate contingents, which were occasionally reunited. This time he organised a fleet of a thousand ships with a mixture of people, Greeks, Phoenicians, Cyprists, Egyptians, Macedonians, Persians and lastly Indians and placed it in charge of Nearchus. He himself took command of the second division, having a flanking movement. But in the navigation of the Indus river he took a personal interest and obtained much geographical knowledge.

Geographical Information from the Voyage of Nearchus.

From a study of the geographical information given in the *Voyage of Nearchus*, it is easy to understand that the geographical conditions of Sind were different from those existing to-day. A map has been prepared to show the probable routes taken by Alexander, the course of the Indus and its side branches, the probable position of Patala and the coast line. The chief cities appear to have been established on stable ground by the natives. Alexander's own city of Patala and his two ports have disappeared owing to the hydrographical changes, which have taken place in the region.

On entering the present limits of Sind, Alexander found the province in possession of three or four independent tribal rulers: "The Sogdi were at Behkar (Bukkur), Musikanus at Sewee Oxykanus on the west of Sewee at the foot of the Mountains and Sambus on that range of mountains called Lukhy, which extends from the great western range and approaches the Indus at Sewee." [58]

These principalities nearly corresponded to the natural regions. It has been well remarked that a classical river such as the Indus has no ancient sites in existence on its banks to-day, except "Bekkar in Moulton* and Sewee in Tatta." The

*The boundaries of Sind were not limited to those existing at present. They were evidently extended as far as Moulton at the time of the Greek invasion.

58. Vincent William D. "Voyage of Nearchus, From the Indus to the Euphrates," London 1797, Pp. 122—123.

appearance of the parts intervening between these two chief places was thought to be monotonous." The Indus rolls down from the confluence of the Chen-ab or Akesines to Tatta four hundred miles† in one channel with hardly a single point to characterise one part of its course from another, except the island of Bekkar." [59]

The author considers the Binagara of Ptolemy to be the same as Behkar on account of its central position and this also to be a most populous city in Sind in those days. As no great ports on the sea coast have been mentioned, it seems the people were not keen on sea navigation. Parts of Sind were desert land: "The country between the Sogdi and the territory of the Musikanus resembled a desert. The maps give us upwards of 80 miles—a desert subject in summer to the Simoon or suffocating wind." [60]. The term desert, however is qualified, because it has been stated that "the Indus changes its course, inclining some yards to the east and in others to the west and that it is not so absolutely desert but that there are villages of herdsmen who change their habitation with the stream." [61]

Alexander found the land near Behkar to be the "richest in this part of India and the city so commodiously situated that he determined to erect a citadel here and leave a sufficient garrison for its support." [62]

In regard to the hilly tracts (of Oxykanus and Sambus) it is stated that "These were inhabited by mountain tribes in the neighbourhood of Musikanus and in hostility with that prince, as all the inhabitants of mountains constantly are with their neighbours in the plains." These mountains "afford security to tribes of plunderers," [63] the reason being that their country was covered with hard rock, black and barren except the few fertile valleys where domestic animals, such as the horse, are bred and supplied to Sind. For food they usually plundered the fields and farms of the Indus valley.

Patala represented the delta all the time. It meant "a region below or hell" in a bad sense, but "a country watered by the Indus in the lower part of its course" in a good sense. "Heat, burning sand and want of rain," characterised this region. [64] According to Ptolemy's map, there were seven

† Three hundred miles (De La Rochelle).

59. *Ibid.* Pp. 120—122.

60. *Ibid.* P. 129.

61. *Ibid.* P. 130.

62. *Ibid.* P. 131.

63. *Ibid.* P. 122.

64. *Ibid.* P. 142.

mouths of the river and the extent between the two outer branches was 1800 stadia (Arrian), which are equivalent to 113 English miles (d'Auville). No definite measurements of the other two sides of the delta are known. But according to W. Vincent, the westernmost branch was considered to be 144 miles, while the easternmost to be 170 miles. [65] With these measurements of the two sides of the delta, it is not possible to construct a map of Sind and to fit Patala at the head of the delta. They would carry it to a much higher latitude than we would naturally expect. But if the statement made by Onesikritus viz "the delta formed an equilateral triangle" with the base equal to the distance between the two extreme mouths of the river, the situation of Patala would be about 25 miles E. of modern Hyderabad and on one of the old branches of the Indus coincident with the Phuleli. The Sea then lay about 30 miles within the present coast line. The eastern branch was found better than the former branch for the purposes of navigation, perhaps due to the absence of rapids or giratory motions in it. At the end of this eastern branch there was a "lake or bay, which was of great extent and received its supplies from other waters in the adjacent tract. But as we know that the Indus receives no tributary of streams after it passes Behkar, we must conclude that these waters in the neighbourhood can be no other than the different channels, which branch from the main river and intersect the Delta in different directions. This lake is evidently no more than a bay into which the eastern branch falls and must be searched for in vain, at the distance of twenty centuries, considering the nature of the river and the accumulations of its mouth. It is described by Arrian as very extensive and abounding in all the species of fish, which are common to the neighbouring sea." [66]

At first Alexander navigated the western branch of the Indus and came to the sea near the western mouth of the river. Here he found the tide as well as the sea very rough due to the monsoon winds perhaps, unlike the Mediterranean sea, which is comparatively calm. Returning to Patala, he explored the eastern branch and found the lake, on whose shore he constructed more docks and quays. Proceeding from there, he reached the extremity of the eastern branch of the Indus. At both the extremities, the Greek General established ports.

65. *Ibid.* P. 144.

66. *Ibid.* Pp. 154—155.

Major General Haig[67], who has made a special study of the Delta, considers the western branch to be the Kalri. Gharo stream which silted up long ago, Patala to be situated about 35 miles south-east of present Hyderabad, the eastern branch to be some channel running into the Puran and the Rann of Cutch itself to be a portion of the lake, which Alexander came across before reaching the eastern mouth, the Kori. These seem to be probabilities, but the question of hydrographic changes, which have taken place in Sind, will be dealt with in a separate chapter. Suffice it to say, that vast geographical changes have taken place and are still taking place in the deltaic region and, therefore, it is extremely difficult to locate everything on a modern map.

According to other Greek writers, Alexander and his men were also greatly struck with the large river, the monsoons, the fertility of the land, its fauna and flora, which included huge animals such as elephants, pythons, tigers, etc., and curious plants and trees, such as the banyan, the vegetable wool, *i.e.* cotton, etc.[68]

The tract between the two extreme branches of the Indus was not quite barren and uninhabitable. "The lower part of the Delta is intersected by a variety of channels, which, it is impossible to specify; it is without wood and abounds in camels the upper part near Tatta was fertile in the best rice and other produce of importance, while the country has any commerce and cultivation being probably in a higher state at the time the Macedonians visited the country, the support of three garrisons for its protection was neither superfluous or oppressive." [69]

Alexander's Commercial Plans.

That the objects of Alexander in conquering Sind were not only political but also commercial can be seen from the facts that, considering the Indus to be "the eastern frontier of his empire," he built the city of Patala at the head of the delta (probable situation shown on the map) and planned two new ports with naval yards and docks, at the east and at the west mouths (The English charts show Lari Bandar as the extreme point in the west and Bandar Lari for that in the east, Cutch west and Cutch east) [70] He himself navigated the two main

67. Haig Major Gen. M. R. "The Indus Delta Country," London 1894 Pp. 2—23.

68. Rawlinson H. G. "Intercourse between India and the Western World," 1816 P. 44.

69. *Ibid.* P. 157.

70. *Ibid.* P. 144—145.

branches of the river successfully and even "explored the *desert on both sides* to find water and sink wells." [71] Before he entered the lower Indus basin, he had also established other ports at critical points in the upper Basin with the same object of commerce to pass up and down the river, *e.g.* Oxy-drakoe (Uchh) at the confluence of the Indus and the Akesines. Thus, "everywhere his quick eye seized the points subservient to the realisation of that image which fired his imagination—the Indus a great highway of the world's traffic with a chain of flourishing semi-Greek mercantile cities." [72] The whole expedition of Alexander was a success. He and his men were greatly struck with the sight of the magnificent river, lake, sea, crops, animals and plants, never to be found in Greece.

Return Journey.

At length leaving the navy in charge of Nearchus at Patala with instructions for him to explore the possibilities of a sea route from the Indus to the Persian Gulf, Alexander left his Indian possessions for his return journey through the western highlands, Gedrosia, and the Iran plateau *via* Makran.

Nearchus was to sail down the western branch of the Indus, as the eastern one was in dangerous hold of pirates. On reaching the coast, he found the current of the monsoon very strong. This natural obstacle, as also a mutiny among his men caused detention on the Sind coast and Nearchus was driven to Krokala (or Alexander's Haven), where the monsoon current detained the navy for three weeks more. At last, progress was resumed and Nearchus anchored off Ahwaz on the Karun river, after some 30 months' journey, in 325 B.C.

A section of the army was ordered by Alexander to march through the Bolan Pass to Susa *via* Kandahar. For some distance, Alexander himself marched along the Makran coast, a course parallel to that of the navy; but later on he was driven inland along a longitudinal valley, in which his troops suffered terribly through heat and thirst.

Alexander's Achievements.

Thus he achieved:—

(1) Occupation of the entire Indus valley

71. *Ibid.* P. 146.

72. *Cambridge History of India* Bk. I, P. 379.

(2) Establishment of three new cities in the upper valley and one new city (Patala) at the head of the delta and fortifying old ones

(3) Planning two new ports at the eastern and western mouths.

(4) Unification of upper and lower Basins politically for a time.

(5) Increasing commercial activities between the east and the west *via* the Persian Gulf.

(6) Hellenisation of conquered lands with art, sculpture, coinage, etc.

(7) Establishment of the Satrapy of Sind under Pithon.

The results of the geographical survey included the re-discovery of three routes round the countries conquered *viz* (1) the first entry route *via* the Khaiber Pass, (2) Sind—Seistan (Persia) *via* the Mula-Bolan Passes, (3) Sea route (Makran—Persian Coast). The hardships of the journey were the least in territories already surveyed by the Persian forerunners and the greatest in those of which the geographical knowledge was insufficient, as in Gedrosia. Scarcity of food and water in some places, opposition of savage folk, extremes of heat and cold etc. were some of them.

"The exploration of the Indus Valley was the beginning of a new era in the history of Greek geography, and we cannot help wondering what might have been the result, had Alexander lived to carry out his far-reaching schemes. Would the Indus valley have become the centre of Hellenistic culture as Egypt and Syria became, where the civilisation of East and West blended to form new products? The question was destined never to be solved." [73]

Social and commercial intercourse between Sind and the western world continued during the days of the Roman Empire. The Greek establishments and settlements remained intact or were improved upon, and served the world as long as possible. "The first of these is the harbour, called by the Greeks Bar-barikon, whatever the Indian name may have been. It was on the middle mouth of the Indus and the cargoes were disembarked here and sent in boats to Minnagara, the Capital of Sind. This was probably Patala. It was called Min-Nagara (City of the Min or Saka), as Sind was then in the possession of Parthian Princes, who were always driving one another out. These

73. Rawlinson H. G. "Intercourse between India and the Western World," 1916 P. 36.

were, no doubt, the Indo-Persians, who had been turned out of the Punjab by the Kushans. When our author found them, the dynasty had evidently already relapsed into anarchy. The writer correctly notes that the natives called the Indus Sindhus (Sindhu). The exports of Sind (which had not been eclipsed by the southern ports) were costus (Sk. Kushta, *Sanssurea lappa*) an aromatic plant from Kashmir, used for perfumes, lycium or berberry, a cosmetic fashionable in Rome; nard (citronella), gems, indigo skins, and costly silk from China. Silk was destined to become an immensely important article of commerce." [74] Cotton was also one of the exported articles.

Greco-Roman influences passed on in later centuries to other parts of India as well. In coinage, sculpture, architecture, drama, etc., no doubt these were felt. At the same time Oriental literature, philosophy and even astronomy affected the western world. [75].

HISTORIC PERIOD B.C. III. (Post-Alexandrian Period.)

After the death of Alexander, Greek influence in the east continued for well-nigh two centuries. Not strong was the hold of the Greek Empire on the conquered territories. The Persian system of Government by Satraps was followed and the territories were partitioned. Silencus Kicater—320 B.C. who governed the Indian satrapies made them over to Chandragupta (Sandacottus?), who ruled from Pataliputra through the illustrious Asoka, but the influence of these distant Buddhist rulers could not be felt to a great extent and for long in Sind. On the close of the Mauryan dynasty in 231 B.C., a sort of semi-Greek rule, the Bactrian, set in; until at last the Sakas (Indo Scythians) broke down their power once for all in 130 B.C. Once again the country came into the hands of the early native settlers, among whom the Jats and the Meds occupied a prominent place. They have been already referred to above.

For a time again the history of Sind runs parallel to that of Persia. "The movements of the Sakas and allied nomad tribes were closely connected with the development of the Parthian or Persian power under the Arsakidan (Ashkonian?) kings. Mithradates I, a very able monarch (C. 171 to 136 B.C.) who was for many years the contemporary of Eukratides, King of Bactria, succeeded in extending his dominions so widely that his power was felt as far as the Indus, and probably even to the

74. *Ibid.* Pp. 114—115.

75. *Ibid.* Pp. 156—160.

east of that river. I see no reason for donating the birth of the explicit statement of Orosius that, subsequent to the defeat of the General of Demetrios and the occupation of Babylon, Mithradates I annexed to his dominions the territory of all the nations between the Indus and the Hydaspes or Jhelam river. The chiefs of Taxila and Mathura would not have assumed the purely Persian title of Satrap. If they had not regarded themselves as subordinates of the Persian or Parthian sovereign and the close relations between the Parthian monarchy and the Indian borderland at his period are demonstrated by the appearance for a long time to princes of Parthian origin, who now enter on the scene." [76] Under these conditions, a great movement of population was bound to take place between Iran and the Indus valley. Kanishka, the last Indo-Parthian ruler of Sind, had a prolonged association with our province, as a large number of his coins are found in it.

"His dominions included Upper Sind, and his high reputation as a conqueror suggests the probability that he extended his power to the mouths of the Indus, and swept away, if they still existed, the pretty Parthian princes who still ruled that region in the first century after Christ, but are heard of no more afterwards." [77]

GEOGRAPHICAL VALUE OF SIND—Conclusion.

Thus it can be seen how the Indus valley had a great geographical value throughout all these periods of time, how through the few but free mountain passes came periodic, though long—delayed attacks of conquerors,—the Indus Valley people, Indian Aryans, Iranian Aryans, Greeks, Scythians and others,—how the frontier lay undefended by any civilised or organised force from the natives, who did not trouble about it, and how the upper Indus valley affected the lower and deltaic region politically, socially and economically to some extent.

Life in the lower Indus valley was, to a certain extent unsafe, unstable and unsteady—the physical environments helped to make it so. It had a centrifugal population, settlers were not settled, when either the changing river or a foreign aggressor upset them. There was a re-sorting of tribes and races, escaping from aggressions or political crises, religious bigotry or even unfavourable climatic conditions. Therefore, Sind's political frontiers oscillated, rulers changed hands and capital towns shifted,

76. Smith Vincent "Early History of India," 1914 Pp. 227—228,

77. *Ibid.* P. 250.

as the Indus waters or the desert sands do shift from place to place. Even at the time of the Persian invasion the desert approached the Indus valley on its eastern side and desiccation had already begun even on the borders of Sind.

However, the valley itself, owing to its fertile soil and plenty of river water in a comparatively dry region all round, no doubt harboured settlements. But except the two ancient towns of Behkar and Sehvan, there are few natural strongholds and vestiges left of the previous conquests in Sind. While people from the dry and hot Iran plateau could sustain themselves well in the burning land, conquerors from cooler regions such as the Greeks, could have no foothold in it and they either left it or moved on to cooler and more habitable parts of the Indo-Gangetic plain and the Deccan.

The open character of the valley allowed free movements, though, on account of some scattered desert tracts amidst fertile fields, they were restricted here and there. Thus, while the colonisation of foreigners was easy and they could take native wives, there being no religious restriction thereto, the bulk of the people lived a quiet, peaceful life in their fields. There were no castes and few creeds, thus allowing facilities for the unification of peoples who happened to live in Sind. There were, likewise, risks of evils from foreigners as well. Though communication was defective and journeys were slow and tedious, nevertheless as a habitable area, it had a close relation between its physical regions and cultural regions. It gave facilities for internationalism and inter-communication. Much of its history is conjectural but the salient events, related above, support our statement that Sind has played its part worthily in the ultimate unification of human races. How far this is true with regard to the later historical periods remains now to be seen.

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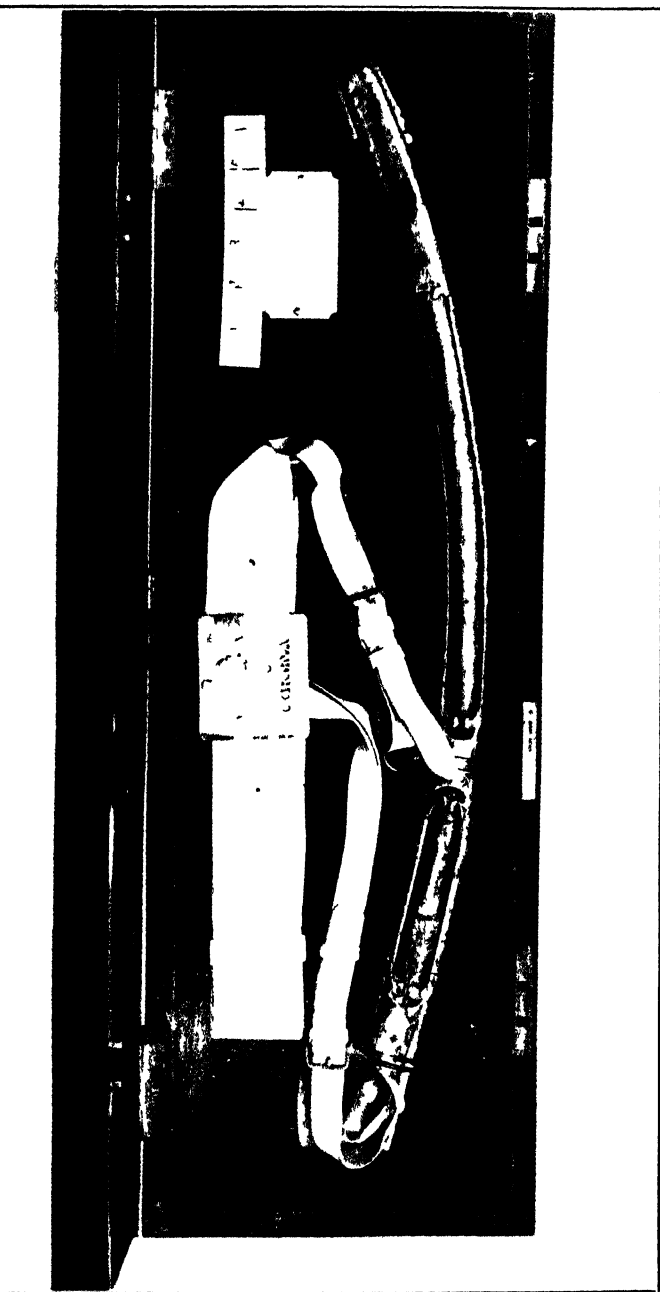
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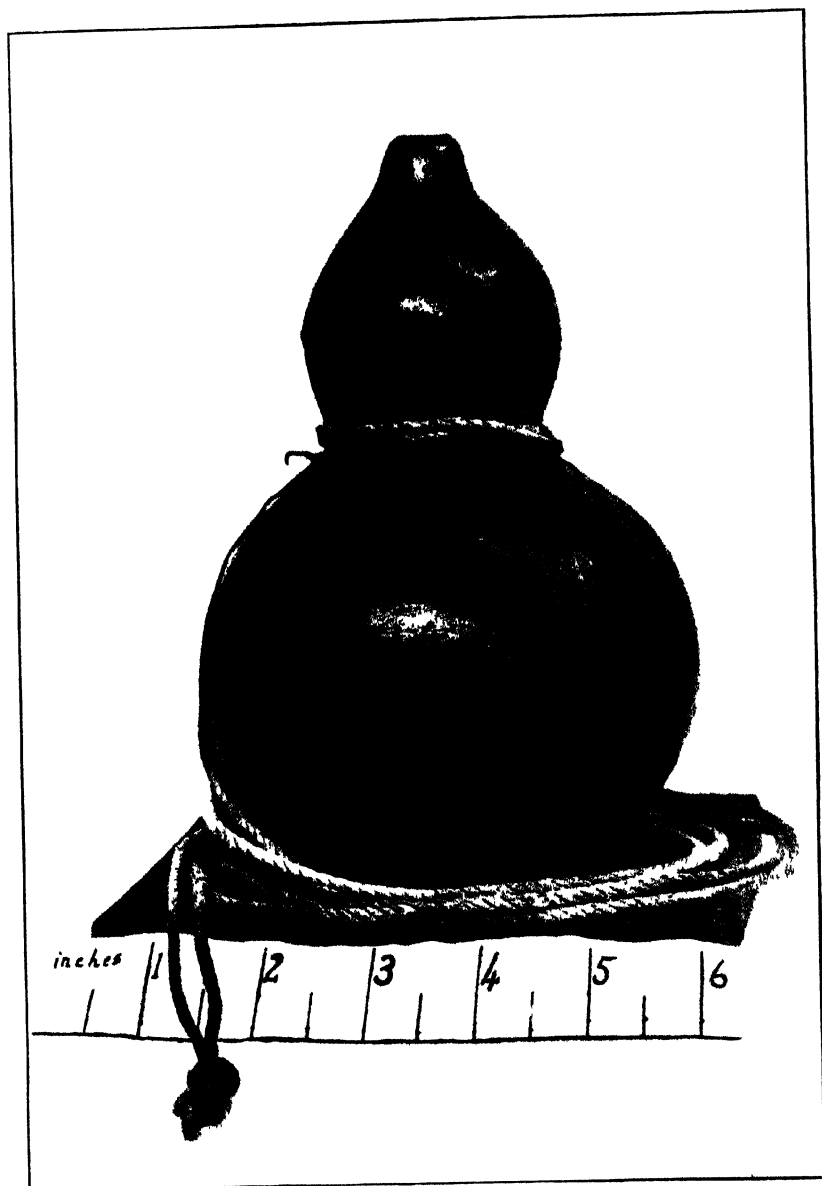
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N. M. BILLIMORIA.

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BLOCKS BY
JUSULANAND BROS. KARACHI

RELICS OF GENL. SIR CHARLES NAPIER, G.C.B.

(With two illustrations).

The Sind Historical Society, Karachi, is thankful to Col. G. F. Wingfield-Stratford, M.C., Queen's Own Royal West Kent Regiment, Karachi, for two photographs of relics of Sir Charles Napier. These have been reproduced in this number of the Society's Journal. The particulars concerning them are as follows :

This belt belonged to General Sir Charles Napier, G.C.B., who commanded the 50th Regt. at the Battle of Corunna, was presented to the Officers 1st Bn. The Queen's Own Royal West Kent Regt. by his daughter Mrs. W. Napier in 1905.

(2) This gourd which belonged to General Sir Charles Napier, G.C.B., who commanded the 50th Regt. at the Battle of Corunna was presented to the Officers 1st Bn. The Queen's Own Royal West Kent Regt. by his daughter, Mrs. W. Napier in 1905.

The Gourd is marked in ink :—

“Major Napier, 50th Regt. 1810.”

“Lt. Col. Napier, 102nd Regt.

“Lt. Col. Napier, 102nd Regt. America, 1813.

THREE ANCIENT TRAVELLERS IN SIND.

BY N. M. BILLIMORIA

(*Read before the Sind Historical Society on 23rd August 1936*).

There are four sources from which the early history of India may be written. The first is tradition, chiefly as recorded in native literature. The second consists of those writings of foreign travellers and historians which contain observations on Indian subjects ; the third is the evidence of archaeology—monumental, epigraphic, or numismatic. The fourth, the works of native contemporary literature which deal especially with historical subjects.

The stream of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims continued for several centuries to visit India ; this they regarded as their Holy Land. The one among them was Fa-hein ; he started on his travels in A. D. 399 and returned to China fifteen years later.

But the first of a long series of Chinese historians, is *Ssu-ma-Chien*, the Herodotus of China, completed his work in B. C. 100. His writing throw much light upon the early annals of India. The illustrious Hiuen Tsang, the prince of Pilgrims, deserves a special notice. His travels are described in a work named "records of the western world"; this has been translated into French, English and German ; the travels extended from 629 to 645 A. D. and covered nearly the whole of India, except the extreme south. Vincent A. Smith in his "Early History of India" says "His book is a treasure house of accurate information, indispensable to every student of Indian history and has done more than any archaeological discovery to render possible the remarkable resuscitation of lost Indian history which has been recently effected. Although the chief historical value of Hiuen-Tsang's work consists in its contemporary description of political, religious and social institutions the pilgrim has increased the debt of gratitude due to his memory by recording a considerable mass of ancient tradition, which would have been lost but for his care to preserve it." M. Chavannes has published a version of a work by I-tsing, which gives an account of no less than sixty Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who visited India in the latter half of the seventh century.

In the present paper you will find nothing new or original. I have collected the materials from several books, so that a student if he wishes to know about any of these three travellers

General Haig in his "Indus Delta Country" writes "Hiuen Tsang's Sindh, in fact, is not the Sindh of any period known to history, and his description of it is wholly irreconcilable with facts which we gather from the contemporary history embodied in the "Tarikh-Hind-wa-Sind." He thinks that Julien's Sintu country must have included the Salt Range and that its capital must be looked for somewhere in Derajat.

I will now try to locate some of the places mentioned above.

Jajhoti.—This capital was visited by Ibn Batuta in A. D. 1335. The province corresponds with the modern district of Bundelkhand.

Maheshwarapura.—From Jajhoti the Chinese pilgrim proceeded to the north for 900 li or 140 miles, to Maheshwarapura, the king of which was also Brahmin. Cunningham thinks that as the northern direction would bring us to the neighbourhood of Kanoj, he concludes there is some mistake in the bearing. He proposes to read 150 miles to the *south*, where the old town of Mandala stands. This was the original capital of the country on the Upper Narbada, which was afterwards supplanted by Tripuri, six miles from Jabalpur.

Cunningham in his Ancient Geography of India assigns Pi-chen-po-pu-lo to Alor which was the capital of Sind in the 7th century. The pilgrim places the capital to the west of the Indus, whereas the present ruins of Alor are to the east of the river. The Indus formerly flowed to the east of Alor, and the change in the course did not take place until the reign of Raja Dahir about 50 years after the pilgrim's visit. The desertion of Alor by the Indus is attributed to the wickedness of Dahir; but all the rivers of the Punjab which flow from north to south are gradually changing their course towards the *west*; this is the natural result of the earth's continued revolution from west to east, which gives their waters a permanent bias towards the western banks. The original course of the Indus was to the east of the Alor range of hills; but as the waters gradually worked their ways to the west, they at last had turned the northern end of the range at Rori, and cut a passage for themselves through the gap in the limestone rocks between Rori and Bakhar. Dahir came into power in A. D. 680, and the change is assigned in Dahir's reign; Mahomed Kasim came to Sind in 711 A. D. he had to cross the Indus to reach Alor; it is certain that the river was permanently fixed in its present channel before his arrival, *i.e.*, A. D. 711. Cunningham has the following note: All streams that flow from the

1, Hiuen Tsang, 2, Ibnu Batuta, and 3, Sidi Ali Reis, instead of wading through several books, his purpose would be partly served if he refers to this paper.

ON YUAN CHWANG.

The Chinese pilgrim's name is written in several ways. I have followed the spelling and name adopted by Thomas Watters in his book published in the Oriental Translation Fund Series.

The family of Chen Hui was a large one and Yuan Chwang was the youngest of four sons. He received his early education from his father with his brothers. The second son of the family entered the Buddhist church, and our hero smitten with the love of the strange religion followed his brother to the various monasteries at which the latter lived. Then he resolved also to become a Buddhist monk. At the age of 20 he was ordained but he continued to wander about and did not like to remain in China, and set out in 629 A. D. on his long pilgrimage, secretly. After 16 years absence he returned to China, and never in the history of that country did Buddhist monk receive such a joyous ovation as that with which the pilgrim was welcomed. The Emperor and his court, the officials and merchants and all the people made holiday.

He left China in September 629 A. D. and arrived in India in 630 same month ; from October 630 to July 644 he remained in India ; and returned to China in April 645.

Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India* gives the following chronology of Yuan Chwang's travel in India :

- A.D. 641. January 1st, Garjara.
- February 20th Ujain.
- March 20th Jajhoti.
- April 5th Maheshwarapura.
- May 15th Returns to Surashtra.
- June 20th Udumbara or Kachh.
- July 20th Langala or Baluchistan.
- August 13th Pitasila or Pattala.
- August 20th Avanda or Brahmanabad.
- September 1st Sindh, Capital Alor. Halt 20 days.
- October 10th, Multan.

According to the memoirs, the route was as follows :

A. D. 641, April 5th, Maheshwarapura ; June 1st, Sindh ; July 10, Multan.

In the measure of distance, the traveller mentions : *li*, which is equal to one-sixth of a mile ; 400 *li* equal to 66 miles.

The Records proceed to state that the pilgrims went back from Maheshwarapura to Guchala and from that proceeded north again through a wild rugged region for 1900 *li* and crossing the Sin-tu (Sindh) river reached the country with the same name. Yuan-chwang describes Sindh as being 7000 *li* in circuit and its capital Pi-shan-po-lo by name, as above 30 *li* in circuit. The products of the country were millet and wheat, gold, silver, and it had oxen and sheep, and dromedaries, and mules ; it yielded also various kinds of salt, red, white and black, and a white rock salt. People of various countries used the salt as medicine. The inhabitants were quick-tempered but upright, quarrelsome and vituperative, and of superficial learning ; they were thorough believers in Buddhism. There were several hundreds of monasteries and over 10,000 brethren all of the Hinayanist Sammatya school. Most of these were indolent worthless persons ; of the superior brethren who, leading lonely seclusion lives, never relaxed in perseverance, many attained arhatship. There were over 30 Deva-temples and the various sectaries lived any how. The King was of the Sudra caste, was a sincere man and believer in Buddhism. Buddha had travelled in Sindh and Asoka had erected several topes as memorials of his visit. Vincent A. Smith in his Early History of India, p. 199, writes in a note "The tradition may be true, 76 stupas and 2 monasteries of about the sixth century A. D. have been found at Mirpur Khas (Ann. Rep. A.S. Western Circle 1916-17 p. 47) and 1 stupa has been found at Tando Muhammad Khan (ibid 1914-15 p. 66). The great arhat Upagupta had visited Sind often and monasteries or topes were erected where he preached and taught. Among the low marshes near the Sin-tu (Sindh, Indus) for over 1000 *li* some myriads of families were settled ; their disposition was ferocious ; their occupation was taking of life, and supported themselves by rearing cattle ; they had no social distinction and no government ; they shaved their head, and wore bhikshu garb. According to local accounts their ancestors were originally cruel and wicked and converted by a compassionate arhat to Buddhism ; they there-upon ceased to take life ; shaved their heads and assumed the dress of Buddhist mendicants ; in the course of time, they had gone back to their old ways, but they still retained outwardly bhikshus.

poles towards the equator work gradually to the westward, while those that flow from the equator towards the pole work gradually to the eastward. These opposite effects are caused by the same difference of the earth's polar and equatorial velocities which gives rise to trade winds.

Sir Alexander Cunningham in his "Ancient Geography of India" mentions Hwen Thsang travelling in Sindh in several places. I have put in one place all he says about the Chinese traveller.

The Vedic period knew India divided into Udichya, Highland, Nichya, Lowlands, Madhyadesa middle, and Prachya East.

In the seventh century Sindh was divided into four principalities, which for the sake of greater distinctness I will describe by their geographical positions, as Upper Sindh, Middle Sindh, Lower Sindh and Kachh. The whole formed one kingdom under the Raja of Upper Sindh, who, at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit in A. D. 641 was a Siu-to-lo or Sudra.

The single principality of Upper Sindh which is now generally known as *Siro* that is the "Head or Upper" division, is described as being 7000 li, or 1167 miles, in circuit, which is too great, unless, as is very probable, it comprised the whole of Kachh Gandava on the west..... In the seventh century the capital of the Province was named Pi-chen-po-pu-lo, which M. Julien transcribes as Vichvapura. M. Vivien de St. Martin, however, suggests that it may be the Sanskrit Cichalapura, or "city of the Middle Sindh," which is called Vachlo by the people If Hwen Thsang had used the vernacular terms, his name might have been rendered exactly by the Hindi Bichwa-pur, or Middle City, but as he invariably uses the Sanskrit forms I think that we must rather look to some pure Sanskrit word for the original of his Pi-chen-po-pu-lo. Now we know from tradition, as well as from native historians that Alor was capital of Sindh both before and after the period of Hwen Thsang's visit ; this new name therefore must be only some variant appellation of the old city, and not that of a second capital.

Middle Sindh.—The chief city named O-fan-cha, was situated at 700 li, or 117 miles from the Capital of Upper Sindh, and 50 miles from Pitasila, the capital of Lower Sindh. As the former was Alor, and the latter was almost certainly the Pattala of the Greeks or Haidarabad, the recorded distances fix the position of O-fan-cha in the immediate vicinity of the ruins of the ancient

city called Bambhra-ka-Tul, or the "Ruined Tower" or simply Banbhar which according to tradition was the site of the once famous city of Brahmanawas or Brahmanabad. Hwen Thsang's kingdom of Ofancha or Avanda, therefore, corresponds as nearly as possible with the province of middle Sindh, which is now called Vichlo.

Hwen Thsang takes no notice of Schwan, but it is mentioned in the native histories of Sindh as one of the towns captured by Muhammad bin Kassim in A. D. 711.

In A. D. 641 Sindh was visited by Hwen Thsang whose account has already been noticed. He found the Kingdom divided into the four districts, which for greater distinctness I have named Upper Sindh, Middle Sindh, Lower Sindh, and Kachh. The first has already been described in my account of Alor. The second Ofancha I have just identified with Brahmanabad. M. Stanislas Julien transcribes the Chinese syllables as Avanda for which it is difficult to find an exact equivalent. But I have a strong suspicion that it is only a variation of the name of Brahmana, which was pronounced in many different ways. . . . Speaking of Mansura which we know was quite close to Brahmanabad, Ibn Haukal adds that the Sindhians call it Bamiwan (Elliot, Vol. I. p. 34) which Edrisi alters to Mirman. But in his list of places in Sindh, Edrisi adds after Mansura the name of Wandan or Kandan, which I take to be a various reading of Bamanwa or as the Sindhians would have pronounced it, Vamanwa and Vanwa. The Chinese syllable fan which is the well known transcript of Brahma is a notable example of this very contraction, and tends to confirm the opinion that Avanda is but a slight variation of Bahmanwa or Brahmanabad.

Lower Sindh or Lar.—The district of Pitasila or Lower Sindh is described by Hwen Thsang as being 3000 li or 500 miles in circuit which agrees almost exactly with the dimensions of the Delta of the Indus from Haiderabad to the sea, including a small tract of country on both sides extending towards the desert of Umarnkot on the east, and to the Mountains of Cape Monz on the west In the middle of the 7th century Hwen Thsang mentions only Pitasila or Patala.

In A. D. 641 when the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang visited Sindh, he travelled from Koteswara, the capital of Kachh, a distance 700 li, or 117 miles, due north to Pi-to-shi-lo from whence he proceeded 300 li or 50 miles to the north-east to O-fan-cha which I have already identified with Brahmanabad. M. Julien

renders the Chinese syllables by Pitasila, but I would prefer Patasila or the flat rock, which is an accurate description of the long flat-topped hill on which Haidarabad is situated. This name recalls that of Patalpur, which according to Burton (Sind, Ch. I, note 7) was an old appellation of Haidarabad or Nirankot; and as this city is exactly 120 miles to the north of Kotesar, in Kachh, and 47 miles to the S.W. of Brahmanabad I have no hesitation in identifying it with the Pitasila of the Chinese pilgrim. The size of the hill also which is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length by 700 yards in breadth or upwards of 3 miles in circumference, corresponds very closely with the dimension of Pitasila, which according to Hwen Thsang was 20 li or $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles in circuit.

SIDI ALI REIS.

Sidi Ali is the descendant of a well-known family connected with the arsenal at Galata; he had hereditary love for the sea. He was thoroughly acquainted with the nautical science of his day; he was a man of general culture; he was a good mathematician, astronomer, geographer; also a poet and theologian. He had taken part in most of the naval engagements of the time under such famous navigators as Barbarossa and Sinan Pasha. He wrote five treatises upon the Astrolabe, the quadrant, the parallels. During his residence in Ahmedabad he wrote a book called "Muhit", in which he gives much information about the Gulf of Oman.

Sultan Suleiman of Turkey decided to complete the annexation of Arabia, and take the island of Ormuz and to revenge himself upon the Portuguese. For this purpose, Piri Bey the Egyptian Admiral was chosen; he sailed from Suez to Ormuz in 1553, with thirty ships. He immediately prepared for the siege, but seeing the Portuguese very powerful abandoned the scheme and sent his fleet to Busrah, and he himself returned to Suez with three ships. Piri Bey was suspected of receiving bribes, and he was put to death. He was replaced by Sidi Ali and in 1553 he was appointed to the post of Admiral of the Egyptian fleet, and commanded to fetch back from Basrah the fleet which Piri Bey had left there. He proceeded by land, but when he prepared to leave Basrah with the fleet the Portuguese attacked him; He was overtaken by a large storm also; he could hardly escape to the coast of Gujarat with a few vessels in his charge of the ruler of Gujrat he, travelled by land over Sind, Punjab, Afghanistan, Transoxania, Khorasan, Azerbaijan, and through Persia. He at last reached Constantinople

via Bagdad in 1556. When he was travelling during these four years, 1552-1556, he recorded his fortunes and misfortunes in a book called "Mirat ul Memalik", Mirror of Countries.

We will not narrate what befell him in other places; but we will see what he has to say about our Sind. The picture which Ali Reis draws of the Government of India and the east is a very sad one. Civil wars and mutinies against the rulers are every day occurrences, the roads were full of highwaymen; even during the reign of Humayun all intercourse with other lands was fraught with every kind of danger. Chapter VII of Ali's small book "Mirat ul Memalik", translated into English by A. Vambrey has the heading "what befell us in the Province of Sind". After ten days' journey the party came to Nagar Parker, a town of the Rajputs. A band of hostile Rajputs began a free fight with the travellers; but the attackers were brought to their senses; they wanted money from the travellers. Ali said "we are not merchants and carry nothing but medicines and Mouro on which we have already paid duty". Mouro, a stone is said to be found in the head of the serpent and the dragon, and possesses miraculous power. Many dervishes carry one of these stones in their girdle to trade upon the superstition of the ignorant people. A small sum was paid and the travellers were allowed to proceed. For ten days they wandered through deserts and sandy places till they reached Wanga, a frontier town of Sind. Here fresh camels were hired and in five days they came to Djoona and Baghi-Feth. Shah Husein Mirza was ruling in Sind at that time. He had ruled for 40 years, but was invalided the last five years. "He was unable to mount his horse so now he only went about on board his ship in the river Sihun" (Indus). This is confirmed by Chachnama, Vol. II, page 89, he himself was quite unable to carry on administration work effectually, which fell into the hands of men unworthy of managing it, while he himself passed most of his time in boats sailing from Tatta to Bakhar, and from Bakhar to Tatta".

At that time, writes our traveller, Isa Tarkhan, the commander of the Capital of Sind, Tatta, rose in rebellion against Shah Husein, and proclaimed himself as Humayun Shah. An army was sent against the rebel under the command of Sultan Mahomed; and he himself with 400 ships had set out against the rebels. The traveller narrates "Hearing of my arrival he received me with great honour. It was then the beginning of the month of Rabia-al-Sani. He gave me festive apparel and conferred upon us the title of a God-sent army."

He offered me besides all this the governorship of Bander-Lahuri or Duyuli, Sind. Of course I refused the offer". When he asked permission to continue the journey, he was asked to stay till the successful termination of the campaign. Wherever Sidi Ali went he always visited the holy men of the place, and graves and shrines of the dead.

The campaign lasted a month, earthworks were thrown up and cannon raised thereon, but as Tatta lies on an island and their shot did not reach so far, the fortress could not be taken; there was great loss of life on both sides. At last a compromise was decided on. They become friends. Sultan Mahomed returned by land, and Shah Husein by water to Bakar. On the tenth day after his wife had joined him Shah Husein died, and it was supposed that she had poisoned him. This happened in 1554. Sidi Ali was given a ship, and while the body of Mirza with his wife and an escort of fifty ships were on their way to Tatta, the soldiers attacked the remaining vessels and plundered them. The sailors took flight, and the passengers took command of the ships. Beset on all sides by the Djagatais (Central Asians) the passengers including Sidi Ali had to relinquish their firearms and barely escaped with their lives. At last struggling for ten days against the stream, they came to Nasirpur—which town was plundered by the Head of the Rajputs.

News was brought that Mir Isa with ten thousand brave soldiers was following Sultan Mahomed and that his son, Mir Saleh with 80 ships was close behind. Our hero met Mir Saleh in the river, on our way to Tatta. The travellers were induced to turn back, were supplied with ships and sailors. After a short detention on Ali's prayers they were allowed to continue their journey; on their way they were surprised at the enormous size of the fish (Alligators) sporting in the river as also with the quantities of tigers on the banks. It was necessary to keep up a perpetual warfare with the people of Semtche and Matchi (fishermen) through whose territory their course lay, and thus they reached Sehwan, and shortly after to Bukkur by way of *Patri and Dible*. Here our hero met Sultan Mahmud and his Vazir Molla Yari. Our author was not only a brave warrior and sailor but also a poet. He was fond of composing chronograms and ghazels. When he had no valuable gifts to offer, he presented the high official or ruler with chronograms and gazelles, and they were pleased with his compositions. Our traveller was granted permission to proceed in his journey; but as the route past Kandahar was made unsafe by the in roads

(literally, Kazak olmak, wandering) of Sultan Bahadur, and as the season of the Semum (hot winds) had commenced, Sultan offered an escort by the way of Lahore; he was warned against the Jats, which was an hostile tribe there. Anyhow the traveller had to wait for a month. Sidi Ali had great faith in dreams, for he narrates that at that time "one night in my dream I saw my mother who told me that she had seen her highness Fatima in a dream and had learned from her the glad news that I should soon be coming home safe and sound." When our traveller narrated this dream to his companions they were full of courage. Sultan Mahmud gave him leave to depart and presented him with a beautiful horse, a team of camels, a large and small tent and money for the journey, also an escort of 250 mounted camel drivers from Sind. The party reached the fortress of Mav in five days, travelling via Sultan-poor. In the Tuhfatulkiram we read that Rai Bahiras built six mud forts in different parts of his country, viz. at Uch, Mathelah, Mau, (written as Mad in the Sind Gazetteer), Aloor and Siwistan, i.e., the present Sehwan. The traveller states that as the Jats were very troublesome, they did not take the route of Djenghelistan (forest) but preferred to go through the steppe. On their way they could not find any water, so he doctored his men with opium of the very best quality (Teriaki faruk.) After this experience they returned to Mav. In the steppe they saw "ants as large as sparrows". After a ten days' march they arrived at Uch, where Ali visited several tombs. The journey was resumed and they crossed the Sutlej by means of a raft. They advanced and after all reached Multan.

Since reading the above paper before the Sind Historical Society on the 23rd August 1936, I have come across a very learned article by the late Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, published in part IV of his Asiatic Papers. The article is headed "Rustom Maneck and the Persian Quisseh." This Rustom Maneck was the founder of the Sethna Family of Bombay; he was a broker of the East India Company at Surat and died in 1721.

I give below some particulars regarding Sidi Ali from the above mentioned paper of Sir Jivanji Modi.

A merchant of Surat, Osman Chalibee, had a ship which while returning from Jedda was captured by the Portuguese. Rustam was sent by the Nawab of Surat to the Portuguese authorities at Goa and managed to release the ship. This Osman Chalibee was a descendant of a celebrated Turkish Admiral, Sidi Ali Chalibi, who was driven in 1554 by a great storm to

the shores of Gujrat and was forced to touch Damaun, from where some time after he went to Surat. Inquiries were made at Surat if there was any member of the Chalibi family alive; no one is alive, but there is a Musjid in the Sodagar War at Surat which is known as Chalibini Musjid.

Sidi Ali besides being a great Admiral was somewhat of a scholar, a poet and a writer. He published a book of his travels *Merat-ul-Memalik*, Mirror of Countries. He has written another work on a nautical subject under the title of *Mohit*, i. e., the Ocean. His name was Sidi Ali bin Husain; he was also called *Katib-i-Roumi*. He lived during the reign of the Ottoman Emperors *Soleiman I* (1519-1556) and *Soleiman II*. In his youth he was somewhat of a poet. So he took the name of *Katib-i-Roumi* to distinguish himself from a Persian poet who was known as *Katib Adjemi*. He commenced his voyage in 1553. He was overtaken by a heavy storm and he came to Damaun. The Mahomedan Governor of Damaun advised Ali to proceed to Surat.

He met Emperor Humayun and gave him much information about astronomy. Some Indian kings wished to keep him under their services. Sultan Ahmed of Gujrat wanted to engage him and to give him the country of Barouj, Broach. Shah Hassan Mirza of Sind wanted to keep him and offered him governorship of Lahori or Diouli Sind (Dewal Sind). Humayun offered him large sums of money if he took his service. One of the Uzbek khan offered him Bokhara when he went there. But his love for his country and for the Royal House of Ottoman led him to refuse all these offers.

I may add that the word Chalibi is become proverbial; if a person has got no money and pretends to be rich; is very proud and arrogant, he is called "son of Saheb Chalibi."

IBNU BATUTA.

Ebu Abdullah Muhammad of Tangier, commonly called Ibnu Batuta came to Sind in September 1333. He tells of his arrival on the bank of the portion of the Indus called "the Punjab", but gives no name to the locality. He proceeded from Cabul to India by Karmash and Shahnagar, the latter place may be Hashtnagar, 16 miles NE of Peshawar. Here he says began the great desert, extending 15 days' journey and during the hot season subject to hot blasts. He travelled along the base of the Suleyman range, avoiding Multan and Uchch. After

crossing the Indus, after two days' journey, Ibnu Batuta arrived at a town called Janani, on the bank of the river. Halani is meant by our traveller, in the Pargana of Kandhiaro, about 55 miles NE of Shewan.

Ibnu Batuta gives us curious and interesting information about fine towns and well-stocked markets; he has a marked taste of a religiously inclined Masulman for Sheykhs and theologians—as a geographer he is a failure. The reader is carried over vast spaces but he has not a word for the features and topography of a country. Janani is described as a large and beautiful town. Its inhabitants are a tribe called Es-Samara (.....); from ancient time this was their home, and whose ancestors settled in the place at the time of its conquest in the days of Hajjaj. This tribe do not eat in company with anybody (not belonging to them) and nobody looks at them when they are eating; they form no marriage with those not of their tribe and no stranger marries among them. At this time they had a chief named Wunar. Though an Arab origin is given to the people "Es-Samara", their customs, as described by our traveller clearly show their Hindu origin. This is the *Sama* tribe, an indigenous Sindhii tribe, for the description of their customs clearly shows that the Samara were Hindus. Next, the chief is mentioned, Wunar, who was at the head of the Shewan rising. Mir Masum gives a description of Jam Unar, the first of the Sama rulers in Sindh in his *Tarikh-i-Sind*. After describing the accession of one Armil, who succeeded the last of the Sumra rulers and proved a great tyrant that the people resolved to kill him;

Mir Masum narrates :

"A body of Samas had come from Kuchh and settled in Sindh and between them and the Sindhis a path of mutual esteem and alliance had been cleared. One of these Samas, named Unar, was remarkable for intelligence....They then proceeded with a number of people and seated Umar on the throne of sovereignty. He proceeded with a large force to the conquest of Siwastan, and arriving in the vicinity of that place, prepared to attack Malik Ratan, an officer of the Turk dynasty."

In the fight Malik Ratan fell from his horse when it was at full gallop, and Jam Unar severed his head from his body. There is no doubt that Ibnu Batuta's Wunar is the same Unar of Mir Masum Beg. Lar Nama dates the commencement of the

Sama rule in 1333-34, the very year in which Ibnu Batuta places the Savistan rebellion. (Elliot, Vol. I, p. 494). There was undoubtedly a ruler in Cutch named Unad or Unar, a Sama Chief, in the early part of the 14th century by whom or by his son, the ancient fort of Ghumli in Kathiawar was stormed in 1313. Ibnu Batuta has fixed for us within a year or two the date of the commencement of Sama rule in Sindh. But unfortunately no light is thrown upon the interesting question of the period at which the conversion of the large part of the population to Islam occurred. Umar is described as a Mahomedan, though the Samas of Cutch have remained staunch Hindus. But it is possible that when Umar came to Sind the movement in favour of Islam was becoming more active, and he thought that a change of religion would further his aims in that country. His feelings towards the Hindu Raja Ratan may be explained by the proverbial hatred of the apostate for the holders of the former religion. It is certain that as soon as the Samas came into power the names of the chiefs of Lower Sind became distinctly Mahomedan. The transfer of sovereignty from Sumras to Samas in the first half of the 14th century was coincident with the change of religion.

Our traveller continues; we travelled from Janani and came to Siwastan. This is a large town. The country outside is desert and tracts of sand. Except acacia there is not a tree, except melons nothing is cultivated on its river. The food of the people is Indian millet (Dhura) and the pulse which they call Mushunk (Mung) of which millet they make bread. Here there is abundance of fish and buffalo-milk. The people of the place eat "Saqaqur" a small reptile resembling the chameleon, (what we call, Sandha).

They entered the town during the intensely hot period of the summer. The heat was so intense that his companions seated themselves naked each placing a waist wrapper round his middle and a wrapper moistened with water over his shoulders but a little time passed till the wrapper dried when it was again wetted and this went on continually. In this place Ibnu Batuta met the aged Sheykh Muhammed of Baghdad who lived in the hospice by the tomb of Sheikh Uthman of Mervend. His shrine better known as that of Lal Shah Baz is still of great celebrity. It was said that his age exceeded 140 years. Tuhfatulkiram states that he is one of the four saints who when living were called "four friends". He came to Multan in A.D. 1264. Poets *Amir Khusro* and *Amir Hasan* of Delhi were his constant visitors, He then came to

Sehwan and settled there; he died in 1274 A.D. Our traveller came on the banks of the Punjab on 12th September, and narrate that he passed the summer, known in Sind as "Chaliho", a period of 40 days when the hot wind is blowing at Sehwan where was he all this time ? ; that means he spent several months in Sind of the events of which he has left no record.

The traveller narrates how Sartiz the Governor of Sind living at Multan besieged Sehwan, what cruelty he used towards the residents, how the heads of the victims were collected &c. He got an opportunity to leave Sehwan and accompany Ala-ul-Mulk, the Governor of Lahari to that port. He had 15 boats in which he proceeded by the river Sind, and Ibnu Batuta travelled with him. He arrived after five days to Lahari—"a fine town on the shore of the ocean where the river Sind flows into it, so that two seas there meet". It has large harbour to which come people of Yemen, Fars and other places. Owing to this the customs collected are large and the revenue of the place considerable. The above mentioned, Ala-ul-Mulk, the Governor informed me that the collections of the town are sixty lacs annually. To the Governor pertains one-twentieth of this. On such condition the sovereign confers governments, the grantees taking a twentieth of the revenue.

Our traveller here narrates the account of a strange thing which he saw in the country town :

I one day rode with Ala-ul-Mulk to a spacious place distant seven miles from Lahari called Tarna, where I saw innumerable stones in the form of human beings and animals. Very many were altered from their original form and their distinguishing features were obliterated, so that there remained but the shape of a head or foot or other member. Among the stones, too, were some in the form of grains of wheat, of chick-pea, the bean and the lentil. There too were traces of a town-wall and of the court-yards of houses. Afterwards we saw the remains of a house in which was a chamber of hewn stones. In the middle of this was platform of hewn stone like a single block, and on it the figure of a man except that his head was elongated, and its mouth on the side of the face, and the hands were behind the back like a captive's On part of a court-yard wall there was an inscription in the Hindi language. Ala-ul-Mulk told me that historians state that a great city existed

in this place and that most of the people were depraved for which cause they were turned into stone and that their ruler was he who was on the platform in the house, which we have mentioned and which is to the present time called Darul Malik (the ruler's house); and also that the Hindi inscription on one of the court-yard walls contains the date of the destruction of the inhabitants of this city, which occurred a thousand years ago or thereabouts."

The ruins of Lahari a sea port of Sind for a very long time are 28 miles SE of Karachi, and 12 miles in a direct line from the sea-coast. The port is variously named, Lahari, Lahri and Lahori, and called by the English, Larrybunder. We read about it in El-Burani, in the beginning of the 11th century as "Loharani at the embouchure of the river" (Elliot, Vol. I. P. 61). Arab chroniclers have mentioned it as Dewal in the first half of the 7th century. The early Portuguese adventurers knew it as Diul and Diulcindi. The first English who visited the coast in 1613 called it Lahari and Capt. Hamilton who visited it in 1700 called the branch of the river on which it stood "Divelle"—a corruption of Diwali. It continued to be a port of Sind to the end of the 18th century (see my article on Diulsind published in the first part of Vol. I. of the journal of our Society). Ibnu Batuta mentions the customs collection of Lahari as "60 laks", one lac silver dinars equal ten thousand dinars. From Ain-i-Akbari we learn that in the beginning of the 17th century the customs of this port was 5,521,419 Dams, equivalent to Rupees 138,035. In 1613 the Hindu farmer of the Lahari custom informed the English traveller that the Portuguese trade alone was worth a lac of Rupees to him.

Janani must have been somewhere within the limits of the Khandharo Pargana, 50 miles south of Rohri, which is identical with a very old territorial division, and belonged from very ancient times to the Samas of Upper Sind; for Chachnama mentions:—

The northern limit of the Sama lands. It says that Rao Chach, when proceeding (about 633 A.D.) to Budhiya (N. W. Sind) and Siwastan, left Alor and "crossed the Mihran (Indus) at a place called Dihayat, which is on the border of the Sama and Alor district". Our traveller stayed for five days at Lahari Bandar. Ala-ul-Mulk furnished him liberally with provisions, for travelling, and Ibnu Batuta proceeded to Bakhar Batuta, describes the town as fine; a channel from the Sind divides

it. In the middle of this channel there is a fine hospice where food is provided for passers-by. Kaslu Khan built it when he was Governor of Sind. It may be mentioned that Melik Bahram Abiya received the title of Kashlu Khan from Sultan Ghiyasudin in A.D. 1320. When Ibnu Batuta says that a channel of the river Sind divides it, he regarded the present town of Rohri as forming part of Bakhar and the channel separating the former from the island of Bakhar must have been the Khalij which he mentions. The small island north of Bakhar contains the shrine of Zinda Pir, has in its Musjid the oldest Muhamedan inscription dated A.D., 952. Sadh Belo, the nearest island on the south; Mir Masun and Chach Nama relate that Prince Kamran, brother of Humayun lived at Sadh Belo with his wife, and the revenue of the district of Bathorah was given to them as their kitchen expenses.

Our traveller passed from Bakhar to Uchch and thence to Multan which was the seat of Government in Sind. At ten miles from Multan he had to cross an unfordable stream named Khusraw-abad, where he suffered much vexation at the hands of the customs officers.

It will be seen that our traveller never once mentions Tatta which afterwards became the capital of Lower Sind, and the most populous town in the Province; either the town was not in existence or it was not of any importance at that time. Ali Sher Kani who was a resident of Tatta and author of Tofatul Kiram, says that the town was founded by Jam Nanda 1461. The earliest mention of this Town was in 1347-48, in the time of Mahomed Taglaq, who died near the town in 1351.

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RAI CHACH OF SIND AND HIS FAMILY.

By N. M. BILLIMORIA.

Read before the Sind Historical Society, on 1st November 1936.

Chach was a Brahmin, son of Selaij ; his grandfather was Bisas. His brother Jandab (Chandar) and his father lived in a temple in a rural place attached to the town of Alor in Sind. Rai Sahasi ruled at Alor at that time ; he had a clever secretary and chamberlain named Budhiman ; Tarikh Masumi calls him Ram, the ruler's vazir and makes no mention of Budhiman who is mentioned as vazir by the Tuhfatulkiram. Chach came to the vazir and asked for service under him. As soon as he obtained service, Chach showed his abilities and became a great favourite of the Secretary and Sahasi.

Sahasi Rai and his queen Suhandi were sitting in a private room when Chach came to the door of the palace on an important business. The ruler asked his queen to go behind a screen; the queen objected and said "so many inferior people and menials come in ; if a brahmin comes in, what inclination am I likely to have towards him and why should I feel shy and conceal myself from him. May a thousand lives of mine be sacrificed to the dust of Sahasi's feet." According to the Tuhfatulkiram, the queen was leaving the room of her own accord, but the king asked her to stay as he said Chach was a good Brahmin. Chach entered the room, and the queen seeing the beauty of Chach fell in love with him at first sight. She wrote to him a letter asking him to meet her, and added that if you will not comply with my request I shall kill myself. Chach was faithful to his salt and refused her overtures, and wrote a letter to that effect, adding that one should not place any confidence in four things, a ruler, fire, serpent and water. I would not bring this contempt on my head. You will never gain this object from me." Chach after all surrendered to the fascination of Suhandi, and this intrigue went on for a long time. In course of time the entire kingdom came under the sway of Chach. At length the Sahasi Rai died. Suhandi sent for all the relations of Sahasi, on a pretence to bid farewell to the king, bound them and asked other relations who were their enemies to kill them. Thus in one single night Suhandi and Chach did away with their troublesome opponents ; no adversary now remained in the kingdom to claim the inheritance. Thus Chach became the ruler of the kingdom. With the death of Rai Sahasi

the dynasty of the Rais came to an end after a rule of 137 years and the Brahmin rule began.

On hearing the news of Rai Sahasi's death his brother Maharat came with an army to obtain his brother's kingdom. A large number of men were killed on both the sides, so Maharat and Chach met in a single combat ; Chach killed Maharat by a trick and the invader's army was routed. This happened in 622 A.D. Then Chach married Suhandi with the consent of the nobles. Chach had two sons, Dahar and Daharsiah, and a daughter named Bai. The astrologers predicted that the two sons would rule over the kingdom ; about Bai they predicted that she will not go out of the kingdom and her husband will be ruler in Sind. Chach asked the seers to keep this fact a secret. Chach now resolved to appoint his brother Chandra his deputy at Alor. Chach always consulted his Taki vazir Budhiman in every important matter. (Tuhfatulkiram states that there were three aboriginal tribes in Sind which ruled there in succession, *viz.* Baniah, Tak, and Muniah.) Chach began to extend his kingdom by attacking Sewastan, Brahmanabad, Multan etc.; he went as far as Kashmir ; there he ordered two young plants to be brought ; one a maisir, a white poplar, and the other a deodar, a fir tree ; he planted both of them on the boundary of Kashmir. These trees still stand on both the sides of the road even upto now. After Chach's death, Chandar his brother ruled over Alor for seven years. Dahar now sat on the throne of Alor ; and Duraj son of Chandar established himself at Brahmanabad ; Duraj's rule lasted for only a year. Daharsiah son of Chach who had married Agham Luhana's daughter remained at Brahmanabad for five years. His sister Bai lived with him under his protection. Sohan king of Batiah asked her in marriage. Messengers were sent to Dahar asking for his advice. Dahar consulted astrologers regarding his sister Bai, who said that she should not go out of the kingdom for her husband will be ruler. Budhiman the vazir advised Dahar to marry her himself adding that " though you shall have to abstain from her conjugal society she will still be called your wedded wife and the kingdom will thus remain with you." After much correspondence between the brothers, Dahar married his sister Bai according to the Hindu rites, both sat on the throne. Daharsiah was much annoyed and went with an army to Alor ; but both the brothers became friendly ; but within a few days Daharsiah died of small pox there. Dahar married his brother's widow, who was Agham Lohana's daughter, and moved towards Brahmanabad and fixed his quarters

there. The reign of Daharsiah lasted for thirty years. The king of Ramal invaded the country with a large army. In the Tuhfatulkiram the name of Raumalrai king of Kanauj and not king of Ramal.

As for Dahar taking his sister Bai as his nominal wife, we should not forget that matrilineal institutions lay down that the daughter is the lawful heir to the throne so that anyone who wishes to rule will have to marry her and reign as her surrogate. From the earliest known times in Egypt the king was some times the brother of the queen. Osiris married Isis his sister. Isis means the throne-queen, and Osiris, only the occupier of the throne. The Sumer system was that the son should be also the lover of the goddess is explained on the assumption that in ancient society, the imperial power descended through the female line. In that case the heir to a throne is the daughter of a king. To retain a throne a son of a king must marry his sister or failing a sister his own mother. The process of evolution can be traced from the Vedas onwards. Marriage between brother and sister was an accomplished fact in ancient India, though contrary to the Vedic Aryan view. Rig Veda Book, 10, Hymn 10 treats the subject as a long-standing custom. Like Ishtar wooing Tammuz or Isis seeking the love of Osiris, Yami attempts to win the love of her brother Yama. Yama refuses and only vaguely hints at the impropriety; "the spies sent by the gods here ever wander; they stand not still, nor close their eyes in slumber." Rig Veda Book X, hymn 61, verses 5-7, mentions the wedlock of Prajapati and his daughter. Kumarila the well-known opponent of Buddhism and the predecessor of Shankaracharya correctly explains this fable; Prajapati the lord of creation is the name of the sun, and is so called because he protects all creatures. His daughter Ushas is the Dawn. And when it is said that he was in love with her, this only means that at sun-rise the sun runs after the dawn.

Similarly we find in Rig Veda VI, 55 lines 4-5 and Book I, hymn 115, line 2, that Pushana is the paramour of his own sister Dawn and his own mother Surya. Now Pushana is nothing but the sun and Surya the light of the sun. Thus the fable relates the close connection of the sun with the dawn and its own light.

Remnants of Asura institutions survive in Assam, amongst the Dravidians of the south and their off-shoots in the north. The Khasis of Assam call themselves after one of the daughters of Prajapati, viz., Khasa, the Asura-mother. Sir Alfred Lyall says.....

"Their social organization presents one of the most perfect examples still surviving of matriarchal institutions, carried out with a logic and thoroughness which, to those accustomed to, regard the status and authority of the father as the foundation of society are exceedingly remarkable. Not only is the mother the head and source, and only bond of union, of the family ; in the most primitive part of the hills, the Synteng country, she is the owner of the real property, and through her alone is inheritance transmitted. The father has no kinship with the children, who belong to the mother's clan ; what he earns goes in his own matriarchal stock and at his death his bones are deposited in the cromlech of his mother's kin."

We now come to the invasion of Sind by the Mahomedans in the reign of Dahar. In A.D. 705, the king of Ceylon sent some presents for Hajaj ; this included some Abyssinian slaves—male and female. A number of Mahomedan women also went with them to visit the Kaabah and see the capital city of the Khalifs. Their vessel was overtaken by a storm and they were carried to Debal, then the most important port of Sind. The vessel was looted by robbers. Those who escaped narrated the story to Hajjaj, who asked Dahar to liberate the women atleast. Dahar was unable to do so ; whereupon an expedition was sent by Hajjaj under Bazil, who came to Nirun (Hyderabad) and Debal (written *Dewal* in Tuhfatulkiram) ; Jaisiah son of Dahar defeated and killed Bazil. Hajaj again sent another stronger expedition under Muhammad Kasim, his nephew and son in law. (In the Tarikh Masumi he is called Mahomed son or Kasim and in the Tuhfatulkiram Muhammad Kasim son of Ukail Sakifi.) This expedition started according to Tarikh Masumi in A.D. 710. We need not follow the Arab army in Sind ; the army arrived and took possession of the port of Debal. Though Mahomed Kasim took possession of Shevistan and Nerun, was still passing his days in pleasure and shikar ; his vazir was Siyakar, for Budhiman must have been dead by this time. Mahomed Kasim built a bridge of boats and crossed the Mehran, according to Tarikh Masumi, at Tatta in order to go to Alor, and not Jitor. If Dahar had stopped the crossing of the Arab army, the history of Sind would have been quite different. The first engagement took place according to Tarikh Masumi in the village of Rafian on the bank of the lake Gujri (between Raor and Jitor). According to Chachnama Dahar had left Alor and met the Arabs at some distance. But according to Tarikh Masumi, Md. Kasim after defeating the Sind forces at Rafian on the Gujri lake marched to the very capital of Alor and laid seige to Dahar in his fort. According

to Tuhfatulkiram direct fight with Dahar's army continued for ten days, and on each day it was defeated by the Arabs. The 11th day was the memorable Thursday the 10th of Ramzan, 16th of June 711 A. D. According to Tuhfatulkiram and Masumi the Sind army on the last day consisted of 30,000 foot and 10,000 horse enveloped in armour. There are different versions of Dahar's death. Tarikh Masumi says that Dahar fell down dead pierced with an arrow; Chachnama relates that when he got down from his wounded elephant Shuja Arabi confronted him and dealt him a sword-blow on the top of his head splitting it into two, down to his neck. Dahar's reign lasted for 33 years. and the Brahmin dynasty lasted for 92 years, according to Tuhfatulkiram.

Ladi the real wife of Dahar was taken prisoner and Md. Kasim made her his wife, after Dahar's death. Bai was the nominal wife of Dahar. But Tarikh Masumi and Tuhfatulkiram give a different account of Queen Ladi. When the Sind army was defeated, and Dahar killed, Md. Kasim wanted to enter the fort of Alor, but the gate was closed against him, as it was believed that Dahar was still alive. But when two maid servants showed the head of Dahar to the queen, she was so much maddened with grief that she threw herself down from the top of the wall and was found dead. This account seems more probable.

Several prisoners and Dahar's head were sent to Hajaj; among them was Dahar's niece Hasanah (this sounds like a Mahomedan name, it must be the translation of some Hindu name like Sundari). This handsome girl was given in marriage to Abdullah son of Abas. Her husband says, "I took her away to my house and married her: she was so wise that many women used to come to her to consult her and take her advice and they learnt many things from her."

Rai Jaisiah left the fort of Raor and shifted to Brahminabad. Dahar's Queen Bai made preparations to make war in the fort of Raor. But when they heard the news of Dahar's death, and when the fort had fallen, Queen Bai collected all her women and addressed them thus "Jaisiah is separated from us, and Md. Kasim has come. It is certain that we cannot escape the clutches of these Chandals and cow-eaters. Our glory is gone and our term of life has come to its close. As there is no hope of safety and liberty, let us collect firewood and cotton and oil. The most expedient course for us, I think, is to burn ourselves to ashes, and thus quickly meet our husbands (in the

other world). Whoever of you is inclined to go and ask mercy of the enemy let her go. It is possible she may be saved and set at liberty." But all of them were of one mind so they entered a house and set fire to it, and were soon burnt to ashes.

Jaisiah began to prepare for war and sent letters to his relation, asking them to join hands and fight against Md. Kassim. First he wrote to his own brother Fofi son of Dahar. This name is written Kofi or Kufi, but Fofi is more correct. This Fofi was in the Fort of Alor. Then to his nephew Chach, son of Daharsiah at Bitiah; then to his cousin Dhal, son of Chandar, in the country of Budhia and Kikavan.

Siyakar, the vazir of Dahar, surrendered to the Arab general; he went to Md. Kasim with those very Mussulman women, who had been captured and retained as hostages, and who had been the *cause of this whole expedition*.

When the fort of Brahminabad was completely lost, Dahar's queen Ladi who with Jaisiah had been at Brahminabad since Dahar's death determined to make a stand against the enemy. She then brought out her treasure and spent it on her brave soldiers. The fort however was suddenly taken by the enemy. All the nobles and faithful followers flocked to the gate of Dahar's palace, and the members of the Rai's family came out prepared to put an end to their lives, but they were captured. Dahar's wife Ladi and his two virgin daughters by another wife who were in the fort were produced before Md. Kassim. This is evidently a different version given by Chachnama; for we have said above that Ladi was captured at Alor, and not at Brahminabad and that she became Md. Kassim's wife. Besides Bai his sister and nominal wife and Ladi his real wife, Dahar seems to have had another wife.

When Md. Kassim saw that the people of Alor had made a firm stand against him, he made Ladi, Dahar's wife, whom he had *purchased from a woman* (Elliot Vol. I, p. 192) Ferdunbeg's Chachnama reads *purchased out of the spoils* and made her his wife ride the same black camel which she used to ride during Dahar's lifetime and sent her to the gates of the fort. She unveiled and advised the men not to resist any more as Dahar was dead; the men would not believe her and commenced throwing stones and mud at her, declaring that she was in league with the enemy and not worthy of credit. She was then taken away. In the Tuhfatulkiram it is laid down that three sons of Dahar, *viz.*, Fofi, Faisiah and Wakiah fought with the Arabs at Alor in

A.D. 712. The name Fofi is written sometimes as Kufi, but the correct name is Fofi. Ladi when she addressed her men at Alor says "you should not expose yourself to trouble and ruin and throw not yourselves with your own hands into perdition"; this is a quotation from the Koran; Ladi quoting the Koran must have been a sight for gods and men. But we know the trick of our author.

Fofi escaped from Alor and joined his brother Jaisiah at Jitor. From this place Jaisiah went to Kuriy, the ruler of that place promised him help. But Janki, sister of king Drohar fell in love with Jaisiah, who could not return her love. She out of spite and rejected love charged Jaisiah and asked her brother to kill the guest. As Jaisiah heard about it, he went away without bidding farewell to his host. He journeyed on till he arrived at Jalandar under Kashmir.

It is interesting to know how Jaisiah got his name. It is said that Dahar was fighting single-handed with a lion, and killed the animal; this news was carried to Dahar's wife who was then expecting a child; she died through shock, but as the child was alive in her womb, it was cut open and the child was taken out; it was entrusted to a nurse and named Jaisiah, "conqueror of a lion,"; jai means victory, and siah, sinh, means a lion.

Mahomed Kasim then conquered Multan and Udhepur. At the time of Dahar's death, two of his virgin daughters were captured and sent to Baghdad to the Khalifah in charge of Muhamad son of Ali Humadani, according to Taikh Masumi. Their names were Suriydew and Pirmaldew—probably Surajdevi and Pirmaldevi. When they were brought before the Khalifa in the harem, one of them addressed him and said "we are not fit for the bed-chamber of the Khalif, because Mahomed Kassim placed both of us by himself for three days and he afterwards sent us to the Khaliph." The Khaliph was so enraged that he gave orders, that as a punishment for his want of respect, Mahomed Kasim should wrap himself up in the raw hide of an ox and be present at Darul Khaliphat. To show his great anger, and by way of intimidation, the Khaliph wrote in the margin of this letter in his own hand "Whenever this reaches Mahomed Kasim, he is to come from thence to Darul Khaliphat, wrapped in the hide of a cow. There is to be no delay in obeying this order." Mahomed Kasim got himself wrapped in hide; the orders were literally obeyed, he was then put in a chest and brought to Khaliph. When the box was opened Mahomed Kasim was found

dead. The Khalifa Abdul Malik son of Marwan on seeing the corpse said "see my daughters, how my orders are observed and obeyed." Whereupon the girl (her name is given Janki in all the mss.) said "Mahomed Kasim respected our honour, and behaved like a brother or son to us, and he never touched us. But he had killed the king of Hind and Sind, he had destroyed the dominion of our forefathers, and he had degraded us from the dignity of Royalty to a state of slavery, therefore, to retaliate and to revenge these injuries we uttered a falsehood before the Khalifa, and our object has been fulfilled. Through this falsehood and deceit have we taken our revenge. The king has committed a very grievous mistake, for you ought not, on account of two slave girls to have destroyed a person who had taken captive a hundred thousand modest women like us, who had brought down seventy chiefs who ruled over Hind and Sind from their thrones to their coffins; and who instead of temples had erected mosques, pulpits and minarets." The Khalipha upon hearing this ordered both the sisters to be enclosed between walls. According to Tarikh Masumi, the two girls were tied to the tails of horses and were dragged to death; their bodies were torn into pieces and thrown into the Tigris, while the corpse of Mohamed Kasim was buried at Damascus. The Tuhfatulkiram states that the two girls were tied to the legs of an elephant and after thus being exposed in the public streets were burnt to death.

I may add that on page 154 of Vol. I, Elliot's History of India after the word Bai, in the parenthesis the word (Main) is inserted, and a foot note states "*Main* in Sir H. M. Elliot's copy; Bai signifies 'lady' and is much used as a respectful term instead of the name. 'Main' is probably an error for 'Bai' but it may possibly have been the real name of the princess. Mirza Fredun-beg on page 23 of his Chachnama gives a footnote 'In the Ubauro Taluka there are even now women who are simply called Bai.'"

Petition of the Begums of the Meers of Sind.

Mr. R. V. Thadani, B.A., LL.B., read extracts from "Appeals of the Meers, after the conquest of Sind" from the Vol. of "Correspondence relative to Sind" 1836-43 before the members of the Sind Historical Society at the monthly meeting of the Society on the 29th November 1936. As this matter has been already printed the editors do not see the necessity of re-printing the same in the journal of the society.

However, the following petition of the Begums of the Meers is interesting. It is reproduced by Mr. N. M. Billimoria.

Translation of the Petition of the wives of the dethroned Ameers of Sinde, transmitted through their accredited Envoys to Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

May the shadow of Queen Victoria increase, and the magnificent as Balkis (Queen of Sheba).

It is almost two years since Sir Charles Napier came to Hyderabad, in Sinde, with an army and artillery, and plundered our habitations of all our money, ornaments, jewels, and everything of value. And at the same time he took from us the Ameers and our children, and sent them to Hindustan as captives. We, helpless women, devoid of power, were, when Sir Charles Napier arrived, seated in our houses. What manner of custom is this, that he should enter our dwellings, and plunder us of our valuables, leaving us not sufficient for our support? Two years have elapsed since he tore us from our houses, and native city, and compelled us to dwell outside the town of Hyderabad in huts, like the destitute. God knows the hardships we suffer for our food and raiment; and through our separation from the Ameers, we endure such distress and despair, that life is distasteful to us. That one should die when God wills it is no calamity; but we endure with each successive day the torment of a new death; wherefore we cherish the hope that you yourself being a queen, as we were once, will sympathise with us, and will take compassion upon us, and cause restoration of those things of which Sir Charles Napier has robbed us; and since our hearts are lacerated with grief at being separated from the Ameers, and from our sons, by which, indeed, we are brought to the brink of despair—you will remove this cause of distress, otherwise we should reckon it the

greatest favour to put an end to our existence. May your days be lengthened.

Signature of the Begums of—

Meer Kurum Ali Khan
Meer Noor Mahomed Khan
Meer Mahomed Nusseer Khan
Meer Sobdar Khan
Meer Meer Mahomed Khan;

Written on the 27th of the month, Shuwal, 1260, at Hyderabad in Sindh.

THE IRANIANS IN ANCIENT INDIA—ESPECIALLY IN SIND AND THE PUNJAB.

*(Read before the Sind Historical Society, Karachi, on the 20th
December 1936).*

BY N. M. BILLIMORIA.

The sources of ancient history are : 1. Prehistoric Archaeology ; 2. Ancient literature ; 3. Foreign writers ; 4. Inscribed monuments and coins ; 5. Ancient alphabets ; and lastly progress of research. I wish to show the sway of the Persians in North West India before the invasion of India by Alexander the Great and the fall of the Achaemenian Empire of Iran in the latter part of the fourth century before Christ. The Veda and the Avesta are the earliest literary monuments of India and Persia ; they prove the relationship between the Hindoos and the Persians through ties of common Aryan blood, close relationship in language and tradition, and through near affinities in matters of religious beliefs, ritual observances, manners and customs.

Cuniform tablets which the German Professor Hugo Winckler discovered in 1907 at Boghaz-koi in North-East Asia Minor give additional evidence to these similarities. These tablets give a record of treaties between the Kings of Mitani and of Hittites about 1400 B.C.; among the gods called to witness are deities common in part to India and Persia. The Rig Veda refers to certain districts indicated by the rivers Kubha (Kabul), Krumu (Kurram) and Gumati (Gumal). The allusions in the Veda to Gandhara and Gandhari may be interpreted as referring to the districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi South East from Kabul. A part of these districts belonged rather to Iran than to India in historic times.

In the Encyclop. Brit. in his article on Persia, Edward Meyer states "The dividing line between Iranian and Indian is drawn by the Hindu-Kush and the Soliman mountains of the Indus district. The valley of the Kabul (Cophen) is already occupied by Indian tribes, especially the Gandarians; and the Satagydae (Pr. Thatagu) there resident were presumably also of Indian stock."

The first chapter of the Avestan Vandidad contains an allusion to a portion of Northern India in a list which it gives of 16 lands or regions, created by Ahura Mazda, and apparent-

ly under the Iranian sway. The 15th of these regions was Hapta Hindu, seven rivers, a region of abnormal heat probably the territory of Sapta Sindhu, seven rivers, the Rig Veda, mentions in the 8th Book, Hymn 24, line 27 "Who will set free from ruinous woe, or Arya on the seven streams, O, valiant hero, bend the Dasa's weapon down" that is from any Aryan enemy in the land of the seven rivers, probably the Indus. The district in question must have included the lands watered by the Indus and its branches in the north and North West of Hindustan, viz. Vitasta (Jhelum); Asikni (Chenab); Purushni (later named Iravati, hence its present name Ravi); Vipasa (Beas); and the easternmost Sutudri (Sutlej). Some interpret this "overlordship is seven" for Firdusi mentions seven princes of India, namely the lords of Kabul, Sindh, Hindh, Sandal, Chandal, Kashmir, and Multan. The Avestan fragment "from the Eastern Indus (India) to the Western Indus (India)" is explained by Spiegel that in Sassanian times and doubtless earlier there prevailed an idea of an India in the west as well as an India in the East. This is supported by a passage which is metrical and therefore old." The long arms of Mithra seize upon those who deceive Mithra; even when in Eastern India catches him even when in Western India he smites him down; even when he is at the mouth of the Ranha river, and even he when he is in the middle of the earth." The same statement repeated in part in Yasna LVII, 29, regarding the power of Sraosha, the guardian genius of mankind as extending over the wide domain from India on the east to the extreme west even when in Eastern India he catches his adversary even when in Western India he smites him down."

The river Ranha of the Avesta is the river Rasa of the Rig Veda for in Book I, Hymn 112, line 12, we read "Where-with ye made Rasa swell full with waterflood and urged to victory the car without the horses. "In the Bundahish we read "These two rivers flow from the north part of the eastern Albroz, one towards the west, that is the Arang, and one towards the east, that is the Veh river....The Veh river passes by on the east goes to the land of Sind, and flows to the sea in Hindustan, and they call it there the Mehra river." It is stated that the Veh river is also called the Kasak in Sind.

One more allusion to the Indian connection. In Yast VIII, 32 mention is made of a mountain called Us-Hindva, meaning beyond or above India, or it may mean, "the mountain from which the rivers rise." It may mean the Hindu Kush or the Himalaya.

We have the following three authorities to show the Persian kings who came to India.

1. Firdusi narrates that Franak the mother of Farudin sent her young son Farudin to Hindustan to save him from the cruel hands of Zohak who invaded and conquered Persia.

The same poet gives the story of Asfandiar, son of Gustasp, who came to India and persuaded the Indian Ruler to venerate fire and accept the Zoroastrian religion. Firdusi is supported by a statement in a Pahlvi book that "Prince Asfandiar and Zarir his brother roamed about out of their country to the country of the Hindus for the spread of religion." This shows that from the very time of Zoroaster and immediately after, the Zoroastrian religion was believed to have begun exercising some influence on India.

2. In the Ain-i-Akbari we find that Hoshang the founder of the Pesdadian dynasty was the first king of Persia to come to India. Jamshed was the second person to visit India. He went to China *via* Bengal. Both Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi and Prof. Darmesteter state that when they visited the fort of Jamrud in the Khyber Pass, they heard that the fort was connected with the name of King Jamshed of the Pesdadian dynasty of Persia.

Nariman son of Kersasp, Sam Nariman Zal son of Sam, Framroz son of Rustom, Behram son of Asfandiyar also came to India for conquest. Kersasp was told by some soothsayers that his rule over Zabulistan would be overthrown, and his own, and those of his heirs, dead bodies would be disinterred by his enemy. In order to avoid this, he asked that his body may be buried at Kanauj in India. His followers Nariman, Sam and Rustom also made the same request and their request was complied with. Rustom had killed Asfandiyar, father of Behman, who conquered Zabulistan and came to Kanauj to disgrace the tomb of Kersasp. It was believed that great wealth was also buried with the dead bodies of the Persian kings. Behman carried away the treasure but did not disturb the corpses of the Persian Rulers.

3. According to Ferishta, Indian Ruler Krishna and Persian Shah Tehmurarp were great friends. Krishna's nephew and his uncle were not on good terms; so at the request of the nephew, Kersasp Atrart was sent to India to induce Krishna to give a portion of his territory to his nephew. After this time

Sam Nariman invaded Punjab. He was opposed by one Mulchand, who at last submitted. From this time Punjab remained in the hands of the descendants of Faridun. It was governed by Kersasp and by the members of his family, the ancestors of Rustom. It formed part of the country of Kabul, Jabul, Sind and Seistan, which was under the federal sway of Rustom's family. Kesurai the successor of Mulchand had asked the help of King Minocher against some of his rebel kings. Minocher sent Sam Nariman to his help. He met Kesurai at Jallander and helped him in subduing his tributary kings. Firujrai came after Kesurai. He turned ungrateful to Iran. After the death of Sam Nariman, when Afrasiab invaded Iran; he rebelled against the sovereignty of Persia and freed Punjab from its yoke. He took Jallander under his sway, and offered allegiance to Afrasiab. Upto the time of King Kekobad, Punjab remained independent under Indian rulers. Rustom then invaded India, and Firouzrai the Indian ruler fled to Tirhoot. Rustom then placed Surajrae on the throne. Later on Kedar Raja paid tribute to Kaus and Kaikhusröo.

Several learned persons have shown that the Persians had come to India and lived there from the vedic times:

1. Prof. Spiegel in his introduction to Avesta says "The original abode of the Indo-Germanic race is to be sought in the extreme east of the Iranian country, in the tract where the Oxus and the Jaxartes take their rise...It might be imagined that not only the Indians along with them had migrated to the countries on the Indus and that Iranians, perhaps owing to religious differences, had retraced their steps to the westwards".

2. Prof. Maxmüller says: It can now be proved even by geographical evidence that Zoroastrians had been settled in India before they migrated into Persia.That the Zoroastrians and their ancestors started from India during the Vedic period can be proved as distinctly as that the inhabitants of Massilia started from Greece. Prof. Maxmüller in his Lectures on the Science of Language repeats the same opinion: The Zoroastrians were a colony from North India. They had been together for a time with the people whose sacred songs have been preserved to us in the Veda. A schism took place and the Zoroastrians migrated westwards to Arachosia and Persia".

The Parshus and Prithus are mentioned in the Rig Veda; either they were inhabitants or invaders of India.

In Rig Veda I, 105, 8, The Parshus (Persians) harass me all round like Rival wives. In VIII-6-46 "I wrested from the Yadva tribe 100 cattle in the province of Tirindira and 1,000 cattle in the province of Parshu. The third reference is in VII, 83-1 "O you men, looking to you and to your wealth the Prithus and Parsus fain for spoil, march forward. O Indra-Varuna you smote and slew the Dasa and Aryan enemies and helped Sudas with favour."

Cyprus appears to have subjugated the Indian tribes of Hindu Kush and in the Kabul valley especially the Gandarians. Darius himself, advanced as far as the Indus. Cambyses was more occupied in Egypt than in India.

Darius ruled from B. C. 522-486; from the three inscriptions executed by his command and other sources we find what the general outline of Persian Dominion in his time, and we can even infer that he annexed the valley of the Indus early in his reign. The three records in stone are; (1) the famous Bahistan rock inscription; 520 and 518 B.C. may be assigned to this inscription; (2) Two old Persian block tablets at Persepolis; carved between B.C. 518-515; and (3) Two inscriptions chiselled around the tomb of Darius in the cliff at Naksh-i-Rustom, this must have been engraved some time after 515 B.C.

The Bahistan inscription does not mention India in the list of 23 provinces which obeyed Darius. It can be inferred that the Indus region did not form part of the empire of Darius at that time. The Indus conquest is assigned to the year 518 B.C.

Herodotus while giving a list of 20 satrapies or governments established by Darius expressly states that the Indian realm was the 29th division. About the amount of tribute he states :*

"The Indians who are more numerous than any other nation with which we are acquainted paid a tribute exceeding that of every other people to wit, three hundred and sixty talents† of gold-dust. This was the twentieth satrapy."

On page 406 he adds "The way in which the Indians get the plentiful supply of gold, which enables them to furnish year by year so vast an amount of gold-dust to the king is the following :—Eastward of India lies a tract which is entirely sand.

* Rawlinson's Herodotus Vol. II p. 403

†Over a million pounds sterling

Indeed of all the inhabitants of Asia concerning whom anything is known, the Indians dwell the nearest to the east, and the rising of the sun. Beyond them the whole country is desert on account of the sand. The tribes of Indians are numerous and do not speak the same language—some are wandering tribes, others not. They who dwell in the marshes along the river live on raw fish, which they take in boats made of reeds each formed out of a single joint. These Indians wear a dress of sedge, which they cut in the river and bruise ; afterwards they weave it into mats, and wear it as we wear a breast-plate."

By the sandy desert Herodotus means the desert of Cobi or Shamoo and the river is surely meant the Indus. He did not know the existence of Ganges which only became known to the Greeks by the expedition of Alexander.

Vincent Smith gives the summary thus : Although the exact limits of the Indian satrapy under Darius cannot be determined we know that it was distinct from Aria (Herat), Arachosia (Kandahar) and Gandaria (North West Punjab). It must have comprised therefore the course of the Indus from Kalabagh to the sea, including the whole of Sind and perhaps included a considerable portion of the Punjab east of the Indus.

Expedition under Scylax.

There is a passage in Herodotus which gives proof of the annexation or control of the valley of the Indus from its upper course to the sea, including therefore the Punjab and Sind ; it showed that it was possible to navigate by sea from the Indus to Persia. About 517 B.C. Darius sent a naval expedition under Scylax, a native of Caryanda in Caria to explore the Indus. The squadron embarked at a place in the Gandhara country called Kaspatyros. The exact location is unknown but Sir A. Stein suggests Jahangir an ancient sight on the left bank of the Kabul River, some six miles above the point where it flows into the Indus at Attock. The fleet succeeded in making its way to the Indian Ocean and finally reached Egypt two and a half years from the time that the voyage began. It is doubtful whether this expedition was sent before or after the Indian conquest ; it must be after, otherwise Syylax would have experienced the same trouble from unsubdued tribes as did Alexander the Great.

Sway exercised by Darius over the peoples of Indian Borderland.

— Of the 23 tributary provinces named on the stone inscriptions three provinces, Bakhtri (Bactria), Haraiva (Herat) and

Zaranka (Drangian, a portion of Seistan) form part of the present Afghanistan lie more remote from the Indian frontier. The following five are connected with the region of the Indus ; 1. Gandara (region of the Kabul valley as far as Peshawar); 2. Thatagu (either Ghilzai territory to the South West of Ghazni or the Hazara country further to the west and north west); 3. Harahuvati (the district about Kandahar); 4. Saka (Seistan) and 5. Maka, (Makran).

During all the reign of Cyrus, and afterwards when Cambyes ruled there were no fixed tributes, but the nations severally brought gifts to the king. On account of this and other like doings, the Persians say that Darius was a huckster, Cambyes a master, and Cyrus, a father; for Darius looked to making a gain in every thing; Cambyes was harsh and reckless; while Cyrus was gentle, and procured them all manner of goods.'

Reference to Parsis and Persians in Sanskrit Books.

The Hindu writers used the word Parasika for the Parsis and Pahlavas for the Parthians or Iranians generally.

In the Shanti Parva and Bhishma Parva of the Mahabharata, the Pahlavas are mentined. According to Pandit Bhagwanlal, the Pahlavas came to India about B.C. 150. According to a writer of the Bombay Gazetteer seven leading hordes entered India from the North West and West. The Yavanas or Bactrian Greeks came to India from B.C. 250 to 125; The Pahlavas or Parthians from B.C. 170 to 100; From a paper by Dr. Bhau Daji on the Junagar inscriptions it appears that the Pahlavas were in India in about 120 A.D.

In the Vishnu Puran the tribes inhabiting Bharatavarsha, are mentioned; among them are the Parasikas. It is stated in the sanskrit drama Mudra Rakshasha, written in the 8th century A.D. that the Parsis helped Chandagupta in his invasion of Northern India. On the authority of the same book we know that "Parsiko Meghnad". The Parsi named Meghanada was a Raja and friend of Chandragupta. The same name occurs in another passage, thus—

"Among these the fifth is one of name the Megha the great king of the Parsis who has got a large cavalry. (compare Moghistan, land of Moghs or Magi another name of Hormuz Island).

In the Raghu Vamsa written by Kalidas in A.D. 550 we read about Raghu the great grand-father of Rama : "thence we set out by an inland route to conquer the Parasikas." This is correct for the poet further says that the horses of Raghu relieved their fatigues by rolling on the banks of the river Sindhu. He adds that Yavanas, Kambojas and Hunas were defeated by Raghu. According to Dr. Hoerrle the Persian king was Kobad who with the help of the Huns removed his brother Jamasp from the throne (A.D. 499). The hunns fought with the Indian king Yashodbarman. They were assisted by Kobad who lost Sindh and some eastern provinces. This is the loss referred to by Kalidas when he speaks of the defeat of the Parsikas. Fidusi does not mention this loss in the time of Piruz or Kobad but Tabari the Arabic writer says that a part of the Indian frontier belonged to the Persians in Beramgor's time. It passed back into the hands of an Indian King before the time of Noshirwan.

In the Katha-sarit Sangra, written by Somadeva in the 12th century we find the story of Udayana ; he was king of Vasta and defeated the king of the Chola (the Tamil people of South India from whom the Coromandal coast (Chola Mandal) receives its name, they were the ancestors of the Chaldeans.) Having subdued the king of Sindh at the head of his cavalry, he destroyed the Malechhas. The cavalry squadron of the Turks were broken on the masses of his elephants.... The august hero received the tribute of his foes and cut off the head of the wicked king of the Parasikas." Cunningham in his Ancient Geography of India refers to the story of Udayana thus "The story of Udayana, king of Kosambi is referred to by the poet Kalidar in his Megha-duta or cloud-messenger where he says that Avanti (or Ujain) is great with the number of those versed in the tale of Udayana. Now Kalidas flourished shortly after A.D. 500." If Udayana was a contemporary of Budha, the wicked Parsi king referred to above lived in about the 5th century B.C. Could this be Xerxes who was killed in B.C. 465 who was according to some writers cruel and wicked.

Al-Biruni mentions the names of the people of India on the authority of Vayu Puran placing the Pahlavas among the people of the north. In the same book he says that one of the names of the people in the South West was Parasava, i.e., Persians.

Persians mentioned in Inscriptions.

Taxila Inscription.—The ruins of Taxila are situated about 24 miles from Rawalpindi. Sir John Marshall excavated

it ; in these excavations was the ruins of Mound of Jhandial, so called from a neighbouring village. Sir John Marshall here excavated a temple which he calls the Temple of Jhandiala, and which he thinks to be an ancient fire temple of the Parsees of Parthian times. There is a tower of solid masonry with a foundation of about 30 feet.

Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi says that he is not a student of Archaeology "but as an humble student of Zoroastrianism, knowing something about its fire temples, and the customs of the firecult and having examined very carefully the structure of the Jhandiala temple I venture to say that I observed nothing that could be said to go against Sir John's views about the building being a Zoroastrian temple of God. On the other hand in main principles the structure even resembled some of our modern fire-temples. But there is one point on which I have my doubts. The learned archaeologist thinks that the tower is the seat of a fire-altar at the top and takes as the ground for this view the fact that the Persians had their fire altars in high places. Of course he has the authority of Herodotus (Book I, 131). But I think that that view would not apply to later Parthian times about 500 years after Herodotus—to which Sir John Marshall attributes the temple on archaeological grounds. If some further researches lead him to attribute the temple to more ancient times—say the time when Darius the Great invaded India with his large army of Persians and when he passed through this part of the Punjab—then his view of the use of the Tower may possibly, though not assuredly, be held to be stronger.....Of all the modern fire-temples of India, the one at present in the old Parsi centre of Naosari seems to suggest this view and seems to come nearer to the Taxila tower. There near the place of the sanctuary wherein the sacred fire is burning there is a small two-storied building, reminding one of a tower, though not exactly a tower on which the worshippers went to have a look at the distant Purna river and to say their Ardivisura Nyaish, and even the Khorshed and Mehar Nyaishes. It was a place which gave them a more open look of the whole of the surrounding nature. The Taxila tower may have been intended for a similar purpose."

Girnar Inscription.—On a bridge near Girnar at Junagadh in Kathiawar, known as Rudra Daman's bridge there is a remarkable inscription of the Shah kings. The ancient bridge was swept away by a flood, that it was repaired by Pushpagupta, whose sister Chandragupta had married ; it was subsequently repaired by Tushapa the Yavana raja, an officer of Asoka and

finally it was constructed by the great satrap Rudra Daman in A. D. 150.

Dr. Bhau Daji a great scholar said that the actual builder of the bridge on lake Sudarshana near Girnar was the Pahlava minister of Rudradaman, named Suvishakha, a sanskrit adaptation of the Persian name Siavaksha; his father's name was Kuaipa and Siavaksha appeared to be the governor of Anarta and Saurashtra (Kathiawar).

The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer says "The name of Suvishakha, as Dr. Bhau Daji suggests, may be a sanskritised form of Siavaksha. One of the Karli inscriptions gives a similar name Sovaska, apparently a corrupt Indian form of the original Persian, from which the sanskritised Suvasaka must have been formed. Sovasaka is mentioned in the Karle inscription as an inhabitant of Abulama, apparently the old trade mart of Obollah, at the head of the Persian Gulf.

On page 551 of Rawlinson's Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy I find :—

The most important city of the southern region was at the time Oboll, which was situated on a canal or backwater derived from the Euphrates, not far from the modern Busrah.

Sir H. Rawlinson places Obella twelve miles below Busrah, between that city and the place where Shat-el-Arab divides into two streams. He conjectures its identity with the ancient Teredon or Diridotis. (see also Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. I, p. 525).

This trade connection between the Persian Gulf and the Western India sea board must have led to a settlement from very early times of Pahlavas, who gradually became converted to Buddhism.

Karli Inscription.—Parthian or Persian artists seem to have sculptured the rock temples in the Thana district—this dates from centuries before and after Christ. Harpharan of Abulama (Obollah a port near Basra on the Persian Gulf) whose name appears in one of the Karli inscriptions was a Parthian or a Persian. The inscription reads "In the 24th year of the King Shri Pudumava, son of Vasava this beautiful religious assignation is made of the mendicant Harapharana, son of Satru-parana, the devoted inhabitant of Abulama. Dr. Burgess says "the

names of Upasaka Harapharna and his father Setapharna are unlike any in use in India and may possibly be of Parthians. The name of their family Sovaska has a resemblance to Syavaka, but their native place Abulama has not an Indian name. As the word Upasaka is generally used for Buddhist mendicants it appears that Harapharna was a Zoroastrian at one time, but subsequently became a convert to Buddhism. The animal capitals of the pillars at Karli Bedsa, and Nasik are so closely alike to those at Persipolis and Susa that according to Fergusson, the early Buddhists of Western India either belonged to the Persian empire or drew their art from it.

Inscriptions of Nahapana's Family.

There are six inscriptions of Nahapana's family in the cave at Nasik, one at Karli, and one by Nahapana's minister at Junnar. In the inscriptions the names of Khaharata and Nahapana occur they were either Persians or Parthians. Kshaharata may be equal to Phrahtes a satrap of the Parthian Dynasty. Dr. Fleet says: "I hold that the Saka era was founded by the Kshaharata king Nahapana, who reigned in Kathiawar, and over some of the neighbouring territory as far as Ujain from A.D. 78 to about A.D. 125 and held for a time Nasik and other parts north of Bombay and who seems to have been a Pahlava or Palhava or Parthian extraction."

Nasik Inscription.—In this inscription King Gotamputra, (Ruled in 120 A. D. of Andhra dynasty) is mentioned as ruler of Mundaka, Surashtra, Kukura, Aparanta, Anupa, Virdarbha, and was the lord of the Vindya and Paryatra (western part of the Vindya) mountains, the Sahya (western Ghats) and Kanha (Kanhari) hills. He subdued Sakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas.

Manikiala Stone Inscription.—Manikiala was one of the most famous places in the Punjab in very early period. It was called Manikpur or Maniknagar; it was in the South East of Peshawar and Taxila; 34 miles from the latter place. The stone inscription was put up in a market place, close to the object of donation, which was most probably an instrument for measuring time. The present was a joint gift of a Zoroastrian donor and a Buddhist priest. The translation of the inscription runs thus: "In the year 18 the King Puru-aspa, the son of an aggrandiser of the Kushan race of Kanishaka, the nobleman of the people establishes in the market place of the Satrap

Vespashi, who is fond of the hours, for clear announcement through the ringing or proclamation of the hours—along with Vespashi, with Khudenti and with Buritra, the priest of the Vihara (Buddhist monastery) and with all attendants. May the useful gift by its meritorious foundation with the aid of Budha and Spenta (the Holy one) be always true.”

Kshathra is an avestan word meaning king ; Paru-aspa may be for Pourushashpa. The Iranian word Karapan is applied to teachers and priests hostile to the Zoroastrian religion.

Parthians in Gujarat and Sindh.

Ferishta writes about the Indian king Sinarchand who paid tribute to the Iranian King Godrej, who was a Parthian.

Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India* writes “Thatha was the actual position of the Minhabari of the Arab Geographers and of the Min-nagar of the author of the *Periplus*The Name Manhabari is variously written as Mehabari and Manjabari, for which we might perhaps read Manabari or Mandawari, the city of the Mand tribe. This Mand tribe is referred to by Edrisi, Ibn Haukal, Rashid-ud-din and Masudi. The name is variously written as Mer, Med, Mand, Mind. The Mand tribe occupied lower Sindh in great numbers, from the beginning of the Christian era. To this people I refer the name Min-nagar or city of Min, which was the capital of lower Sindh in the second century of the Christian era. Min was a Sythian name. The appearance of the name in Sindh would alone be sufficient to suggest the presence of the Scythians; but its connection with them is placed beyond all doubt by the mention that the rulers of Min-nagar were rival Parthians who were mutually expelling each other. (NOTE.—These contending Parthians must have been the remnant of the Karen Pahlavas who joined with the Kushans to attack Ardeshir Papakan). These Parthians were Dahae Scythians from the Oxus who gave the name of Indo-Scythia to the Valley of the Indus.”

Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajesthan* states that “Arrian who resided in the second century at Barugaza (Broach) describes Parthian sovereignty as extending from the Indus to the Nerbadda. Their capital was Minagara.

Indo Parthian Dynasty ruled in the Punjab from B.C. 120 to A. D. 60. Mithridates I of Parthia annexed the country between the Indus and Jhelum, or in other words the kingdom

of Taxila in B.C. 138. The western Punjab formed the integral part of the Parthian dominion for a time ; but at the death of Mithridates I, B.C. 136 the control relaxed. And about B.C. 120 a chieftain Maus made himself king of Taxila. He was quite independent as appears from his coins which bear the inscription Rajadhirajas Mahatsa Mous, "of Moa the great king of kings." The coins of Moa's successors Vonones, Spalahores etc. were found at Peshawar and in districts on the west bank of the Indus.

Mithridates II suppressed the independence of Sistan and joined these provinces in the Parthian empire. Azes or Aya who was deprived of Kandhar was allowed to rule at Taxila after Maus ; he established a kingdom there in B.C. 90. The legend on his coins reads "Maharajasa Rajrajsa Mahatasa Ayas," of Aya the great, the great king, the king of kings (Pp. 586-92, Cambridge, History of India, Vol. I.)

Azilises came after Azes in B.C. 40 ; he ruled for 25 years. He was followed by Gondophares ; he ruled from A.D. 20 to 60; He ruled over Arachosia, Sistan and valley of the lower Indus. Abdagases ruled after him for a short time. In the latter part of the first century of the Christian era the valley of the Lower Indus was under Parthian chiefs. At this time the Sakas, the Tartars, and other wandering hordes from Central Asia were coming down in great numbers upon the North West frontier of India. The family of Volones ruled in Seistan, Kandhar, and North Baluchistan ; and the descendants of Maus ruled in Punjab and Sindh until A.D. 25.

The coins of Gondopharnes and his successors are found in Seistan, Kandhar and Sindh. This is the ruler who had put St. Judas Thomas to death. The passage relating to this is quoted by Rapson in his Ancient India, p. 579, from The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles.

The date of the reign of Gondopharnes may be definitely fixed from a monument of this king's rule in the Peshawar district commonly known as the Takht-i-Bahi inscription. It is dated the 26th year of the king's reign and on the 5th day of the month of Vaisakha in the year 103. There is no doubt that the era is the Vikram Samvat which began in B.C. 58, and that therefore Gondolpharnes began to reign in A.D. 19 and was still reigning in A.D. 45.

To Azes I, has been attributed the foundation of the Vikrama era beginning in 58 B. C. and according to Sir John Marshall an

inscription discovered by him at Taxilla is actually dated in the year 136 of Azes." This interpretation may be correct in spite of the tradition that this era was founded by King Vikramaditya of Ujjain to commemorate the defeat of the Sakas ; and whatever may have been origin of this era the assignment of the reign of Azes I to this period is justified. It is consistent with the date ascribed independently to his predecessor Maus (B.C. 75) and with the date of his third successor Gondopharnes who certainly began to rule in A. D. 19.

Gondopharnes was reigning in the year 45 A.D. and Vima Kadpises was reigning in 78 A. D. Sir John Marshall discovered a Kharoshti inscription in the Chir Tope at Taxilla ; it is dated the 5th Ashad year 136 ; the era which begins in B. C. 58, this date would be equivalent to A. D. 77-78, this is the last year of the reign of Vima Kadophises ; his successor Kanishka began to reign in A. D. 78.

The history of the Kushana empire has been preserved by Chinese writers. We find that the Tartars who drove the Sakas out of Bactria consisted of five tribes. After a settlement of about 100 years in Bactria the chief of one of these tribes, the Kushan has gained the supremacy over the Tartars and founded a kingdom called Kushan. The Kushanas became masters of territory to the south of Hindu Kush, *i.e.*, the modern South Afghanistan, the ancient province of Kabul and Arachosia that is Kandhar. Huvishka was the successor of Kanishka, the legend on his coins is Maharaja Devputra Huvishka ; Huvishka is a Persian word ; but he could not have been a pucca Zoroastrian, for no Zoroastrian would connect his name with deva.

Before I come to the Sassanian period the rulers of which dynasty were on terms of close friendship with the rulers of Western India, I should like to explain the Brahmi and Kharoshthi alphabets. Both the alphabets are of Semitic origin, *i.e.* they are ultimately derived from the same source as the European alphabets. Brahmi has been traced back to the Phoenician type of writing. It was probably brought into India through Mesopotamia as a result of the early commerce by sea between Babylonia and ports of Western India. It is the parent of all the modern Indian alphabets.

Kharoshthi is derived from the Aramaic script which was introduced into India in the 6th century B. C. when the North West was under Persian rule and when Aramaic was used as a common means of communication for the purpose of Government

throughout the Persian empire. That originally the Aramaic language and alphabet pure and simple were thus imported into Gandhara has been proved by Sir John Marshal's discovery of an Aramaic inscription at Taxilla. In the third century A. D. Kharoshti appears more fully developed in Chinese Turkestan, when its existence must be attributed to the Kushana empire. In this region as in India it was evidently superseded by Brahmi.

The Sassanian dynasty was on terms of close friendship with the rulers of Western India and became the leading traders. I will narrate further on the visit of Begram Ghor to India and his marriage with a Hindu Princess, Sapinuda. Firdusi says that when Behram Ghor carried away his Indian wife, and came to sea he saw a group of Iranian traders "because they were Iranian traders they were bold in travelling by land and sea." This shows that the Iranian traders went to India both by land and sea.

Tabari states that Shapur II built cities not only in Sagistan but actually in Sindh. Again King Phiroz founded two cities in India proper—Ram Phiroz and Roshen Phiroz.

There are several towns of Persia which have a prefix RAM, desire.

Ram Ardeshir, a town situated formerly between the province of Isphan and Khuzistan, and also named Tawaj or Tawaz.

Ram Shiristan, the ancient capital of Sijistan before the Arab conquest, at present in ruins and replaced by Zaranj.

Noshirwan Adal, the Just (A.D. 531-579) and his grandson Parviz (A.D. 590-628) were united by treaties and by interchange of presents with the rulers of South India and Sindh.

About A.D. 565 the dominions of the White Huns, namely Kashmere, Ghandhara and Peshawar, passed into the hands of the Persians. Tabari states that King Khusru II of Persia received an embassy from King Pulikessin II in about 625 A.D. and an embassy was in return sent to India, which was received with due honour at the Indian Court. In the caves of Ajanta there is a painting which depicts the court of the Raja, where these Iranian ambassadors are sitting on a gadi welcoming the foreign amirs who have brought a message and some presents. The dress and manners of the messengers clearly show that they were Persians. In another room at Ajanta an Iranian

Ruler and his Queen are depicted, surrounded by two Iranian servants. Fergusson is of opinion that this picture depicts Khusru Perviz and his queen Sherin, and the Indian Raja is Pulakesh of Malwa. Tabari the Arab Historian states that Pulakesh of Malwa had sent in A.D. 626 a letter to the son of Khusru Parviz and the picture depicts the Iranian Messengers bringing a reply to that letter. The pictures show that the Ajanta school of art was derived from Persia.

On the authority of Mr. G. K. Nariman I state that in the time of Shri Harsha of Sindh, Persian army came to Sindh. The ruler fell in the battle, but the Persian contended themselves with devastating a portion of Sindh and returned; the son of the slain ruler occupied the rule of Sindh. He was himself overthrown in 621—this shows that the event happened in the reign of Khusru Perviz. Coins found in North-West India with Indian and Pahlavi legends prove that this territory was under the Persian rulers.

Barzuya, the physician of Noshirvan was sent to India who obtained a copy of Panchtantra or the original of Hitopdesha, which he got translated into Pahlavi; also game of chess was obtained from the same source.

Early in the 7th century a large body of Persians landed in Western India and from one of their leaders, possibly a son of Khusru Perviz, the family of Udepur have sprung.

Cunningham in his Archaeological Reports has noted that the influence of the Sassanians was most strongly felt in Sindh and Western Rajputana where India and Persia came into direct contact; but in North West India and the Punjab it was overthrown by the White Huns and Little Yuchi who successively held the Kabul valley. The former were certainly fire-worshippers and the latter were apparently Brahmanists, but both had adopted the style of Sassanian coinage; he calls this Indo-Sassanian period, extending down to A.D. 700; shortly after that date the direct Persian influence came to an end in Western India by the Mahomedan conquest of Sindh and Multan by Mahomed Kasim in A.D. 711.

There is a tradition that the Ranas of Mewar were connected with the Sassanian kings of Persia; in support, Abdul Fazal (A.D. 1500) says that the Ranas consider themselves descendants of Sassanian Naushirwan (A.D. 531-579); there is no evidence to support this. But the marriage between a Valbhi Chief and

Mah Banu daughter of the fugitive last Sassanian Yazdgard is not impossible. (A.D. 651).

There was connection between Persia and Western India ; the fact is that a subsequent deteriorated issue from some mint in Gujerat now known as Gadhia Paisa has plainly been imitated from the coins of the Sassanides. Prinsep in his Essays on Indian Antiquities says "The popular name of these rude silver and copper coins is in Gujrat Gadhia ka paisa, equal to ass-money or rather the money of Gandhia, a name of Vikramaditya. The king was a powerful king of the western provinces, his capital being Cambat or Cambay ; and it is certain that the princes of these parts were tributary to Persia from a very early period. Scholars have discovered on the coins the profile of face after the Persian model on one side and the Sassanian fire altar on the other. If this is admitted as proof of an Indo-Sassanian dynasty in Saurashtra, we may find the date of its establishment in the epoch of Yazdgird the son of Behram Ghor. This is supported by the testimony of the Agni Puran that Vikram son of Gadha-rupea (Behram Ghor) ascended the throne of Malaya (Ujjain) in A.D. 441."

Tod in the Annales of Rajasthan assigns the fall of the Valabhi empire to an army of Parthians and Scythians, but Elphinstone has suggested that the invaders may have been Sassanians probably under Naushirwan ; and in this event we have an explanation of the occurrence of the Gadhia coins. Deteriorated as they are the bust and fire-altar of the Sassanides are apparent ; we can conclude that either the Sassanian monarchy obtained a footing in Gujerat or that an offshoot of the dynasty succeeded in establishing an empire there.

A Pahlava prince in Kathiawar in A.D. 720 built the fort of Elapur ; in it he established an image of Siva adorned with a crescent ; Cunningham thinks this may be Somnath. This Elapur or Elawar by transposition would become Erawal, the present Werawal.

Dr. Spooner's Excavation of Patliputra and his paper on Zoroastrian period of Indian History.

Patliputra the modern Patna is the Palibothra of Megasthenes who was the ambassador of Seleucus Nicator in the reign of Chandragupta about B.C. 300. It is situated on the confluence of the rivers Ganges and Son or Sena. It was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadha, or South Behar. It was

formerly called Kusumpur and Pushyapur, city of flowers. Patali is the flower *Bigroia suaveolens*.

The Chinese travellers, Fa Hier who visited it in B.C. 399-414 and Hiuen Tsiang, about A.D. 629, speak very highly of this city.

Megesthenes about B.C. 300-302, the ambassador of Seleucus Nicator at the court of Chandra Gupta and Chanakya, the minister, left us some account of the magnificence of the royal court.

Strabo in his Geography mentions this city ; so also Arrian in his Indica. I may mention that Chandragupta is Sandrakottos of the Greeks, Sandrakoptus of Atheniens, and Androkottos in Plutarch life of Alexander the Great. The city rose to its zenith in the time of Asoka (B.C. 250), the grandson of Chandragupta.

Pliny among the ancients, French Geographer D'Anville (1697-1782) English Geographer Rennel (1742-1830), Thomas Pennant, an antiquary (1726-1798), Col. Wilford, William Franklin. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, and several others have tried to identify the city.

Dr. Spooner began his excavations in January 1913. As the work was expensive, the late Sir Ratan Tata made a generous offer to pay every year Rs. 20,000 to the Government of India.

Dr. Spooner first located eight rows of monolithic polished pillars. Afterwards he found the ninth row ; each row has ten pillars. Dr. Spooner's wife gave him great help ; it was she who first drew the attention to the fact that the pillars of the Mauriyan building resembled the plan she had seen at Persepolis.

The meaning of "Mauryan replica of Persipolis" was that the influence of Iran upon India was much more than it is ordinarily supposed. The excavations were on a monumental scale. The learned doctor produced numismatic, literary, and other evidence to show the certainty of a very powerful influence of Iran upon India.

Ancient Persia had its influence on Greece, Rome, Egypt, and other adjoining countries ; the greatest influence was of their religion, and that is they are called "The Puritans of the Old World."

It was Cyrus the founder of the Achaemenian dynasty who paved the way for the subsequent influence over India. Cyrus laid the foundation of Persia by taking Media in B. C. 550 ; Lydia in 546 ; Babylonia in 538 ; Egypt was added by Cambysses in 528 ; and Darius organised the Great Persian possessions in his long reign from 528-486 before Christ.

Dr. V. A. Smith the best authority on Ancient India has shown that Achaemenian Iran had a strong influence on Mauryan India such as—

1. Influence of Iranian architecture on Indian architecture.
2. The Achaemenian practice of inscribing on pillars and rocks and style of the inscriptions which were followed by Asoka in his inscriptions.
3. The Kharoshthi script came to India from the Aramaic clerks of the Achaemenians.
4. Some of the features of the Mauryan administration and polity and court customs were taken from the Iranians.

The style of some of the sculptured capitals of Asoka had its origin in the capitals of the palace of Darius at Persopolis. The style of the huge monolithic sandstone and other pillars of Asoka is also Persian ; The bas-relief sculpture of some of the Mauryan buildings resemble that of the Persians at Persopolis.

Fergusson specially points to the capitals in the caves at Bedsa, about ten miles south of Karle, near Lonavla, and says "their capitals are more like the Persepolitan type than almost any others in India and are each surmounted by horse and elephants bearing men and women."

The other similar caves are at Bhaja about 4 miles south of the Karle caves near Lanovla ; 2, At Jamalgarhi some 40 miles N. E. of Peshawar ; here the capitals of the old Perso-Indian type have new forms given to them the animal figures being whilst the pillars themselves are placed on the backs of crouching changed, figures with wings. The 3rd type is found at Tavagumpha caves near the Khandgiri hill in Orissa where "the doors are flanked by pilasters with capitals of the Persopolitan types."

The debt of India to Perso-Assyrian art is strikingly apparent from two observations ; 1, The sculpture of India proper—the India of the Gangetic valley—is mainly bas-relief. The Indians apply their bas-reliefs after the Persian fashion. Their sculpture is bestowed chiefly on doors and vestibules, and as in Persia, the most important single figures guard the entrance of gateways in India. Even the unique bas-reliefs of Barhut have their counterparts at Persepolis and Nineveh. 2. the decoration of the Vihara caves was Persian.

Asoka followed Darius in the matter of his edicts. It was the practice of Darius to erect pillars in the countries which he conquered or through which he passed. We learn from Herodotus that in his march against the Scythians he “surveyed the Bosphorus and erected upon its shores two pillars of white marble, whereupon he inscribed the names of all the nations which formed his army.” While digging the modern Suez Canal, some pillars of Darius have been discovered in Egypt. Asoka in his pillar edicts has followed this practice of Darius.

Darius inscribed on the sides of rocks and mountains. The best instance is that on the rock at Behistan. Asoka has also some of his inscriptions on rocks ; one at Jungadh at the foot of the Girnar.

Darius commences every edict with the words “Thus sayeth Darius the king”. Asoka also begins in the same way: “thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King.”

The idea of inscribing ethical dissertations on the rocks in the guise of royal proclamation seems to be of Persian origin.

The Kharoshti script was introduced in India by the Achæmenian kings through their Aramaic clerks. The Kharoshti writing seen on the coins of the western Satraps of Saurashtra (Kathiawar) point to the northern origin of the kings.

Dr. Vincent Smith says that the civil and military institutions of the Mauryan Empire as described by Asoka in his edicts and by the Greek writers were essentially Indian modified in some particulars by imitation of Persian practices.

As for Court customs, I give two examples ; one of these is the custom of observing birthdays by the kings. Herodotus Vol. IV p. 3&1-82 when writing about Amestris the wife of king Xerxes says that “she waited therefore till her

husband gave the great royal banquet a feast which takes place once every year in celebration of the king's birthday. Tykta the feast is called in Persian tongue which in our language may be rendered perfect and this is the only day in all the year in which the king soaps his head and distributes gifts to the Persians. The law of the feast required that no one who asked a boon that day at the king's board should be denied his request. The Indian custom referred to by Strabo. "Historians also relate that the Indians worship Jupiter Ombrus (or the rainy) the river Ganges and the indigenous deities of the country ; that when the king washes his hair, a great feast is celebrated and large presents are sent, each person displaying his wealth in competition with his neighbour."

When Megasthenes was in India, Strabo speaks of the Indians of that time. "The Indians wear white garments white linen and muslin contrary to the accounts of those who say that they wear garments of a bright colour ; all of them wear long hair and long beards, plait their hair and bind it with a fillet. The Indian custom of keeping long hair among the Maruyan kings is believed by Dr. Smith to have been taken from the Achaemenian Iranian. The ancient Iranians kept their hair long. They seldom cut them. Old Iranian sculptures show that the Iranians kept long beards. Even now the Parsi priests keep beard which they cannot trim or cut.

Dr. Spooner wrote a paper in 1915 in the Journal of the R. A. S. of Gr. Br. & Ireland entitled "a Zoroastrian period of Indian History." This paper threw a bomb-shell in the camp of the orientlists. He advances a good deal of literary evidence in support of the discovery that the Mauryan building at Patliputra was copied from an Iranian building. He showed that upon the threshold of the historical period, a dynasty of almost purely Persian type ruled over India. That dynasty was the Mauryan dynasty, the founder of which, Chandragupta, the first great Indian Emperor was a Persian Aryan, a Parsi. He had Persepolis as his ancestral home. The Mauryan dynasty was Zoroastrian. Not only that but the Dr. says that Budha, the founder of Buddhism, was an Iranian sage and as such was a Persian. He affirms that the palaces referred to in the Mahabharata are the Mauryan buildings at Pataliputra, that the Asura Maya to whose supernatural power the construction of the palaces is attributed is the Ahrura Mazda of the Zoroastrians whom Darius often invoked in his inscription at Persepolis. The influence of Iran over India was much more than ordinarily believed. It was not confined to architecture ; it was in matters of religion. Budha, Chandragupta, and his

minister Chandakya were Persian, if not by birth, at least by descent.

Dr. Spooner, on the evidence of Indian literature, proves that the ancient Persians had, long before the Mauryan dynasty, settled in various parts of North India, from the frontiers of Punjab in the West to Assam and Orissa in the east, and from the valley of the Nerbudda in the south to the valley of Kashmir in the Himalayas in the north.

I had quoted a passage, from the Vandida, from which we learn the following facts about India ; 1. That India was the 15th out of the 16 Aryan countries known to early Iranians, as created by God. 2. It was known as Hapta-Hindu. 3. The country watered by the Indus formed India, and its boundary literally extended further both ways, towards the East and the west ; 4. It had two curses, heat and premature maturing of women. The age of Vandidad is B. C. 1200.

Next to the Vandidad we have the authority of Cuneiform inscriptions of Darius at Persipolis and Nakhs-i-Rustom. Darius mentions amongst the conquered countries the name of India as Hidush or Hindush. With this conquest Persia must have exercised great influence upon India.

I have quoted above from Herodotus to show that India was the 20th Satrapy. Darius was not a flying conqueror of India. He wanted to retain the country for the good of India and Persia. He directed his admiral Scylax to explore the whole country watered by the Indus from Cashmere down to the sea. He developed commerce between India and Persia. With this object he connected the Red with the Mediterranean Sea by a canal, ending at its extremity at Suez.

The Punch-marked coins point Iranian influence in India. They are so called because the devices were impressed on the coins not by means of a die, but by separate punches applied irregularly at various points on the surface. Vincent Smith thinks that these coins were a private coinage issued by guilds and silversmiths with the permission of the ruling powers. The obverse punches were impressed by the different moneyers, and the reverse marks were the signs of approval by the controlling authority. Dr. Spooner does not agree. He thinks that they were Mauryan coins having the symbol of the sun, a group of suns, a branch, a bull and a chaitya. He asserts that the sun was worshipped by the Zoroastrians ; the branch is Homa branch ;

the bull was the Mithraic bull ; the Chaitya which signified a hill was the mount Maru, situated in Merv in Iran. Hence from this evidence of the Mauryan coins Dr. Spooner thinks that the Mauryan were Zoroastrians.

We have the tradition of a Brahmin Changragach who went to Persia to oppose Zoroastrianism ; he returned to India fully convinced and in his turn converted about 80,000 Indians into the religion of Zoroaster.

Besides the evidence of coins, other proofs are adduced ; one of them I will give when Chandragupta invaded Magadha he was assisted by Persian troops. This is narrated in a Sanskrit drama. Chandragupta besieged Kasuma-pura that is Patliputra with his troops consisting of the Scythians, Yavanas or the Greek Kiratas, people living below the Himalayas, Kambojas, Kabulis, Parasikas, Persians, and Balhikas, Bactrians. At the same time the enemies had also an army of mixed races. Both the sides raised armies of mercenaries.

The Parsis are indebted to Dr. Spooner for bringing the following facts ; that a few centuries before Christ, the Persians fought in India for their Maurian masters, that their masses lived as subject-races in Northern India long before the Arab conquest of Persia, that their leaders were made chiefs and even petty Rajas and that Iranian masons had a hand in the erection of the Mauryan palaces after the style of the Halls at Persepolis.

Since writing the above I have come across a paper in French written by Mr. F. D. J. Paruck, a well known numismatist of Bombay. The paper is "Observations sur cinq monnaies Sassanides", published in the Revue Numismatique, 1936.

Five coins are described ; from the inscriptions on the first three coins he shows that Pirouz was a viceroy of Khorasan in the reigns of Sapor I and Hormisdas. Sapor I was sovereign from A. D. 240 to 271, and his son Hormisdas ruled for one year and ten days ; Sind, Multan and Rajputana were under the Kouchans, and their ruler was a vassal of Hormisdas I, and perhaps of Sapor I. I will give the original French, lest I may be making a wrong translation. "Selon le Kitab-al-Fihrist, Pirouz fut le vice-roi de Khorasan ; il le fut sous les regnes de Sapor Ier et d'Hormisdas Ier. Aussi est-il difficile de decider sous quel regne ses diachmes furent frappees. Ces pieces, cependant, nous autorisent a declarer que le Sind, le Multan

et le Rajputana etaient alors aux mains des Kouchans, et que leur roi fut le vassal de Hormisdas Ier et peut-etre aussi celui de Sapor." Ier.

Translation.... According to Kitab-al-Fihrisht, Pirouz was the viceroy of Khorasan. He was such during the reign of Sapor I and Hormisdas I. Also it is difficult to decide in whose reign the coins were minted. These coins, then, authorise us to decide that Sind, Multan and Rajpatana were at that time in the hands of the Kushans, and that their king was a vassal of Hormisdas I or perhaps of Sapor I.

On these coins Mr. Paruck reads the words **MALKA INDI IRADA (TI)** Malka is the king, and Inde signifies Sind. For I translate what he writes. "It appears to me certain that the name Inde on these coins signify Sind. The Phelvi form of this name is Hind, but by Greek influence the first word H is omitted. These coins were struck in the rule of the Kushans, where the Greek influence was at that time.... The short legend Malka Inde on the right depicts the personage sitting on a throne as being the King of Sind." Inde Iradati signifies Sind and Multan.

About **IRADA (TI)**, that the name is given to the valley of the River Ravi, one of the five rivers of the Punjab, in the centre of which is Multan, which according to old Arab Geographers, was included in the kingdom of Sind.

Rawlinson in his "Seventh Great Monarchy" does not mention Pheroz as the son of Artexerxes, or brother of Shapor I; because, I believe he never came to the throne of Iran, but was the king of the Kushans. For on his coins we read. **Mazdesn bage Peroze wazung Kushan shah,**" that is, Mazda-worshipping divinity Firoz, the great king of the Kusans." Kushan was the name of the dynasty of Yuechi, who for centuries occupied Transoxiana, east-Iran, the south of the Hindu Kush and the North-east India.

The most celebrated and interesting coin of Hormazd II (A. D. 303-310) is a piece of gold coin struck on the occasion of his marriage to the daughter of the Kushan king of Kabul. Rawlinson in his "Seventh Monarchy" confirms this and says "Among his other wives, Hormisdas, we are told married a daughter of the king of Cabul. It was natural that after the conquest of Seistan by

Varaharan II, about A. D. 28', the Persian monarchs should establish relations with the chieftains ruling in Afghanistan. That country seems from the first to the fourth century of our era, to have been under the government of princes of Scythian descent and of considerable wealth and power. Kadphises, Kanerki, Kenorano, Oerki, Baraoro, had the main seat of their empire in the region about Cabul and Jalalabad; but from this centre they exercised an extensive sway which at times probably reached Candahar on the one hand and the Punjab region on the other. Their large gold coinage proves them to have been monarchs of great wealth while their use of the Greek letters and languages indicates a certain amount of civilization. The marriage of Homisdas with a princess of Cabul implies that the hostile relations existing under Varahran II had been superseded by friendly ones. Persian aggression had ceased to be feared. The reigning Indo-Scythic monarch felt no reluctance to give his daughter in marriage to his western neighbour, and sent her to his court (we are told) with a wardrobe and ornaments of the utmost magnificence and costliness."

It would not be out of place to give a short table of the rulers of Eran. Shapor I, son of Artexerxes or Ardashir I, ruled for 31 years from A. D. 241-271. Shapor had three brothers, Ardesar, Firoz, king of the Kushans, and Narses. After Shapor I, his son Hormuzd I, or Hormisdas, ruled from 271-272, one year and ten days. His brother Varahran I, or Bahram I, ruled from 272-275. His son Bahram II ruled from 275-292. Bahram III ruled only for a few months. Narses son of Shapor I ruled from 292-301. His son Hormisdas II ruled from 301-309. The last ruler was Yezdegerd Shahriyar. The defeat of Nehavend in 641 terminated the Sassanian power. The Arabs call the battle of Nehavend "Fattah-hu-Futtuh, Victory of victories; Isdigerd wandered from place to place from 641 to 651; at last he was murdered for the sake of his clothes.

In the above quoted extract from Rawlinson the conquest of Seistan is mentioned. On one of the five coins described by Mr. Paruck, there is a monogram SKSIN (Sakastan). This is the only coin on which this monogram is struck in full on the Sassanian coin.

One of the coins adds the word Hrezi. According to Arab geographers Haras was an old name for Rajputana.

As I said above Bahram conquered Sakastan which included the whole of the N. W. India. The Pahlvi inscription at Paikuli

mentions several princes of India who had proceeded to Persia to offer allegiance to King Narses (292-3. 1) on his succession. Among the princes were the prince of the Kushan, the prince of Saurashtra (Kathiawar) and Avanti (Malwa) and other Saka princes.

I may add that Saka is modern Seistan. The Saccae are undoubtedly Scyths. They may have dwelt on the Oxus or possibly in Afghanistan.

Mr. Parruck in his "Sanian coins" writes :

A fine piece of silver in the Vienna Museum represents on the obverse the bust of Khusru II and on the reverse the bust of the Solar city, Aditya, both facing. . . . Dr. Nutsel of the Berlin Museum kindly procured for me the casts of this coin in the Vienna Museum and with the help of the three goldpieces, one in the Berlin Museum, the other in the British Museum, and the third specimen in the Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris, I read this legend as Airan afzutaneti "May he cause Eran to prosper." These gold pieces bear the year 21 of reign whereas the silver one is of the year 37. Ouseley proposed to read the word Airan as the name of Queen Sherin, the celebrated consort of Khusru II, whose bust he believed to be on the reverse based on the analogy which exists in Pahlavi between sh and a. Mordtmann also believed that the bust on the reverse was that of the consort of Khusru II. On comparing other coins of Multan, whose reverse does not represent the bust of a female, but the figure of the sun as a young man it will be seen that it is the bust of the solar deity Aditya. It was Cunningham who first demonstrated that the figure on the reverse was none other than that of the solar diety, Aditya, whose temple was at Multan. It is probable that these coins were struck at Multan, at the time of the expeditions of Khusru II to India or during his occupation of the country. The bust of the solar deity was worshipped at that time in Multan, as it is represented on other Indo-Sassanian coins also. But historians mention nothing precise as to Khusru II having been to India in the years 610 and 626, the dates of these pieces. Although the Huns were mainly instrumental in introducing coins of Sassanian type into India, it seems certain that shortly after the invasion of the Huns the Sassanian power or a dynasty acknowledging the Sassanian suzerainty was established in India, for coins of Sassanian type and fabric bearing inscriptions in Nagari, Sassanian Pahlvi, and an alphabet hitherto unread, which is probably a development of the modified form of the Greek alphabet used by the Scytho-Sassanians, are found in the north-west

of India. These coins have been attributed by Cuningham to the later Huns, but apparently without sufficient reason. Rapson (Indian Coins) is however of opinion that they were almost certainly struck by some Sassanian dynasty or dynasties ruling over Sind and Multan, which later the ancient Arab geographers include in the kingdom of Sind, as is shown by the style of the coins and by the use of Sassanian Pahlvi. It may be noted that this region had been in the hands of Persian conquerors during the Parthian period. These coins are closely connected with the particluar issues of Khusru II mentioned above, by the use of the same reverse type, representing the sun-god of Multan.

The adventures of Bahram V, (420-438, A. D.) in India and the enlargement of his dominions in that direction by the act of the Indian king, who is said to have ceded to him Makran and Sind and to have given him his daughter in marriage cannot be regarded as fiction. Firdusi calls this Indian king Shankal. His native name is Vasudeve of the dynasty of the Maharajas Adhiraja of Magadha and Kanoj.

Malkan Malka has been the title of Persian kings from the most ancient times; the meaning is "king of kings". The words Malkatan Malkata, Queen of Queens is found on the beautiful gem of Queen Dinak, wife of Yezdegerd II, (440-457).

Mr. Paruck in his "Sasanian Coins" writes that this form is particularly interesting to note as it gives us the proof that if the expression Malkan Malka was sometimes pronounced Shahan Shah, it was simply done on the ground of the dialect of the province where the word was spoken." In the first century of the Christian era we find the legend shahnano shah on the coins of Kanishka (A. D. 78-100) and his successors and the title of Shahi in their inscriptions in Sanskrit. The inscription of Samudra Gupta at Allahabad shows the title in the form of Shahi Shahanashahi. There is another notice to same effect about the middle of the 4th century. Persis Saporem et Saansaan adpellantibus et Pyrosen, quod rex regibus imperans et bellorum victor interpretatur. The translation is:

The Persians called Shapor Shahan Shah and Peroch, that is the king ruling over kings and victorious in war.

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HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SIND: PART III.

HISTORIC PERIOD A. D. I.

BY PROF. M. B. PITHAWALLA, F.G.S., M.R.A.S.

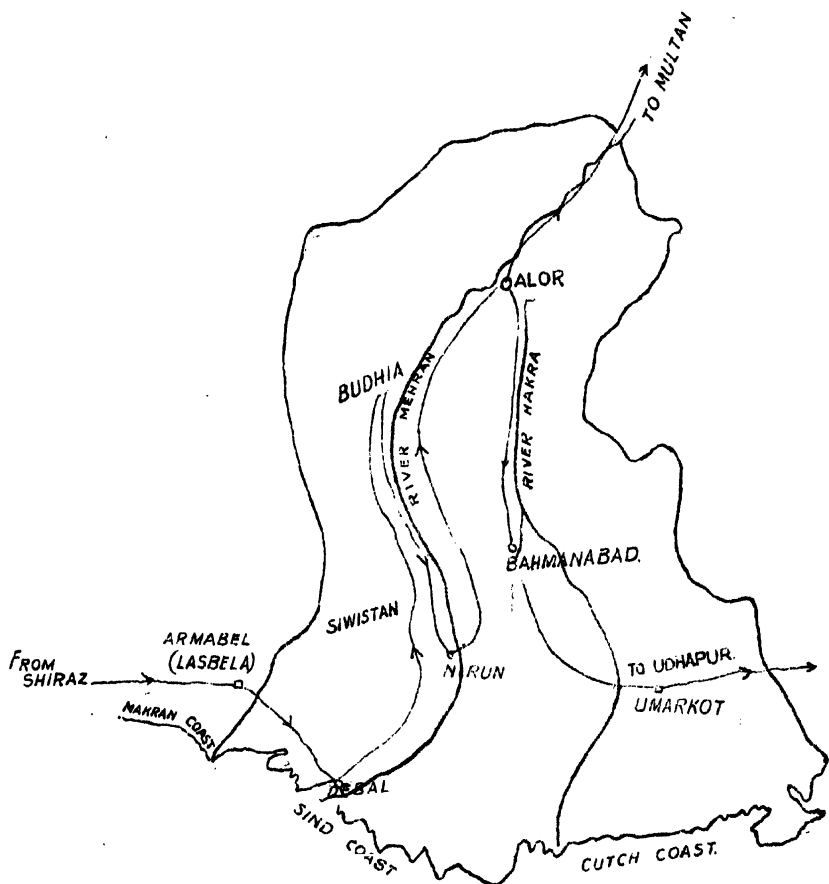
The importance of the *time* factor in the geographical studies of Sind has already been shown with regard to the preceding important epochs. The history of changing political, racial and economic conditions and their evolution through the centuries in the province has a bearing on its geographical features, which have been described. This knowledge of a geographical setting is also indispensable, while appreciating the historical events, which have taken place in subsequent times. Further changes in the river beds, advance of the delta, appearance and disappearance of fresh-water springs and lakes, hydrographical and political changes in the Upper Indus Basin (Punjab), a possible climatic change, accumulation of sand and clay, sand belts and clay belts, distribution of soils of various kinds and natural vegetation and even the human improvements or alterations of the countryside,—all these should be borne in mind, while studying the more recent history of the land.

The anonymous writer of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, containing an account of the navigation of the ancients, about 60 A.D., has given us a valuable picture of the land from *personal* observations in those days. He begins by first pointing out the distinction between Hind (Hindustan) and Sind (Scythia, Scythia, Scindi), the tract of land lying low from the cape of Monze to the Indus and comprehending the country on both sides of the river, which between Multan and Tatta is called Mehran. It has been noticed that from the time of Alexander, the Greeks have considered "Patala to be the port to which they were to direct their views in order to obtain the precious commodities of the East." Individual merchants, if not large trade companies, must surely have come to Sind from the ports of the Red Sea ever since. Ever the embassies from Syria to the monarchs of Hindustan must have "embraced the objects of commerce as well as of empire, for, those who found their way to the Ganges would not be unacquainted with the profits to be derived from the commerce of the Indus."*

Importance of Patala.

All trade vessels should naturally direct their course to Patala on the Indus. "Here it was known from history that the productions of the East were to be obtained, and here the trade,

*Vincent William—*The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, Part the First, London 1800.



SKETCH MAP OF SIND SHOWING

ROUTE OF THE ARAB ARMY
UNDER MUHAMMAD QASIM
AND THE COURSES OF THE
MEHRAN AND THE HAKRA.

(Page The Cfachnamah)

which the Indus and the coast of Malabar must always have fixed its centre."* As the knowledge of the Greeks and Romans about the Indus valley and the monsoon increased, they began to make their passage to Hindustan direct.

Other Markets

Besides Patala, there were two other important markets in Sind, *viz.*, Barbarike near the mouth of the Indus, and Behker (Bukker) afterwards replaced by other capitals "occupied by different invaders in the various revolutions of the country." At the time of the Periplus, *Minnagara*, perhaps the Binagara of Ptolemy, was the capital of Sind and the sovereign power extended from there as far as Barugaza or Gujarat. It has been said that the Government was actually in the hands of the Parthian tribe divided into two parties, each party, as it prevailed, chose a king of its own body and drove out the king of the opposite faction. The author of the Periplus thinks that this sovereign must have been very powerful and the trade of Sind must have been very profitable, as he was offered such valuable presents by those who sought his protection, as

"Plate of very great value
Musical instruments
Handsome girls for the Haram
The best wine
Plain cloth of high price (and)
The finest perfumes or the perfumed ingredients."

The Indus itself was decidedly used as the chief means of communication from the port of Barbarike to Minnagara inland.

Imports and Exports.

The following articles were imported at Barbarike :—

"Clothing plain and in considerable quantity
Clothing mixed
Cloth, larger in the warp than in the woof
Topazes
Coral
Storax
Frankincense
Glass vessels
Plate
Spicie and wine.

The following typical indigenous products were exported :—

“Costus a spice
Bdellium a gum
Yellow dye
Spikenard
Emeralds or green stones
Sapphires
Hides from China
Cottons
Silk threads.
Indigo or Indian ink

The Voyage.

The South West Monsoon, being the most favourable trade wind, the voyage was made in Epiphi or July down the Red Sea and through the Straits to the mouth of the Indus. The peculiarity of the Sind Coast was that “near these mouths the sea was white and there was a multitude of snakes called Graai, floating on the surface ; which is imputed to the rains of the monsoon washing down these animals out of the rivers.” Indeed the sea fishery on the Sind coast is even now remarkable.

Such, then, is the knowledge of the writer of the *Periplus* about Sind in the first century A.D. Though scanty, it fits in well with the general trend of human activities in the province and the surrounding lands, which we have discussed.

THE PRE-ARAB PERIOD.

The period, which followed this, was the one in which Indian races, Budhists and Brahmans, flourished and lived together in Sind in peace and harmony for many centuries after the Christian era began. The pendulum of power turned eastwards, after the fall of Iran in the earlier centuries and the Sassaninan (Pahlavi) rulers took time to settle down. The Iranian capital was already shifted westwards in the Euphrates-Tigris valley and the Iranians themselves were concerned with settling their own home-affairs at first. They had, therefore, little time to turn to the Indus valley any more.

Meanwhile the Buddhistic element had worked its way into the Indus valley from the Ganges valley under the illustrious patronage of Asoka and Chandragupta. At the same time, the

Brahmans had been living in great hostility against the Maurya dynasty flourishing in other parts of the country. But after the fall of the Mauryas, Brahmanism reasserted its authority in Hindustan. "The prohibition of bloody sacrifices and irritating proceedings of Censors must have produced much unrecorded discontent and we may fairly assume that when the strong hand of the old emperor dropped the scepter, Brahman influence reasserted itself and produced a revolt against the inquisitorial tyranny of Asoka's system."†

In peaceful Sind, however, the two elements flourished side by side. The result was that both remained feeble, neither of them becoming aggressive at one time or another. Even earlier than this, Scythian sun or fire-worship was tolerated here. "The first dwellers of Ratika (a mound on the old Sutlaj bed) were most likely Scythians who brought with them the worship of Baal, the sun or fire God from the banks of the Oxus." The Indo-Scythians were in possession of lower Sindh two centuries B. C. and according to General Cunningham "they occupied the Punjab and Scinde and were in full possession of the Indus valley down to the seventh century."*

The ruling class had adopted Buddhism after Kanishka, the last ruler of the Indo-Scythian Kingdom, and when this Brahmanical revival took place later, there was considerable toleration shown to the Brahmins in Sind. So, while there was a constant conflict between Buddhism and Brahmanism in the hilly tracts of Malwa, Ujjain, Chitor and even in Cutch, in Sind the two lived peacefully together, so much so that at the time of the Arab conquest of Sind, while there was a Hindu kingdom flourishing, there were Brahmin ministers employed. The Governors and citizens were largely Buddhists. But it was not the pure kind of Buddhism that was to be found in the province. "Sind was remarkable for being under the Government of Buddhist King, belonging to the Sudra caste and for the large number of Buddhist monks which the country supported, estimated at ten thousand. But the quality was not in proportion to the quantity; most of the ten thousand being denounced as idle followers given over to self indulgence."‡

There are several relics and stupas belonging to the Buddhists in Sind. The site where Mohenjo Daro was discovered by R. D. Banerji in 1922 was originally a Buddhist stupa and a

† Smith V.—"Early History of India 1914 p. 194.

* Cal. Rev. LX 1875 p. 383.

‡ Smith V.—*Op. cit.* p. 354.

monastery in the north-west corner. The bricks used in these were evidently taken from the older ruins belonging to the Mohenjo Daro age.

Other stupas have been found at Tando Md. Khan, Jhirrak, Mirpurkhas, Depar Ghangro (visited by Chach, the Brahman minister of Rai Sahasi II), and Thul Mir Rukhan—"all forming a chain up the Indus valley."* The Brahmin element in Sind has not been found only during the period under review. It has long been in existence in the province. It was at the advice of his Brahmar councillors that Mousikanos, King of Alor, had revolted against the Macedonian conqueror in 325 B.C. Even in political departments both the classes of people had alternately occupied power and position. It is said that one of the reasons of the success of the Arabs in Sind later on was that there were Buddhist governors of the several forts and Buddhist subject under the Brahman king and they would not fight under the influence of their religion.

Continuation of Iranian Influence in Sind

Although the Sassanian rulers of Persia did not organise campaigns against India on account of their sphere of activities being transferred to the western countries, intercourse between Persia and Sind continued all throughout. This is supported by the discovery and interpretation of Sassanian coins.†

Mr. Fardoonjee D. J. Paruck, an authority on Sassanian numismatics, has tried to show from the inccriptions on the coins that not only Sind but Multan and Rajputana were in the possession of the Kushans, who ruled in North India and who were subjects under the Sassanian Kings Shahpur I and Hormuzd I in the 3rd century A.D. The latter King is mentioned, as "Malka Indi Irdati Harezi"—the Sovereign of Sind, Punjab and Rajput kingdoms on one side of a coin, and "Mazdayasni Bagi Auharmazdi Raab Kushan Malkan Malka"—the Worshipper of the Lord of Wisdom, His Celestial Majesty Hormuzd, the Lord of the Kushans, the King of Kings, on the obverse of the coin.

Fire worship was noticeable in the temples of Sind, the Punjab intermarriages were recorded and trade was maintained between the two countries. The old city of Bahman-abad has a considerable history of its own. "Bahman, son of

* Cousens H.—'Antiquities of Sind' p. 59.

† Paruck F. D. J. "*Observations Sur cinq Mounas Sassanides* (French)—*Revue Numismatique*, 1936.

Isfandiar who used to be styled Ard-Shir-i-Daraz Bazu (or of the long arm), founded a city in the Zamin of Sind, which was named by him Bahman-abad or Bahaman-nih, and which they call Mansuriyah.†

Mujinal-ul-Tawarikh (1131 A. D.) has another version about it. "In the time of Gushtashib, ruler of Iran Zamin, Bahman his grandson, surnamed Ard-Shir, son of Isfandiar, led an army into Hind and Sind, and subdued a considerable portion of it. No member of the family of the ruler named Sunagh, retained any power therein. Bahman founded a city between the frontiers or borders of the Hindus and the Turks (the Indo-Scythians as they are styled), to which he gave the name of Kanda-il, and in another part which they call Budah he founded a city which he named Bahmanabad and, according to one statement, this is Mansuriyah."

Muhammed, son of Jarir-ul-Tubari says that "Bahman conferred Hind on Ashtumish, a sage, after the Malik of Hind had revolted."*

Occasionally the Iranian domination became greater, and tributes were exacted. Says, Al-masudi, "Kings of Sind and Hind and of all the countries to the north and south sent ambassadors to Noshervan with rich presents and to enter into terms of peace with him."† The Gardazi has also a story to tell of Persian connections with India; "Behram Gor (420 A.D. to 438 A. D.) came into Hind in disguise and Shermah its ruler gave his daughter to him in marriage and conferred upon him as her dowry Sind and Makran."§

Tod in his Rajasthan (Vol. II P. 44) makes a daring remark that the Rana of Odeypur was descended from Bahman! During the reign of Noshervan, (531 A.D. to 579 A. D.) says the Shah Narmeh of Firdousi, ambassadors came from the sovereign of Hind to the Chosroe, challenging him to solve the puzzle about the game of Chess. This Persian influence did not stop at the Indus. Fleets were employed by Noshervan to conquer other parts of India and Ceylon. In the canary caves near Bombay, there is found the famous Pahlavi (Sassanian) inscription, while the Parsee calendar (comprising the Parsee days and months) is still in vogue in the far-off Hyderabad (Deccan) State.

† Raverty—"The Mihran of Sind" Footnote p. 197.

* *Ibid* Pp. 196—197.

§ *Ibid* p. 198.

Later on we shall find that Iran influenced the Talpur rule and life in Sind, particularly the Khairpur State, through the Baloch ruling race. After the Arab conquest of Sind the game of chess passed on to the Arabians (7th Century A.D.) and from them it reached Europe about the 11th Century A.D. The word chess is derived from Persian *Shah* meaning King. Sassanian coins have also been discovered among the ruins near Larkhana.†

In his great work on the *Parsees* Mr. D. F. Karaka* has summarised the whole situation well: "About the beginning of the Christian era, the Kanerkis, the Indian Skythian rulers of the Punjab, from the fire altar on their coins, seem to have adopted the religion of the Magi (Lassen in J.B.A.S. IX P. 456; Princep's note on Hist. Res. from Bactrian Coins P. 106). As regards the south of India, Ptolemy's mention of Brahmani Magi has been thought to show a connection with Persia, but the Kanarese word *Magi* or son, seems a simple and sufficient explanation. "Closer relations between India and Persia date from the revival of Persian power under the Sassanian Kings. (A. D. 226—650) In the fifth century, the visit of the Persian prince Behram Gor probably to ask for help in his struggle with the white Huns (Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua* P. 383) his marriage with a Hindu princess and according to Hindu accounts, his founding the dynasty of the Gordhabin King, was a fresh bond of intimacy (Wilford—As Res. IX P. 219), Macudi's *Paries d'Or*, Reinand's *Memoire sur l'Inde* P. 112; Elliot's *History* II P. 159). In later times, both Noshervan the just (A.D. 531-579) and his grandson Parvez (A.D. 591—628) were united by treaties and by the interchange of rich presents with the rulers of India and Sind (Macudi's *Prairies d'Or* II P. 201).

In connection with these treaties, it is interesting to note that Noshervan's embassy to Pulikeshi II the ruler of Badami, in the Southern Maratha country is believed to be the subject of the Ajanta cave paintings and another of the pictures is supposed to be copied from a portrait of Parvez and the beautiful Shirin (Fergusson in Burgess's *Ajanta Notes* P. 92). According to one account early in the seventh century a large body of Persians landed in Western India and from one of the leaders, whom Wilfred believed to have been a son of Khosru Parvez, the family of Udepur is supposed to have sprung (Gladwin's *Ain-i-Akbari* II P. 81; Dr. Hunter *As. Res.* VI P. 8; Wilfred *As. Res.* IX P. 233; Princep—J. Ben. *As. Soc.* IV P.

† Consens H.—*Antiquities of Sind* p. 6.

* *History of the Parsees*, London 1884 p. 25 (*Ref. Gazetteer of the Bom. Presidency* p. 247.)

684). Wilfred held that the Konkanshth Brahmans were of the same stock.... Besides by treaties Western India and Persia were at this time very closely connected by trade. Kosmas Indikoplenshtes (P. 545) found the Persians among the chief traders in the Indian Ocean (Migne's *Patrologiœ Cursus* LXXXVIII P. 446 ; Yule's *Cathay* I CLXXVII, CLXXIX)."

Influence of Hind.

Before the conquest of Sind by the Arabs in 711 A. D., the province was governed by Hindu Kings. Tradition assigns to them a dynasty of five Rabis, who altogether ruled for 137 years:

1. Rai Diwaji.
2. Rai Sahiras I.
3. Rai Sahasi I.
4. Rai Saharas II.
5. Rai Sahasi II.

The last Rai was once attacked by Nimruz, King of Persia. He was a wise man and built six forts *viz.*, Alor, Schwistan (Sehvan), Uchh, Mathelo, Mod and Suvrai. Baluchistan was then a dependency of Sind.

The decay of Buddhism in India had already set in and Brahmanism under these Kings was in a delicate condition. There was a large number of Jats, Meds, and Dasyus in the State and the people were imbued with the spirit of the peace-loving religion of Lord Buddha.

Sind and the Punjab (the whole of the Indus basin) formed a *single* kingdom in the seventh Century A.D. and the influence of the Sindhi Rai extended as far north as Kashmir. According to the *Chachnameh*, the boundaries of the Kingdom were Kashmir on the east, Makran on the west, the mountains of Kurdan and Kikanan on the north and the sea as far as Debal in the south. There were four governors appointed at (1) Bahmanabad commanding the forts of Nerun, Debal, Luhanah, Lakhpat, Sammah and the river (2) Sivistan, commanding Ludhi (Budhia), Chingom or Jankan, the skirts of the hills of Rojhan (Dalkian) upto Makran, (3) Iskandah, commanding Babiah, Sawarah, Jajhor and Dhanod and (4) Multan, commanding Sikkah, Karad, Ishthar, Kih, and Kashmir. * Thus the political organisations even in this Hindu Kingdom were almost identical with the natural regions.

* Mirza Kalichbeg—History of Sind Vol. I (*Chachnameh*.) p. 11.

Alor, the capital of Hind and Sind, was a "town adorned with various kinds of royal buildings, villas, gardens, fountains, streams, meadows and trees and was situated on the bank of a river called Mihran."* The King Rai Sahasi II himself had "innumerable riches and buried treasures" and was a lover of justice, liberality and bravery. He was from his wife Suhandi's side related to the chiefs of Rajputana, while "the ancient ballads of Rajputana and Gujarat remind us of Rajput chiefs, who had kinsmen in Sind. Often the women of Sind burnt themselves to death like Rajput heroines, whenever occasions demanded such an action. Shramans and Brahmans, merchants, and tradesmen and workers in stone etc. lived in the capital town, while the large majority of people followed agricultural pursuits.

Chach, a Brahman and son of Salaij, came into great prominence and power even during the life of Rai Sahasi, so that when the King died, his widow not only married Chach, whom she loved, but he was actually crowned King of Alor. As this action of his brother's widow was not approved by Mahat, the king of Chitor, Chach was challenged by him in a duel. But Mahat was killed in the fray and Sind proved victorious. Two sons were born of Chach and his queen Suhandi, Dahar and Daharsiah. Chach some time later appointed his brother Chandra, who was "the crown of all ascetics," as his deputy at Alor and himself went abroad to the lands of his kingdom which he consolidated.

Movements of Chach in North India and Iran.

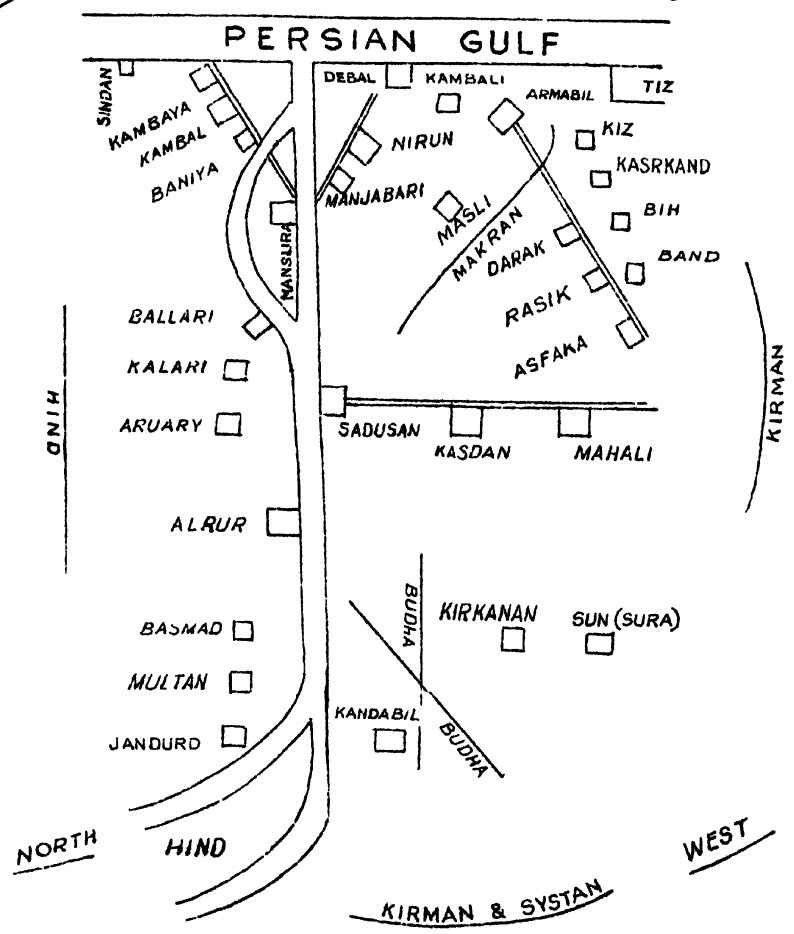
After controlling the four tributary rulers, who were under the Sindhi sovereign before, Chach led an army with their help "up to the very limits of Hindustan, which adjoined the country of the Tartars". Thus it became an attack of Sind on neighbouring lands.

After many days' journey he at first came to the fortified town of Babiāh on the southern banks of the Bias. The ruler of *Babiāh* fled to the fort of Iskandah, which was also attacked and taken from the enemy. Then he turned toward Sikkah and Multan on the opposite sides of the Ravi. As the ruler of Multan, who was also defeated, asked for the help of the king of Kashmir, Chach marched towards the State and fixed the northern boundary of his vast kingdom by planting some trees there. Even to-day the Kashmir valley is well-known for its poplar

* *Ibid* pp. 11—12.

EAST

SOUTH



ISLAM MAP OF SIND

(continued on next page)

and Deodar trees. Similarly he fixed the western boundary of Sind by moving as far as Kerman and beyond the steep declivity and the hills of Makran.

A small river running between Kerman and Makran was noted as the boundary and on it Chach planted some date trees. Later still he actually passed through the desert, which lay between Turan and Afghanistan, and exacted tributes from the rulers of Armanbel or Belah (Las Bela) and Kandail, (Kandhabel) or Kandhar. At last, Chach returned to his capital of Alor. He ruled for 40 years altogether and built up such a vast kingdom of different physical features, especially the northern and western highlands bordering the Indus basin. But such a heterogenous mass of kingdoms could not be maintained by any sovereign weaker than Chach. Here then was the *man factor* in the rise and fall of the Hindu dynasty.

On his death in 670 A. D. his brother Chandra continued the rule till 678 A.D., when Dahir the younger son of Chach came to the throne. Misled by some false astrologers he married his own sister and brought upon himself and his subjects the misfortunes from which there was no relief.

Such a king could not have the several chieftains, within his kingdom, sufficiently under his control.*

It was divided into six parts as under :—

<i>Capital Town.</i>	<i>Chieftains.</i>
Diwal.	Johim Bhada.
Nerunkot	Samna.
Sehvan	Batchera, Son of Chuadram
Bahmanabad	A Lohana Chief.
Alor	Dahir himself.
Sewi	Bhada son of Kaka.

Besides, he could not control "the people of the delta in their piratical dispositions." The dark age in Hindustan had already set in. It lasted for over two centuries, during which period the kingdoms of Ujjan, Kanoj, Magatha also lay in a fallen and decaying state.

* Capt. MacMurdo—J.R.A.S. Vol. I p. 38.

HISTORIC PERIOD A. D. II : The Arab Period.**Rise of the Arabs (7th Century A.D.)**

While Sind lay in such a weak condition under Dahar, great developments were taking place in western Asia. From the ashes of the Byzantine and other empires, now rose Arabia, using the fertile crescent lying between them as their base and expanding their power both westward and eastward. The Arabs were not merely a people of desert nomads, but a band of religious enthusiasts, who solemnly pledged themselves to follow the Prophet Mahommed and to extend the realms of their political power and religion far and wide. A series of semitic outbreaks was started in the near east by these mobile people, who absorbed the higher Aryan cultures of Iran (Zoroastrian) and Byzantine (Christian). Very quickly Syria, Egypt, Iberia and the W. Mediterranean islands on the one hand and Persia, Babylonia, and Assyria on the other were conquered by them stage by stage. Themselves a class of traders, they developed commercial relations soon among the Jews and Christians, Egyptians and Romans and along the ancient Arab trade routes all over the three countries. Agriculture, irrigation, art and other amenities of life were freely sought and, above all, conversion to Mahomedanism went hand in hand with warfare. A vast empire was already built with the Caliph Abdul Malik as their head, from Spain in the west to Sind in the east.

The Conquest of Sind

This virile race of Arabs now turned their attention to the Indus valley. They had tried an initial attack by land in 671 A. D., when the Jats of Jhalawar (Baluchistan) had stopped their progress.

Though Dahar inherited a vast kingdom from his ancestral hero Chach, with the title of "The King of Sind and the Sovereign of Hind and the ruler over land and water," this very possession of extensive and varied territories made him a very weak monarch. A religious war against Sind and Hind was organised in 711 A.D. by the Khalifah through Hajjaj, Governor of Irak, who appointed a brilliant youth of 17, called Muhammad Kasim the leader of the contingent. He was instructed to march *via Shiraz*, where the detachments from Irak and Syria were to join and to go stage by stage, through Makran and Lasbelah to Sind. The organisation included a naval detachment with heavy war weapons, battering rams, catapults etc., sent by sea to Debal, the first port on the Sind coast, where Mohammed Kasim was to meet them with his army. (See Map.)

On land every fair horseman took a strong camel loaded with provisions, and even the horses were protected with coats of mail, "so as to give them the appearance of wild beasts like the lion and the elephant."*

Leaving Armanbelah, the invaders started for Debal, where the boats containing the weapons and war implements also arrived in time. A ditch, some 12 cubits wide and 6 cubits deep, was made round the Arab camp, but Debal with its idol temple was easily taken away by the enemy. On hearing the news about the fall of the port of Debal, Dahar wrote a letter to Muhammad Kasim in which he stated : "Be it known to you that the fortified town of Debal which you have taken is an insignificant town, where only traders and artisans reside. It contained neither a strong fortress nor was it occupied by a garrison of any importance with whom it was worth your while to fight. If I had sent against you Rai Jaisiah, Dahar's son, who is the most victorious of all the rulers on the face of the earth, and who can wreck vengeance on the strongest men of his age, or the King of Kashmir, who is the mighty possessor of a crown, kettle drums and standards, on whose royal threshold the other rulers of Hind have placed their heads, who sways the whole of Hind and even the country of Makran and Turan, whose chains a great many noblemen and grandees have willingly placed on their knees, who is the owner of one hundred elephants and is the rider of a white elephant whom neither a horse can stand against nor a man can put pressure upon,—if I had sent these heroes against you, you could not have done the slightest harm to them and no army would have dared to pass through the remotest limits of this country till the end of the world."†

To this Mahommed Kasim replied by marching against the fort of Nerun in middle Sind some 25 leagues from Debal, for six days and after crossing the intervening lake of Sangrah reached the place. Here the Arab army suffered much for want of water, as the flood waters of the Indus, called the Sehun, had not reached it yet. Victory, however, was theirs and they next proceeded towards the hilly tracts of Siwistan. The forts of Siwistan and Sisam were easily conquered, and much silver and gold was secured and sent on to Hajjaj with a number of slaves.

Instructions were then received from Hajjaj to abandon other towns to arrange to cross the Mehran and march against Dahar himself. Already that part of the country which lay

* Mirza Kalechbeg Fredunbeg—*The Chachnameh* Karachi, 1900 p. 76—77.

† *Ibid* p. 87.

from Buddhiah* up to the place opposite the fortified town of Aghror on the Mehraṇ, had been conquered. The next target of attack was the fort of Bet "to the east of the Mehraṇ on the bank of a rivulet in an island of the Gulf of Khanlehal in the country of Sakrah (Mirpur Sakra ?)"† Here the tributary ruler under Dahar was easily defeated, and the Arabs afterwards organised a 4-days' battle of Jitor. According to Tarikh Maasumi, Md. Kasim crossed the river at Tatta and not Jitor to go to Alor before crossing another lake called Gujri between Jitor and Raor. The main objective, however, of the Arab invaders was Alor, the proud capital of Sind where Dahar himself ruled. This could not be done without crossing the Meran. Elaborate preparations were to be made for performing this action and the requisite cartographical knowledge was to be possessed. Full instructions were supplied by Hajjaj from the Headquarters : "As for the permission to cross the river and to fight with Dahar, you have already been informed that you may cross it from that point where you expect the least trouble and loss to your men. Or rather draw a sketch map, on paper showing the length and breadth of the portion of the river within 4 leagues above and below the (various) cross points, which should also be marked on the bank on which they are situated. I may then select one point and you may cross the river from there."‡

The river was to be actually crossed by making a bridge of boats. This was done by filling the boats with a ballast of sand and stone and linking them together by fixing nails into the connecting planks. The island of Bet between the waters of the Mehraṇ was ultimately selected as the crossing point, the Arab army being stationed on the western bank and that of Dahar on the eastern. Long and tedious was the battle between the hosts. All the Jats of the eastern country joined Dahar, great Thakurs, swordsmen and standard-bearers, slaughterers, subject rulers, long trains of war-like elephants, famous horsemen and foot soldiers numbering thousands. Mahommad Kasim divided his cavalry into the right and the left wings in charge of his two best lieutenants respectively and the central front in charge of another. Naphtha shooters were ordered to be ready with their weapons and appliances, to light their torches and to set up their fires. Kasim's exhortation to his troops had always a religious touch in it. "O ! Mussalmans", he declared, "be constantly asking pardon of God for your sins. The great and

* *Ibid* p. 99.

† *Ibid* p. 100.

‡ *ibid* p. 115.

glorious God has sent two gifts to the followers of Muhammad, (the chosen one) : one is repeating blessings on his holiness Muhammad the chosen one and the other asking pardon of God for sins."* On the other side, Dahar is said to have been amusing himself with the games of chess and dice, and believed in the prophecies of astrologers and philosophers of Sind and Hind. No wonder, Alor fell, Dahar was killed and the Arabs secured the control of most of Sind.

It was a naphtha arrow shooter who took Dahar's life, as an arrow struck him in his litter on the elephant which he rode. It was in the Gulf of Dhawah, in the waters of the Mekran. The heads of Dahar and of his tributary princes were sent to Hajjaj together with all the royal ensigns etc. Hajjaj is said to have proclaimed : "Good news and good luck to the people of Syria and Arabia, whom I congratulate on the conquest of Hind and on the possession of immense wealth the sweet waters of the Mehran and unlimited benefits and boons, which the great and omnipotent God has kindly bestowed on them."†

On the fall of Aror, Jaisiah desired to carry on the war and occupied the fort of Raor, which was soon taken by the Arabs but Dahar's sister Bai and other women in the fort burnt themselves alive. Jaisiah then moved on to the fort of Bahmanabad, a great manufacturing town in those days. Muhammad Kasim was also determined to follow him. On his way to Bahmanabad he took other forts, Bahrar and Dahlelah after a battle against thousands of fighting men belonging to the forts. The next scene of activity was the fort of Bahmanabad itself, situated on a small channel of Halwai on the west of it.‡ For six months the siege continued, till Jaisiah decided to escape to the province of Jitor. The traders and artisans of Bahmanabad were taken prisoners, but they were given pardon, while all the military classes were beheaded with swords. Conversion was made of as many natives as possible. "He, who received the honor of Islam and became a convert, was exempt from slavery as well as tribute and was not injured. Those, however, who did not accept the true faith were compelled to pay the fixed tribute (*Jizia*)"§. The management of all the internal affairs were left in the hands of the natives, however. Thus Muhammad Kasim was at last able to subjugate the whole of Sind, having secured the most important fortified towns, situated at the critical points. But there was no limit to the ambition of Hajjaj for Asiatic

* *Ibid* p. 139.

† *Ibid* p. 150.

‡ *Ibid* p. 156.

§ *Ibid* pp. 154-155

conquests and he sent the following complimentary letter to the Arab hero: "O my cousin Muhammad Kasim, praise and credit is due to you in maintaining your position as commander of the army, in showing favour and courtesy to the people in general, in improving their condition and in satisfactorily settling the state affairs. That which you have done in fixing assessments on each Mauza and in encouraging every class of people to follow the path of law in their worldly business, cannot but conduce to the permanency of the kingdom and to the systematic administration of the country. You should not stick to that city (Brahmanabad) any longer. The props of the Kingdom of Hind and Sind are the towns of Alor and Multan. Those two cities are the capitals of Kings and in them lie the external and internal treasure of kings. Select that town for your residence which is the best and most pleasant, so that, from it, you may command the entire Kingdom of Hind and Sind. Whoever refuses to submit to the power of Islam, let him be killed. The great God will help you in that cause. It should be your anxiety to extend your conquests from the country of Hind to the limits of China."*

And Hind.

Thereupon Mahommed Kasim employed some native merchants to manage money and revenue matters, and posted one of his own trusted men to the fortified capital town of Raor and asked him "to watch the river traffic and to collect boats. If any boat coming from the upper part of the river and sailing down, contained any weapons or other military stores it was to be removed to the port of Raor."†

Muhammad Kasim continued his progress at first eastwards towards the Aravalli mountain across the desert. Being the products of a barren land themselves, the Arabs were not dismayed by the hardships of their movements through the Thar desert and the next move was towards the country round about Banbanwah, in the vicinity of the lake, called Dhand Wikarbha. The residents not being fighting men but mere priests (Samaris), artisans (Bahzams) and merchants (Luhanas), there was practically no fighting. They next took possession of the land of the Sahtahs, who were mostly rural classes. Thus, practically the whole of Sind was conquered by the Arabs, as we have seen that Sindhi forts formed the vital parts of the province. But the Arab's thirst of conquest was not quenched thereby and they moved northwards. They took Babiah on the

* *Ibid* p. 171.

† *Ibid* p. 172.

south of the modern Beas, the fort of Gholkandah, Sikkah, Multan, on the south bank of the Ravi, Kanuj and penetrated as far as the frontier of Kashmir, called Panj Nahiyat. The Arabs, according to the Chach-nameh returned from the northern highlands, moved towards the mountain fastnesses of Rajputana and actually encamped as far as Udhepur. But here at this unhappy time Muhammad Kasim came to grief at the hands of Hajjaj himself, owing to the genius of the two daughters of King Dahar. The great Arab leader and hero of Sind was recalled under the most adverse circumstances at the very time when the Arab power was at its best in Hind. Even those who succeeded him were weak.

Federated Sind.

Thus ended the long period of local Hindu regime in Sind once for all, giving place to a purely Semitic control and authority from a neighbouring region, which produced such a daring race. But as has been noticed before, apart from enforcing their religion on the conquered races, the Arabs did not altogether Arabianise them. Rather they assimilated all the native cultures they came in contact with and thereby their own progress became rapid. The Arabs also absorbed the native population, *e.g.*, the Jats.

To-day in Sind and in Bengal —the two extremes of India, the Mahommedan population is the thickest. In our province it was by conquest as well as by conversion and immigration that such a large majority of the people are Mahommedans. But in Bengal, it was a matter of pure conversion of a large number of Buddhists who were cast away by the Hindu propagandists after the revival of Hinduism. When the onslaught of Mahommedan conquerors came in the 16th century, a large body of the outcastes in Bengal got voluntarily converted to Islamism and secured the social status, which was denied to them as Budhists, by their Hindu neighbours.

In Sind, the Mahommedan majority has continued for the last millenium and more, even the Rajput rulers after the Arab period being the first Mahommedan converts in this provinces.

The Arabs did not materially alter the Government, but kept the Brahman governors and tax-collectors in their service. To the natives it was only a case of changing hands and they soon settled down to the new conditions in Sind as a province federated to the Arab Empire.

How the Arab influence died away.

The progress of the Arabs up the Indus was rather slow, and the successors of Mahommed Kasim were weak. "With Ibn-al-Athir we may here anticipate a few years further the Muslims in India. Habib one of Al-Muhallab's family as Governor of Sind, fixed his court at Ror and allowed the princes, displaced by Ibn-al-Kasim, to return as protected to their several states. The pious Omar II summoned them to embrace Islam, on which they received Arabian names. In the days of Hisham, a little later, Junied pushed the Muslim bounds still farther east. But the prestige of Islam again waned for a time. Most of the princes relapsed into heathenism and to hold them in check the fortified camp Al-Mahfuza (the protected) was founded, from which expeditions, both naval and military, were sent forth."* But the natives created troubles for the Arabs on every side. Soon the end of the Ummaide dynasty came and the Abbasides succeeded in 750 A.D. But they too were not to rule here long. In 817 A. D. there was an end of Khalifas.

The Arabs did not build new cities but strengthened the old ones, such as Tatta, Debal and Bahmanabad, Mansura the last founded by Mansur bin Jamhur near Bahmanabad.

The Arab soldiers held land in lieu of their services to the Government.† Taxes were levied on certain produces such as dates, grapes, fruits, also fish, and wines.

The land tax was : $\frac{2}{5}$ of the produce of wheat and barley (by canals), $\frac{3}{10}$ of the produce of wheat and barley (by wheels), and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the produce of wheat and barley (unirrigated.)

Extraordinary taxes were levied on certain tribes *viz.*, Jats, Machhi Gorej, Bhatia, Lohana, Sahra, Janda etc., Commerce was the Arab's strong point and all the ancient trade routes were revived between Khorassan, Zabulistan, Sijistan, Kandahar and Ghazni, Turkastan, China, Ceylon and Malabar. Horses were imported from Arabia and wood for boat building from far-off Malabar.

Sind a difficult country for Foreigners.

That there were inherent difficulties in the matter of the Arab conquest and government of Sind cannot be denied.

* Sir Wm. Muir—"The Caliphate" 1924 p. 354.

† "Cambridge History of India" Vol. I.

And these difficulties were mainly of a geographical nature. First and foremost was the difficulty of communication. There was the river with its changing beds and the numerous Dhands or lakes to cross and recross, as we have noticed in the case of the marching army. Those of the forts on whose stability depended the chief strength of the natives, were on its banks, bridges of boats etc. had to be built and convenient crossing points had to be discovered. The forts themselves were situated in the different physiographic regions and were scattered far and distant from one another. The Arabs had some difficulties of obtaining proper food. "I shall be much obliged," Kasim writes to Hajja, "by your sending a little vinegar from your own stores or securing it in any other way, as my men badly require it, because owing to their eating disagreeable kinds of food out of season, the humans of their bodies are disturbed and they get unwell."* It must here be noted that the required vinegar was supplied by a strange method. Cotton was soaked in vinegar and dried and then sewn in bales to be transported to the Arab camp!

The scarcity of water in Arab camps was indeed keenly felt. It has been recorded in one place: "The floods of the Sehun had not yet spread out to that place and so want of water was felt by the troops, who began to complain of thirst" Strangely enough on Kasim offering prayers, "There was a down-pour by divine order and all the tanks in that town were filled with water."† These cannot but be storm waters.

Summary and Conclusion.

Though the account of the Arab conquest and government of Sind, given above, is so scanty, it shows clearly the changing nature of the country, the movements of troops, the kind of peoples, their habits etc. That it was possible for the Arabs to subjugate the *whole* of the valley in a *single* campaign inspite of the difficulties we have tried to enumerate, confirms the relationship of its history and geography. This information we owe to the *Chach Nameh*, the only reliable history book for the period. "We can gather from its pages that besides Shramans and Brahmans there were rich merchants, at least at Alor, that there were workers in marble who could make life-like statues, even equestrian statues, that the very powerful discus used by Dahar with signaleffect was probably of home manufacture, that there was a large class of artisans and that the bulk of the

* Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg—*The Chachnameh* Karachi, 1900. p. 120.

† *Ibid* p. 91

population lived on agriculture. We read of a Buddhist monk who apparently knew the art of war, and there is little doubt that almost all the officials were Brahmans, even before Chach usurped the throne. There were numerous temples, Buddhistic as well as Brahmanic, which were frequented by the people especially on holidays and which had large revenues."* We also know about other weapons of war manufactured at home, such as, the battering rams, naphtha arrows, nooses and cutting wheels, about the games of chess and dice, the mailed animals especially elephants of Dahar and the world famous Arab horses, boat bridges, boat ballasts, fortifications, castellated cities, etc. We have reference to the climate of the country, and also the floods of the river Mehran. No doubt the river was used by the Arab seamen, though the bulk of the armies moved to and fro on land. It was crossed at several points, boat bridges were constructed and rich spoils were despatched by the Arab navy from Debal to the very seat of the Khalifah. The Arab's naval supremacy of the Arabian Sea and the Indian ocean has been recognised by all chroniclers of this period. Upto the middle of the 15th century A. D. (the Middle Ages) they had, in fact, the monopoly of these waters. Many were the gifts they gave to the then known world *e.g.*, the mariner's compass. Their maritime empire was great and wide. They even showed Vasco de Gama the way round the Cape of Good Hope. Their cartography inspired and guided the European adventures, which produced the age of discoveries.†

* *Ibid* p. IX.

† Nadawi Syed Suleiman—*Arhon ki Nahazrani* (Urdu) Bombay, 1935.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

The Honorary Secretaries acknowledge with thanks the following publications :—

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Printed by F X PAUL FERNANDES at the Daily Gazette Press, Ltd.,
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